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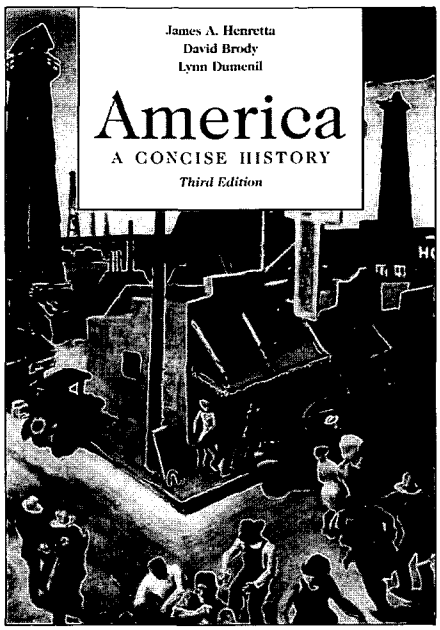
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In This Issue

The June issue has three articles that take us from wigs to chocolate to modernity, and an *AHR* Forum that carries us across three oceans. It also includes our usual extensive section of book reviews.

Articles

In "Big Hair: A Wig History of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century France," **Michael Kwass** examines the social and cultural lives of the wig, one of the most successful consumer goods of the eighteenth century. He first charts the social diffusion of the wig, as it spread beyond elite circles to middling groups. Rather than validating simplistic conceptions of consumer revolution, the wig's diffusion illuminates how proliferation of personal accessories in the eighteenth century helped to expand an intermediate zone of consumption situated between aristocratic luxury and popular necessity. It also demonstrates how men as well as women were consumers of fashion in this period. The second part of the article considers the cultural meaning of the wig. Challenging long-standing theories of conspicuous consumption and consumer emulation, Kwass argues that taste leaders attempted to liberate France from a courtly consumer culture in which the main purpose of goods was to mark social status. Publicizing alternative values such as convenience, nature, and self, fashion commentators and wigmakers alike developed strikingly modern conceptions of post–Louis XIV wigs. Although such taste leaders rejected an older hierarchy of raw socio-legal rank, they constructed a new model of distinction that permitted novel consumer values to mediate relationships between consumption and status. Finally, the cultural life of the wig suggests a revision of J. C. Flügel's "great masculine renunciation," because the repudiation of extravagant wig styles did not necessarily reflect a hardening of gender boundaries.

"Tasting Empire: Chocolate and the European Internalization of Mesoamerican Aesthetics" by **Marcy Norton** offers a new account of Europeans' development of a taste for American chocolate in the sixteenth century. Europeans learned to consume chocolate in the same ways it was imbibed by indigenous Americans—as a fragrant, spicy, sweet, foamy, reddish beverage. While most prior accounts have assumed or asserted that Europeans modified American chocolate to suit their palates, Norton argues that the social conditions that created Spanish colonial and imperial rule led Europeans to adopt Mesoamerican aesthetics. Her findings challenge models of taste based on bio-

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logical essentialism or cultural functionalism and instead demonstrate the importance of social contingency and somatic autonomy in the fashioning of taste.

Max Weber's famous phrase of 1917, the "disenchantment of the world," crystallized widespread belief that science had demystified wonders and marvels, secularism had supplanted religion, bureaucratization had quashed spontaneity, and contingent perspectives had replaced overarching meanings. In "Modernity and Enchantment: A Historiographic Review," **Michael Saler** excavates the underlying assumptions about modernity that have led authors to equate modernity with disenchantment. Within the past decade, he points out, historians in many fields have challenged this paradigm, arguing that the concept of "enchantment" is compatible with many of the tenets frequently ascribed to modernity, such as rationality and secularism. Those who argue that modernity is disenchanted tend to adhere to either a "binary" or a "dialectical" understanding of modernity. In the binary understanding, modernity is defined as being rational and secular, and enchantment encompasses its residual opposite, the irrational and the spiritual. In the dialectical understanding, modernity's claims to be rational and secular are revealed to be myths and superstitions: modernity's cherished tenets are ultimately transformed into their opposites. Historians of science, religion, and mass culture, among others, however, question both the binary and dialectical approaches. In place of the "either/or" structure of these approaches, they offer a "both/and" understanding; for them, modernity is characterized by irresolvable tensions between opposites, or "antinomies." In this antinomial approach, modernity is enchanted, in an ironic, disenchanted mode that (ideally) delights but does not delude. Finally, Saler examines the derivation of the discourse of modern disenchantment. Elites have enchanted themselves with the discourse of disenchantment, but that spell appears to be breaking, leaving a specifically modern, "disenchanted" enchantment in its wake. The antinomial approach to this question offers a new understanding of modernity, freeing historians from the iron cage of Max Weber's influential thesis concerning the "disenchantment of the world."

AHR Forum

The *AHR* Forum, "Oceans of History," features essays on three of the globe's great bodies of water, the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, and the Pacific, offering three different perspectives on how the life and culture of these complex regions should be historically understood. **Kären Wigen** introduces the forum with a summary of the essays, suggesting several shared themes that run through them, despite the authors' care in delineating each ocean's specificity. She also notes the regrettable absence of the Indian Ocean from the forum, a regret that is shared by the editors. Owing to editorial and scheduling difficulties, the article on the Indian Ocean that we had hoped and indeed planned to include simply failed to materialize.

In "The Mediterranean and the New Thalassology," **Peregrine Horden** and **Nicholas Purcell** examine the place of the Mediterranean in the current revival of interest in sea and ocean history. They argue that this scholarly interest must result in more than newly conceived regional histories. The point of new spatial subdivisions is to stim-

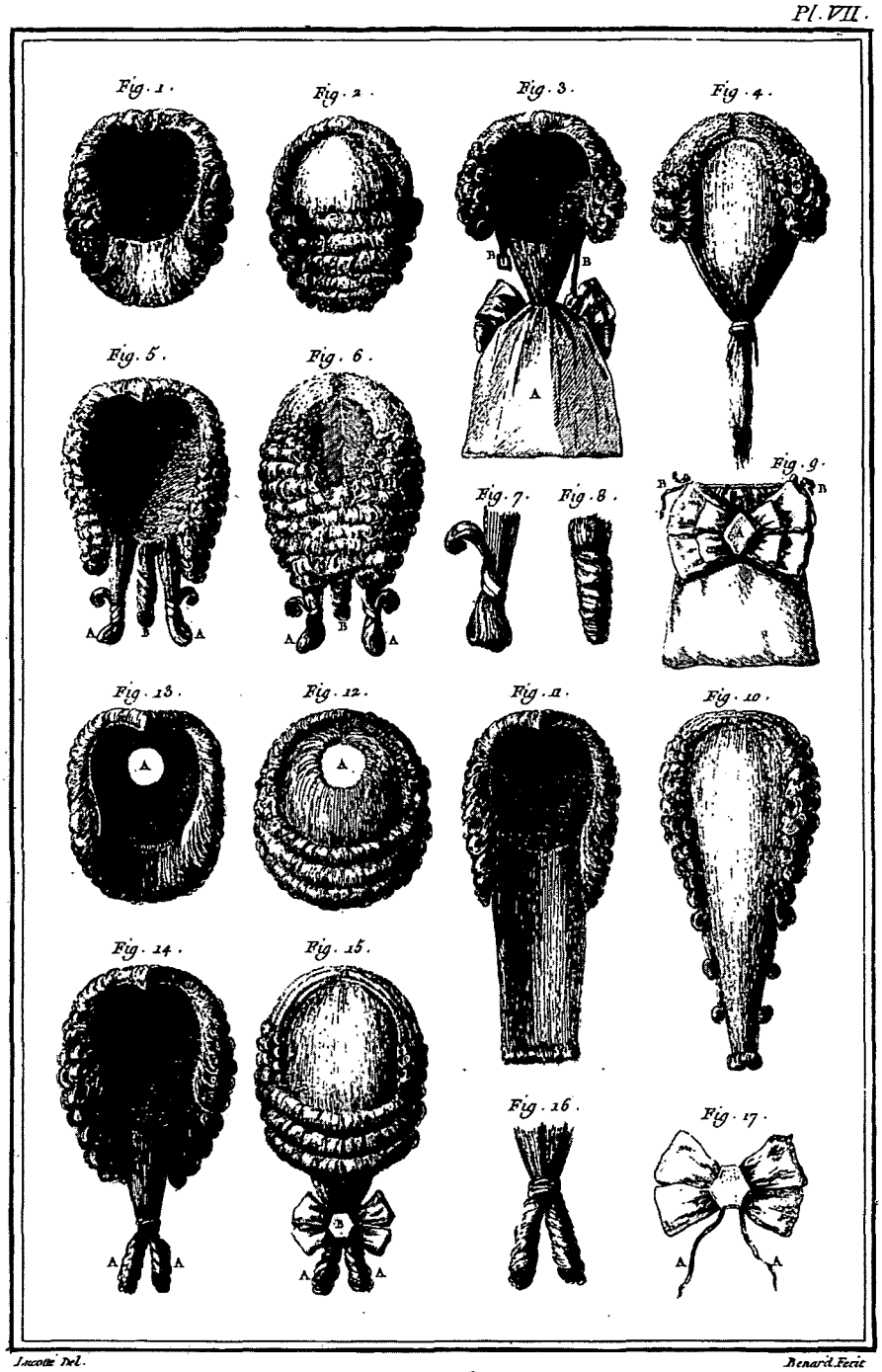
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ulate novel questions about how large regions interact, as part of a rewarding historiography on the largest, even global, scale. The article shows how current work on the Mediterranean has grown from the fertile terrain of Fernand Braudel's geographically alert history and presents some of the more controversial aspects of making the Mediterranean an object of inquiry. The authors attempt in particular to respond to the critique of "Mediterraneanism" that has come from social anthropologists of the region. They propose that Mediterranean history continues to matter precisely because the particularities of the region make it a compellingly interesting element in the historiography of large-scale interactions. The goal of today's Mediterranean history should not be the "exceptionalism" with which interpreters of the region have often been taxed. Rather, Horden and Purcell offer a study of the region's historical common denominators, designed to elucidate the ways in which the relationships of entities on this scale can be studied systematically.

In "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities," **Alison Games** explores the convergence of the multiple strands of scholarly interest that have generated this new field of study, one which takes as its geographic unit of analysis the Atlantic Ocean and the four continents that surround it. She argues that Atlantic history is best approached as a slice of world history. The Atlantic, moreover, is a region that has logic as a unit of historical analysis only within a limited chronology. An Atlantic perspective can help historians understand changes within the region that a more limited geographic framework might obscure. Attempts to write a Braudelian Atlantic history, one that includes and connects the entire region, remain elusive, driven in part by methodological impediments, by the real disjunctions that characterized the Atlantic's historical and geographic components, by the disciplinary divisions that discourage historians from speaking to and writing for each other, and by the challenge of finding a vantage that is not rooted in any single place. Nonetheless, this article argues that such a perspective is desirable, and Games suggests some fruitful lines of inquiry.

Finally, in "The Pacific," **Matt K. Matsuda** tells us that defining "the Pacific" historically amounts to an exercise in drawing together multiple disciplines and scholarly domains. These include the expertise of historians studying particular Pacific Island groups; specialists of the "Pacific Rim" whose work concentrates on policy issues and economic development; and students and scholars of maritime, navigational, immigration, and diasporic studies around Oceania, East and Southeast Asia, and the Americas. Pacific histories are particularly marked by the influence of anthropological methods and approaches to cultural study, as well as by the contributions of ethnobotanists, musicologists, historical linguists, marine archaeologists, poets, novelists, and political activists. In these contexts, Pacific histories have been significantly developed by scholars whose works attempt to continually redefine the notion of academic knowledge by incorporating performative, artistic, and community-based elements and practices. These approaches are employed to reconsider long-standing narratives of the Pacific as a space of "discovery" or "paradise" by highlighting the deep implication of island peoples in Pacific-wide encounter and struggle from ancient outrigger voyaging and settlements to the legacies of colonial politics, the Pacific War, and underseas nuclear testing.

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Perruquier Barbier, Perruques.

FRONTISPIECE: Wigs. *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonnée des sciences, des arts et des métiers. Recueil de planches, sur les sciences, les arts libéraux, et les arts méchaniques, avec leur explication*, 11 vols. (Paris, 1762–1772), s.v. "Perruquier."

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Big Hair: A Wig History of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century France

MICHAEL KWASS

IN THE WINTER OF 1751, AFTER ACCEPTING A POSITION of some responsibility in the world of finance, Jean-Jacques Rousseau fell gravely ill. Bedridden, delirious with fever, and facing the prospect of his own death, the philosopher resolved to change the course of his life. He renounced "all projects of fortune and advancement," including his new job, and vowed to spend what little time he had left in a state of "independence and poverty." After his convalescence, Rousseau remained true to his pledge and embarked on what he called his "personal reform." His first act was to change his wardrobe: "I began my reform with my finery," he wrote. "I gave up my gold trimmings and white stockings, I took a short wig, I laid aside my sword, I sold my watch." Later recounting the same episode, he stated: "I left *le monde* and its pomp. I renounced all finery: no more sword, no more watch, no more white stockings, gold trimmings, hairdo." Instead, he wore "a simple wig and clothes of good rough wool."[1]

As a philosophical statement, Rousseau's personal reform was loaded with meaning. The act of dressing down signified that the author of the recently published *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* was putting his philosophy into practice; he was turning his back on the luxury and artifice of Parisian high society and embracing a virtuous and authentic mode of living. I invoke Rousseau's reform, however, not only to raise its philosophical implications but also to make a specific sartorial observation. Although Rousseau renounced fashionable clothing and accessories, he did not jettison the wig. Instead, he abandoned his old wig to adopt a simpler and shorter model, the round wig, a gesture that raises a number of questions. Why, if Rousseau was intent on rejecting the artifice of *le monde*, did he not simply discard the wig altogether and wear his natural hair? Why opt instead for a different style? Were certain styles not implicated in the corrupt high society that Rousseau was determined to repudiate? These may seem frivolous affairs of fashion, but, as I will argue, the multiple meanings attributed to wigs illuminate an important Enlightenment transition—economic, social, and cultural in scope—from courtly to modern forms of consumption.

I am grateful to the National Humanities Center, where I began research on eighteenth-century consumption. Thanks also to Gail Bossenga, Clare Crowston, Jan Goldstein, Lisa Graham, Colin Jones, Steve Kaplan, Allan Kulikoff, Tim Le Goff, Morag Martin, Claudio Saunt, Dan Sherman, Paul Sutter, Liana Vardi, and Rob Schneider and the anonymous *AHR* reviewers for their helpful suggestions and comments. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Laura Mason, who commented on several drafts of this article.

[1] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Oeuvres complètes*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1959), 1: 363; Rousseau, *Oeuvres complètes de J. J. Rousseau*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1852), 1: 409. Translations throughout the article are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

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Liberal scholars have long hailed the Enlightenment as the birthplace of the modern world, an era in which great thinkers deployed reason to battle faith and superstition in an effort to liberate the individual from the constraints of custom.[2] Today, historians are rightly suspicious of such linear—call them Whiggish—interpretations of the period, yet many still cling to the idea of the eighteenth century as threshold to the modern world. As it is now described, however, the modernity of the eighteenth century has less to do with a philosophical or literary canon than it does with transformations in a wide range of social, cultural, and political practices. Among such changing practices, consumption looms large. Indeed, the study of consumption has been central to the historiographical project of recasting the relationship between eighteenth-century life and modernity.[3]

Historians of consumption have generally followed social theorists in emphasizing two different aspects of modernity. While social scientists emphasize long-term processes of "modernization," such as urbanization and industrialization, cultural historians and literary critics define modernity in terms of consciousness, stressing in particular the development of a reflexive self and a heightened awareness of one's present age as new and set off from the past.[4] Both understandings of modernity underpin current historical literature on eighteenth-century Western European consumption. Highlighting socioeconomic processes of commercialization, historians argue that eighteenth-century Western Europe experienced a "consumer revolution" as men and women freed themselves from the grip of scarcity to initiate a buying spree of historic proportions. Although its geography and periodization remain highly controversial, such a revolution is commonly represented as a step toward modern consumer society.[5]

[2] See, for example, Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*, 2 vols. (New York, 1966–1969). Radical and conservative scholars also claim the Enlightenment as birthplace of the modern world, but a darker modern world where rationalism has run amok. For a Marxian critique, see Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (New York, 1972). For conservative critiques, see Darrin McMahon, *Enemies of the Enlightenment: The French Counter-Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity* (Oxford, 2001).

[3] See, for example, the critical role played by consumption in two leading syntheses of the Enlightenment: Daniel Roche, *France in the Enlightenment*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); and Roy Porter, *The Creation of the Modern World: The Untold Story of the British Enlightenment* (New York, 2000).

[4] For social processes of modernity, see Craig Calhoun, ed., *Dictionary of Social Sciences* (Oxford, 2002), s.v. "modernity" and "modernization theory." For cognitive approaches, see Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York, 1982); Peter Fritzsche, *Stranded in the Present: Modern Time and the Melancholy of History* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004); Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Stanford, Calif., 1991); and Peter Osborne, *The Politics of Time: Modernity and the Avant-garde* (London, 1995).

[5] The seminal study by Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (Bloomington, Ind., 1982), drew wide attention to changes in eighteenth-century England. Yet historians have since underscored earlier developments, both in England (Carole Shammas, *The Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America* [Oxford, 1990]; Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660–1760* [New York, 1988]) and in urban regions on the continent (Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600* [Baltimore, Md., 1993]; Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* [New York, 1987]). Although consumption was not particularly robust in the eighteenth-century German lands, Daniel Purdy argues that fashion journals there created a bourgeois consumer culture; Purdy, *The Tyranny of Elegance: Consumer Cosmopolitanism in the Era of Goethe* (Baltimore, Md., 1998). With respect to France, historians have mined after-death inventories to demonstrate a dramatic rise in consumption in the eighteenth century. Much of this work focuses on Paris: Cissie Fairchilds, "The Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods in Eighteenth-

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At the same time, the study of consumption, especially French consumption, has taken a cultural turn, opening new doors between the Enlightenment and late modernity.[6] Daniel Roche, whose work has defined the field, argues that the birth of consumption was an integral part of a larger cultural change in which the traditional values of a stationary Christian economy gradually gave way to the egalitarianism and individualism of modern commodity culture. For Roche, the story is principally one of emancipation: "It is important to recognize that . . . commodities did not necessarily foster alienation; in fact, they generally meant liberation."[7] The diffusion of fashion led to "a new state of mind, more individualistic, more hedonistic, in any case more egalitarian and more free."[8] Less optimistic than Roche but equally intent on establishing a connection between Enlightenment consumption and modernity, Jennifer Jones contends that the late-eighteenth-century discourse on fashion helped to produce modern, essentialized definitions of gender. As social differentiation faded from fashion commentary, gender differentiation took its place.[9]

As with all sharp historiographical turns, acknowledging the growth of consumption has produced a host of questions in its wake. First, historians disagree on the extent to which consumption did in fact reshape eighteenth-century society. Although some see in the rise of consumption the revolutionary birth of modern consumer society, others cautiously emphasize consumption's economic and social limits.[10]

Century Paris," in John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993), 228–249; Annik Pardailhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy: Private and Domestic Life in Early Modern Paris*, trans. Joyce Jocelyn Phelps (Philadelphia, Pa., 1991); Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Régime*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 1994). But it is now clear that the French provinces did not lag far behind: see Madeleine Ferrières, *Le bien des pauvres: La consommation populaire en Avignon (1600–1800)* (Seyssel, 2004); Michel Figeac, *La douceur des Lumières: Noblesse et art de vivre en Guyenne au XVIII siècle* (Bordeaux, 2001); and Benoit Garnôt, *Un Déclin: Chartres au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1991). In the French case, periodization hinges on clothing. Although Roche's figures apply mainly to the eighteenth century, Clare Haru Crowston pinpoints the 1670s as the decade in which the consumption of French women's clothing began to rise. See Crowston, *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675–1791* (Durham, N.C., 2001), chap. 1.

[6] Studies incorporating a cultural approach to French consumption include Crowston, *Fabricating Women*; Jennifer M. Jones, *Sexing La Mode: Gender, Fashion and Commercial Culture in Old Regime France* (Oxford, 2004); Steven L. Kaplan, *The Bakers of Paris and the Bread Question, 1700–1775* (Durham, N.C., 1996); and Rebecca L. Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomical Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000). An interdisciplinary approach to consumption is also apparent in recent work on luxury. See Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford, eds., *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe, 1650–1850* (Manchester, 1999); and Berg and Elizabeth Eger, eds., *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires, and Delectable Goods* (Houndmills, 2003).

[7] Roche, *France in the Enlightenment*, 550.

[8] Daniel Roche, "Apparences révolutionnaires ou révolution des apparences," in Madeleine Delpierre, ed., *Modes & révolutions, 1780–1804* (Paris, 1989), 111.

[9] Jones, *Sexing La Mode*. There are echoes of this thesis in Lynn Hunt, "Freedom of Dress in Revolutionary France," in Sara E. Melzer and Kathryn Norberg, eds., *From the Royal to the Republican Body* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998), 224–249; Catherine Lanoë, "Cosmétiques et entreprises féminines à la fin du XVIIIe siècle," in Natacha Coquery et al., eds., *Artisans, industrie: Nouvelles révolutions du Moyen Âge à nos jours* (Paris, 2004), 269–281; and Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 116. For similar arguments regarding England and Germany, see, respectively, David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550–1850* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002); and Purdy, *The Tyranny of Elegance*.

[10] Skeptics of revolutionary change in English consumption include Ben Fine and Ellen Leopold, "Consumerism and the Industrial Revolution," *Social History* 15 (May 1990): 151–179; and Carole Shammas, "Changes in English and Anglo-American Consumption from 1550 to 1800," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 177–206. Skeptics of revolutionary change in early modern European consumption in general include Jan de Vries, "Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods: Understanding the Household Economy in Early Modern Europe," in Brewer and Porter, *Con-*

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How far-reaching were the effects of the so-called "revolution" in consumption? Second, studies have not analyzed with sufficient specificity the cultural ramifications of new modes of consumption. How exactly did the emergence of new forms of consumption alter understandings of self and society? Generalizing about the emancipatory effects of consumption runs the risk of reconstructing, along materialist lines, an older liberal or Whig interpretation of the Enlightenment. Instead, we need to investigate more closely the meanings attached to specific consumer goods, and to consider how such meanings evolved.

Social and cultural approaches to consumption dovetail in a history of one of the most successful commodities of the eighteenth century: the wig.[11] The social life of this odd consumer good reveals much about the chronology, social depth, and geographic range of new consumer practices in the Age of Enlightenment. Rather than validating simplistic conceptions of consumer revolution, the wig's diffusion demonstrates a dramatic expansion in an intermediate zone of consumption situated between aristocratic luxury and popular necessity. Equally important, the cultural life of the wig casts doubt on the long-standing theories of consumer emulation formulated by Georg Simmel, Thorstein Veblen, and Norbert Elias, for the meaning of the wig cannot be interpreted solely in the context of conspicuous consumption or the pursuit of social status. Indeed, the language of eighteenth-century taste leaders suggests an attempt to move beyond a courtly consumer culture in which the main purpose of goods was to mark social rank. Through the printed word, taste leaders carved out a new set of consumer values—convenience, natural authenticity, and self-expression—to mediate the relationship between consumption and status.

IT IS COMMON TO REGARD THE WIG of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as an aristocratic ornament of Old Regime Europe, an exclusive marker of high birth and status worn by the privileged few. Indeed, the wig enjoyed the most noble of pedigrees, its origins stretching back to the seventeenth-century French courts of Louis XIII and Louis XIV, where fashion had become part of an aristocratic world of power and display. By the end of the Sun King's reign, wigs had spread well beyond France, crowning kings at royal courts across Europe and becoming an essential feature of European noble costume.[12] And yet, despite this illustrious lineage, the wigs of eighteenth-century Western Europe seem to have tumbled down the social hierarchy, so far down that writers now observed them sitting atop the commonest of heads.[13] For the marquis de Mirabeau, a French gentleman-physiocrat who de-

sumption and the World of Goods, 85–132; and Giovanni Levi, "Comportements, ressources, procès: Avant la 'révolution' de la consommation," in Jacques Revel, ed., *Jeux d'échelles: La micro-analyse à l'experience* (Paris, 1996), 187–208.

[11] The benefits of focusing on the history of particular goods are discussed in Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things," in Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1986), 64–91.

[12] Richard Corson, *Fashions in Hair* (New York, 1965), chaps. 8 and 9; John Woodforde, *The Strange Story of False Hair* (London, 1971).

[13] For the social diffusion of wigs in England, see John Styles, "Manufacturing, Consumption, and Design in Eighteenth-Century England," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 538; and Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New Haven, Conn., 2002), 128–129. For

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cried the spread of luxury, the social diffusion of the wig was a most disturbing phenomenon. "Everyone [in Paris] has become a Monsieur," he lamented in his mid-century best-seller *L'Ami des hommes*. "On Sunday, a man came up to me wearing black silk clothes and a well-powdered wig, and as I fell over myself offering him compliments, he introduced himself as the oldest son of my blacksmith or saddler; will such a seigneur deign to dance in the streets?"[14] Equally struck by the presence of wigs among the lowborn, Louis-Sébastien Mercier, a shrewd observer of Parisian daily life, listed the many types of ordinary men who had taken to wearing wigs: schoolmasters in the environs of Paris, old choirmasters, public scribes, law court ushers, shop boys, legal and notarial clerks, domestic servants, cooks, and kitchen boys.[15]

Did the French wig truly undergo such a dramatic process of diffusion? Literary accounts are colorfully suggestive, but they need to be tested against more reliable kinds of evidence, such as the size of the wig trade, the social composition of wigmakers' clientele, and the incidence of wigs in after-death inventories. We begin with the wig trade. Although historians have argued that the French luxury and fashion trades expanded dramatically in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to became a substantial sector of the urban economy, the loss of many Parisian guild records has made it difficult for the long-term growth of particular trades to be tracked with any precision.[16] The trade in wigs makes for an excellent case study in this respect. Unlike masters of other trades, master wigmakers purchased venal offices from the French monarchy, leaving a long paper trail that makes them much easier to count.[17]

The numbers are impressive. From 1673, when an independent wigmakers' guild was created, to the late eighteenth century, the number of French master wigmakers grew more than four times over, far outpacing the kingdom's rate of population growth. In Paris, the number of masters skyrocketed from 200 in 1673 to 835 in 1765 to 945 in 1771.[18] By 1776, one Parisian almanac explained that it would be super-

the German lands, see Christof Nicolaï, *Recherches historiques sur l'usage des cheveux postiches et des perruques*, trans. Hendrik Jansen (Paris, 1809). For colonial America, see Woodforde, *The Strange Story of False Hair*, chap. 9.

[14] Victor de Riqueti, marquis de Mirabeau, *L'Ami des hommes ou traité de la population*, 2 vols. (Avignon, 1756–1758), 1: pt. 1, 152.

[15] Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Tableau de Paris* (Amsterdam, 1782), chaps. 32 and 491.

[16] Most accounts rely on the rough estimates of Jacques Savary des Bruslons, *Dictionnaire universel de commerce*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1741). See Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, chap. 2; James R. Farr, *Artisans in Europe, 1300–1914* (Cambridge, 2000), 62–70; Jones, *Sexing La Mode*, chap. 3; Steven L. Kaplan, "The Luxury Guilds in Paris in the Eighteenth Century," *Francia* 9 (1982): 257–298; Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, chaps. 10–12; Michael Sonenscher, *Work and Wage: Natural Law, Politics, and Eighteenth-Century French Trades* (Cambridge, 1989), chap. 7; and Sonenscher, "Fashion's Empire," in Robert Fox and Anthony Turner, eds., *Luxury Trades and Consumerism in Ancien Régime Paris* (Aldershot, 1998), 231–254.

[17] The origins of the wigmakers' guild date to 1634, when the crown lumped wigmakers together with barber-surgeons and water and steam bath operators to form a single guild. This early effort at guild consolidation did not take hold, as surgeons formed their own guild in 1659. In 1673, two royal edicts turned barber-wigmaker-bath operator masterships into venal offices. Henceforth, rather than receiving *lettres de maîtrise* from the lieutenant-general of police and the *procureur du roi* of Châtelet, master wigmakers, like other royal officeholders, paid a *finance* to receive a hereditary office from the grand chancellery.

[18] The figures for 1673 and 1765 are compiled from the Bibliothèque nationale (hereafter BN), Joly de Fleury, 408, nos. 96–99. For 1771, I added the 110 charges created by the edict of February 1771. My figures are slightly higher than those provided by Catherine Lanoë, "Les barbiers-perruquiers de

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fluous to list the names and addresses of the most famous wigmakers, "because there is no neighborhood where one does not find many of them, and there is nothing easier than informing oneself about the most renowned."[19] Such a steep rise in wigmakers might be expected in Paris, the center of European fashion in the eighteenth century, but master wigmakers mushroomed in provincial cities as well. In the booming port town of Nantes, the number of master wigmakers jumped from 20 in 1691 to 92 in 1789.[20] In the demographically more stable city of Rouen, the profession expanded from 7 masters in the middle of the seventeenth century to 20 masters in 1680 to 83 in 1781.[21]

And master wigmakers were merely the tip of the professional iceberg. Below the level of master, journeymen were employed in great numbers. In western France, for example, throngs of *garçons perruquiers* trudged up and down the Atlantic coast, from Bordeaux to Le Havre, fanning out across the Breton and Norman peninsulas or turning inland toward Orléans, Rouen, Versailles, and Paris. In Nantes, as many as 683 *garçons* a year, on average, moved in and out of the city between 1773 and 1786.[22] In Rouen, the wigmakers' guild placed a stunning 500 to 600 *garçons* a year in the city's wig shops in the 1780s.[23] Figures for Parisian journeymen remain elusive, but Louis-Sébastien Mercier estimated their ranks at nearly 10,000.[24] Such numbers, moreover, do not include the countless *chambrelans*, artisans who produced wigs illegally without the guild's consent. We can only guess at their number—Mercier put the figure for Paris at 2,000—but given the intense strife between master wigmakers and journeymen, the temptation to slip out of the regulated world of work and produce wigs clandestinely must have been irresistible for many young men.[25]

Paris au XVIII siècle" (Mémoire de maîtrise, Université de Paris I, 1989–1990), 83, who does not account for ten offices created in 1760, and slightly lower than those given by Mary K. Gayne, "Illicit Wigmaking in Eighteenth-Century Paris," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38 (2004): 120, who puts the guild's 1771 peak at 1,014 masters. The rise in the number of masterships reflected the crown's desire to satisfy public demand for wigmakers as well as to generate revenue from office. BN, Joly de Fleury, 408, nos. 64–113.

[19] Daniel Roche, ed., *Almanach parisien en faveur des étrangers et des personnes curieuses* (Saint-Étienne, 2001), "Perruquiers."

[20] Archives Municipales de Nantes (hereafter AM Nantes), HH 91, statutes of December 12, 1692. M. J. Mavidal and M. E. Laurent, eds., *Archives parlementaires*, 82 vols. (Paris, 1879–1913), 4: 100, *cahier* of Nantes wigmakers.

[21] Geneviève Blondel, *Les Communautés Rouennaisses d'arts et métiers* (DES, Caen, 1962), 90–92; Archives Départementales de la Seine-Maritime (hereafter AD Seine-Maritime), 5 EP 142, deliberations of wigmakers' guild, October 7, 1680; and AD Seine-Maritime, C 149, memoir on wigmakers in the generality of Rouen (1781). Such examples could easily be multiplied for large towns throughout the kingdom. See Archives Nationales (hereafter AN), F-12 10, for wigmakers in Toulon; Philip Benedict, ed., *Cities and Social Change in Early Modern France* (London, 1989), 42–43; James R. Farr, "Consumers, Commerce, and the Craftsmen of Dijon," in Benedict, *Cities and Social Change*, 149; Farr, *Artisans in Europe*, 65; Jean-Claude Perrot, *Genèse d'une ville moderne: Caen au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1975), 269–271, 977; and Jean-Pierre Poussou, *Bordeaux et le Sud-Ouest au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1983), 26–28.

[22] AM Nantes, HH 101, registration book. No figures are available for earlier periods, since the first laws requiring journeymen to register departures and arrivals with local guilds appeared in the late 1760s. Registration records are far more accurate than *capitation* rolls, which underestimate the ranks of journeymen.

[23] AD Seine-Maritime, 5 EP 148, registration book.

[24] Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, chap. 32.

[25] Gayne, "Illicit Wigmaking." For strife between wig masters and journeymen, see Cynthia M. Truant, "Independent and Insolent: Journeymen and Their 'Rites' in the Old Regime Workplace," in Steven L. Kaplan and Cynthia J. Koepp, eds., *Work in France: Representations, Meaning, Organization,*

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Most astonishing was the penetration of the wig trade into small towns and villages in the countryside. Daniel Roche and Laurence Fontaine have described how peddlers, markets, and fairs acted as intermediaries of consumption, channeling urban consumer goods to rural villages.[26] The geographic spread of the wig trade suggests, however, that some fashion goods need not have been imported into the countryside. Indeed, in the eighteenth century, it was not uncommon for wigmakers to establish shops in relatively small towns in order to cater to a local clientele. After conducting his own investigation into the wig trade in 1781, the intendant of Rouen learned that while the provincial capital was home to 83 masters, the *généralité* as a whole had as many as 416. The intendant was especially surprised to find that a "third-order town" such as Le Havre had 29 master wigmakers, a "considerable" number given the town's population of 18,000. Even small villages, he discovered, such as those that dotted the countryside between Rouen and the Atlantic coast, could boast several wigmakers. The little town of Aumale, whose population fell below 2,000 in the eighteenth century, welcomed its first master wigmaker in 1710. By 1789, it had 7.[27]

Clearly, the wig had become big business in the eighteenth century—big enough to suggest that it was no longer an exclusive luxury article. If certain non-aristocratic professional groups had already taken to wigs in the seventeenth century, including high magistrates and clergymen, financiers, well-placed domestic servants, and wigmakers themselves (who, like other luxury and fashion artisans, enjoyed the products they so diligently produced), many more middling groups appear to have appropriated the wig in the eighteenth century.[28] A mid-century account book belonging to a Rouen wigmaker named Le Tellier confirms this impression.[29] Le Tellier sold wigs to parish *curés* and *procureurs*, hardly aristocratic types, and set the price of his least expensive wigs as low as twelve *livres* (less than half the cost of a decent secondhand coat or the simplest of silver snuffboxes), putting them within easy reach of merchants, professionals, and successful artisans.[30] Further, Le Tellier's single

and Practice (Ithaca, N.Y., 1986), 158–162. Illicit wigmakers probably catered to the lower end of the market, as did non-guild cosmetic retailers. Lanoë, "Cosmetiques," 281.

[26] Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 378–379; Laurence Fontaine, *History of Pedlars in Europe*, trans. Vicki Whittaker (Cambridge, 1996).

[27] AD Seine-Maritime, C 149; Joan Reinhardt, "A French Town under the Old Regime: Aumale in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1983), 118–122. The following small to medium-sized towns had numerous master wigmakers as well: Paimbeouf (9 masters in 1786), Archives Départementales de la Loire Atlantique, E 162; Mayenne (9 masters in 1766), AN, F-12 105; Valognes (18 masters in 1791), *Archives parlementaires*, vol. 31, 608; Valencienne (15 masters in 1786), Philippe Guignet, *Mines, manufactures et ouvriers du Valenciennois au XVIIIe siècle* (New York, 1977), 383.

[28] For magistrates, E. Glasson, "Les origines du costume de la magistrature," *Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger* 8 (1884): 109–137. For clergy, Jean-Baptiste Thiers, *Histoire des perruques* (Avignon, 1777). For financiers, the 1699 painting of Samuel Bernard, in Catherine Lebas and Annie Jacques, *La Coiffure en France du Moyen âge à nos jours* (Paris, 1979), 120. On the precocious dress of domestics, see Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, chaps. 6 and 7. For that of fashion artisans, see Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 373–375; Jones, *Sexing La Mode*, 158; Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 321–322; and the *Galerie des modes*, which describes the fashionable dress of tailors and hairdressers as well as that of their higher-ranking clients.

[29] AD Seine-Maritime, EP 130.

[30] For coat and snuffbox prices, see, respectively, Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 358–359; and Laurence Fontaine, "The Circulation of Luxury Goods in Eighteenth-Century Paris: Social Redistribution and an Alternative Currency," in Berg and Eger, *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century*, 92.

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shop could produce more than a hundred wigs a year, meaning that the number of wigs produced annually by the totality of the city's wigmakers could well have been in the thousands. Le Tellier's customer base, price structure, and scale of enterprise all suggest that by mid-century the wigmakers of Rouen were producing wigs for a clientele that extended well beyond the nobles and magistrates who composed the city's elite.

That the proliferation of shops such as Le Tellier's contributed to a greater social diffusion of wigs is borne out by the surprisingly robust presence of wigs in the after-death inventories of the middling classes. Drawn up by notaries, who listed the movable possessions belonging to an individual at the time of his or her death, such inventories provide the most direct evidence of the social diffusion of wigs in the eighteenth century. First, inventories demonstrate that the spread of wigs encompassed better-off Parisian artisans. Of the 101 eighteenth-century Parisian bakers for whom Steven Kaplan found inventories, nearly one-fourth, 23 of the wealthier bakers, possessed a wig. Of the 23 wig-wearing bakers, seven owned two wigs, one owned four, and another owned five.[31] Mirabeau's confusing encounter with the bewigged son of his blacksmith (or saddler) was doubtless an exaggeration, but it was a plausible exaggeration—and therefore an effective one—in a city where many bakers sported wigs of their own.

Inventories also confirm what the growth of the wig trade indicates: that the spread of wigs was not limited to large cities. Among inventories of *fermiers* in the Ile de France, the region around Paris where large-scale commercial agriculture took hold, Jean-Marc Moriceau found an increasing incidence of wigs over the eighteenth century. From 1650 to 1689, he found no wigs at all, but from the turn of the eighteenth century on, the percentage of farmers' inventories that listed wigs rose substantially, to 12 percent between 1690 and 1709, 29 percent between 1710 and 1729, 16 percent between 1730 and 1739, 21 percent between 1740 and 1749, and—here's the real jump—46 percent between 1750 and 1759. By mid-century, many of the rustic *fermiers* of the Ile de France had transformed themselves into bewigged gentlemen farmers.[32]

Circling farther from Paris, we find similar patterns. In the small Norman town of Pont-St-Pierre, five of thirteen inventories drawn up between 1750 and 1775 registered wigs, including one bourgeois who possessed two wigs even though his total fortune amounted to a paltry forty-five *livres*. Other wig-owning residents included a poor noble, a business agent of the local marquis, and a gardener who worked for another noble family.[33] (Such men, it is worth recalling, need not have traveled as far as Rouen to purchase their wigs, since wigs were produced in neighboring towns).[34] Lest one think that the diffusion of wigs in the Norman countryside was exceptional, inventories from Savoy also attest to the spread of wigs among small town and village notables.[35]

[31] Kaplan, *The Bakers of Paris*, 350–351.

[32] Jean-Marc Moriceau, *Les Fermiers de l'Ile-de-France* (Paris, 1994), 759.

[33] Jonathan Dewald, *Pont-St-Pierre, 1398–1789: Lordship, Community, and Capitalism in Early Modern France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), 18–19, 97, 205.

[34] AD Seine-Maritime, C 149, lists wigmakers in the nearby towns of Caudebec, Elbeuf, Les Andelys, and Louviers.

[35] Jean Nicolas, *La Savoie au 18e siècle: Noblesse et bourgeois*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1978), 1: 344. Pre-

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By all accounts, the wig was an eminently successful consumer good in eighteenth-century France. Whether or not its diffusion lends credence to the concept of a consumer revolution depends largely on what is meant by the term "revolution." To be sure, there were real social limits to the dissemination of wigs. In urban France, day laborers and the majority of artisans went without wigs, as did the peasantry in the countryside. Only a fraction of the male population ever wore this accessory, a salutary reminder that the eighteenth century was hardly an age of mass consumption.[36]

Still, by early modern standards, the social diffusion of the wig was remarkable. While in the seventeenth century wigs adorned the heads of kings, great nobles, wealthy financiers, and high magistrates, wigs in the eighteenth century spread to provincial nobles, *fermiers*, professionals, merchants, shopkeepers, clerks, and wealthier master artisans—middling groups whose number and purchasing power grew substantially over the century.[37] The breadth of the wig's geographic diffusion is also worth noting. In France, the wig's itinerary ran well beyond Versailles, Paris, and provincial capitals to reach towns and villages deep in the provinces. No peddlers were necessary for this kind of geographic diffusion, since wigmakers established shops and served clients in surprisingly small communities. The question of the wig's chronological development is the most difficult to assess. The wig certainly enjoyed a successful career during the age of Louis XIV, but the key decades for its diffusion appear to be those from the Regency (1715–1723), a period of great consumer vitality, to mid-century, when new and relatively inexpensive styles were widely available.[38] Clearly, by the third quarter of the century, the wig had become a commonplace commodity among a range of middling groups.

The compelling demand for wigs also demonstrates that, in practice, fashion consumption was not always gendered feminine in this period, even if contemporary critics of consumption often characterized it that way.[39] While Roche found that, below the level of nobility, eighteenth-century Parisian women spent twice as much on clothes as did men, it cannot be assumed that such sexual dimorphism extended to other objects of consumption, including hair products and services.[40] Indeed, a

dominantly francophone, Savoy was still an independent duchy in this period. For further provincial evidence, see Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 204; Benoît Garnot, *La culture matérielle en France aux XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1995), 102; Yves Durand, *La société française au XVIII siècle* (Paris, 1992), 177; and Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, archives de la Bastille, 11127, which describes bewigged smugglers in eastern provinces.

[36] It is worth noting that limits on the wig's diffusion had nothing to do with French sumptuary laws, which never targeted wigs and were abandoned in the eighteenth century.

[37] For the rise of purchasing power in France, see Roche, *France in the Enlightenment*, 557–558; Roche, *The People of Paris*, trans. Marie Evans (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), 74–94. For Europe in general, see James C. Riley, "A Widening Market in Consumer Goods," in Euan Cameron, ed., *Early Modern Europe: An Oxford History* (Oxford, 1999), 261–264; and de Vries, "Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods."

[38] The Regency merits closer study as a moment of consumer change. As early as 1720, Étienne Lécuyer de la Jonchère included expenditure on wigs in his example of a townsman's budget; la Jonchère, *Système d'un nouveau gouvernement en France*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1720), 1: 276.

[39] For representations of wayward female consumers in France, see Jennifer Jones, "*Coquettes* and *Grisettes*: Women Buying and Selling in Ancien Régime Paris," in Victoria de Grazia with Ellen Furlough, eds., *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996), 25–52. For the British case, see G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago, 1992), 190–205.

[40] Apart from the years of the Directory, women rarely purchased whole wigs. But increasingly in

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study of male consumption in Hanoverian England suggests that men actively consumed goods that scholars have mistakenly coded as feminine.[41] The demand for men's wigs should alert historians to the dangers of conflating femininity and consumerism.

If the diffusion of the wig illuminates any large-scale transformation in consumption, that transformation was not a sudden, pervasive consumer revolution so much as a steady and unmistakable expansion in a particular type of commodity: the accessory. Economist Ben Fine has argued against the notion of consumer revolution by stressing limits on clothing production in eighteenth-century England, yet even he acknowledges the spectacular growth of the market in secondary accessories.[42] Although fine fabric and other luxury goods remained beyond the reach of the multitude, cheaper secondary accessories became widely available and, to the consternation of many a moralist, helped to change the appearance of the middling and to some extent the lower orders. In the universe of European goods, such accessories came to inhabit an intermediate zone of consumption wedged between aristocratic luxury and popular necessity. While luxury consumption showed no signs of abating in the eighteenth century, the intermediate zone of consumption expanded dramatically to become a prominent and permanent feature of late modern economy and society.[43]

Studies have demonstrated that this middle zone of consumption became increasingly crowded with clothing, furniture, and household furnishings. The example of the wig brings into focus two equally important constellations of intermediate goods: hygienic accessories (toiletries, or what are known today as "personal care products") and portable accessories such as snuffboxes, canes, fans, watches, and umbrellas.[44] Relating to bodily function and appearance—and appealing to both

the second half of the eighteenth century, they hired professional hairdressers who added false hair to their natural coiffures. Until direct comparisons between male and female expenditure have been made, it would be hasty to conclude that women spent more on hair than men. Even the French cosmetics industry was driven in part by male consumers, who bought pomade and powder for wigs as well as cosmetics for their faces. See Morag Martin, "Consuming Beauty: The Commerce of Cosmetics in France, 1750–1800" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Irvine, 1999), 30–31, 122; and Lanoë, "Cosmétiques." Further, if we were to include other objects of consumption such as equipage and furniture, male consumption would likely exceed female consumption. What requires further study is the decision-making process by which households determined what they were going to buy and for whom. For two case studies, see Christine Adams, *A Taste for Comfort and Status: A Bourgeois Family in Eighteenth-Century France* (University Park, Pa., 2000), 38–49, 79; and for England, Amanda Vickery, "Women and the World of Goods," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption in the World of Goods*, 274–301. See also de Vries, "Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods."

[41] Margot Finn, "Men's Things: Masculine Possession in the Consumer Revolution," *Social History* 25 (May 2000): 133–155. Other studies that disrupt the master narrative by which men were supposedly cast as producers and women as consumers include Adams, *A Taste for Comfort*, 38–43; Leora Auslander, "The Gendering of Consumer Practices in Nineteenth-Century France," in de Grazia and Furlough, *The Sex of Things*, 79–112; Crowston, *Fabricating Women*; Garnot, *La culture matérielle*, 108; and Vickery, "Women and the World of Goods."

[42] Fine and Leopold, "Consumerism and the Industrial Revolution." For French accessories, see Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 205, 219; Jones, *Sexing La Mode*, 27–28; and Garnot, *Un Déclin*, 216–226.

[43] For two penetrating analyses of this zone, see Jean-Yves Grenier, "Modèles de la demande sous l'ancien régime," *Annales ESC*, May–June 1987, 497–527; and Jan de Vries, "Luxury in the Dutch Golden Age in Theory and Practice," in Berg and Eger, *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century*, 41–56.

[44] In newspaper advertisements, health products, toiletries, and accessories were objects of greater consumer attention than were clothing, furniture, and household furnishings. See Colin Jones, "The Great Chain of Buying: Medical Advertisement, the Bourgeois Public Sphere, and the Origins of the

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sexes—such accessories became so much a part of the daily lives of eighteenth-century men and women that it would be difficult to write a history of the self in the Enlightenment without acknowledging their proliferation.

HAVING OBSERVED THE RISE OF THE WIG as an object of consumption, it is important that we go on to explore the wig's sociocultural significance. How do we explain the demand for wigs in the eighteenth century? What meanings were attributed to wigs as they spread through the upper and middle sections of the social hierarchy? At first glance, it appears that the wig's diffusion can be explained in terms of consumer emulation. Formulated by Georg Simmel and Thorstein Veblen at the turn of the twentieth century, the emulation thesis holds that men and women's desire to consume stems principally from social rivalry, that is, from the desire to maintain or enhance social status through material display. In modern society, Veblen theorized, the upper class sets the standard of consumption for subordinate classes, which strive to imitate that standard in their pursuit of status.

> In modern civilized communities the lines of demarcation between social classes have grown vague and transient, and wherever this happens the norm of reputability imposed by the upper class extends its coercive influence with but slight hindrance down through the social structure to the lowest strata. The result is that members of each stratum accept as their ideal of decency the scheme of life in vogue in the next higher stratum, and bend their energies to live up to that ideal.[45]

Thanks to the work of sociologist Norbert Elias, the emulation thesis holds a particularly prominent place in the historiography of Old Regime France. Alluding directly to Veblen, Elias explained how "conspicuous consumption" was "an indispensable instrument in maintaining social position, especially when—as is actually the case in this court society—all members of the society are involved in a ceaseless struggle for status and privilege." For Elias, who considered France the quintessential court society, elite values and forms of consumption "constantly percolated downwards" to inferior groups who attempted to imitate their superiors.[46]

Deeply influential, Elias's trickle-down model for the diffusion of courtly norms and behavior has been used to explain patterns in clothing and furniture consumption in the Old Regime,[47] and it may also help to account for the success of the wig.

French Revolution," *AHR* 101, no. 1 (February 1996): 13–40; Martin, "Consuming Beauty," chap. 2; and for Britain, Neil McKendrick, "George Packwood and the Commercialization of Shaving," in McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society*, 146–194.

[45] Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, 1975), 84. The concept of the trickle-down effect is usually attributed to Georg Simmel, "Fashion," *The International Quarterly* 10 (October 1904): 130–155. But similar ideas were articulated in the eighteenth century by Bernard Mandeville, Charles Secondat Montesquieu, and Richard Cantillon.

[46] Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York, 1983), 56 n. 30, 63–65. Elias argued that standards in social conduct also percolated downward. See Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford, 2000), 386–387, 422–436.

[47] Philippe Perrot, *Fashioning the Bourgeoisie: A History of Clothing in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Richard Bienvenu (Princeton, N.J., 1994), chap. 2; Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996), pt. 1; and Rosalind Williams, *Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982), chap. 2. Roche, too, frequently refers to social distinction to explain the spread of fashion, although he rightly criticizes Elias and Perrot for pitting a

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Indeed, given that during the reign of Louis XIV the fashion press itself underscored the influence of the court and the imitative process by which court fashion spread to successive social groups, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that emulation at least partially explains the wig's social trajectory.[48] There was, after all, an ancient association between hair and status. In classical Greece and Rome, where hair symbolized supernatural power, rulers distinguished themselves by displaying abundant and flowing locks. This kind of symbolism continued to operate in the Middle Ages, when long-haired kings and chieftains disgraced political rivals and criminals alike by cropping their hair or shaving their heads.[49] Such age-old understandings of hair were not lost on eighteenth-century men of letters. In a passage that would be paraphrased by other dictionaries and encyclopedias, the entry for hair in Diderot's *Encyclopédie* stated:

> Long hair was a mark of honor and liberty among the ancient Gauls . . . Among the first Franks, and in the beginning of our monarchy, it was a characteristic of princes of the blood . . . Whereas long hair was the mark of royal blood, other subjects wore their hair cut short around their head. Some authors claim that haircuts were more or less short, depending on the degree of inferiority in the ranks; in such a way that the monarch's head of hair became, so to speak, the yardstick of social rank [*l'étalon des conditions*].[50]

If length of hair was a marker of status, the rise of the wig seems easily explicable. In fact, at least one eighteenth-century fashion historian, Guillaume Molé, suggested that Louis XIII had tapped into this ancient association between hair and status when, as a young man, he let his natural hair grow long. As he grew older and began to suffer from premature balding, he resorted to wearing a wig, a practice that his courtiers were quick to emulate.[51] Once the wig became fashionable at court, the emulation thesis holds, it would have become an object of desire among lesser social groups—country nobles, merchants and professionals, and even well-off artisans—who sought to confer a degree of dignity upon themselves by imitating their superiors. To borrow the language of economists, the wig seems to have been a much-

declining aristocracy against a rising bourgeoisie. See Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 42–43, 56–57, 185, 295, 308, 360, 509.

[48] See *Mercure Galant* 3 (1673): 322–324; and Jones, *Sexing La Mode*, pt. 1. A well-known 1671 civility manual by Antoine de Courtin, *Nouveau traité de la civilité*, encouraged readers who did not have direct access to court to find people who did and imitate them (1728 ed., 127).

[49] H. P. L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture* (New Rochelle, N.Y., 1982), 30–34; Fabrice Virgili, *Shorn Women: Gender and Punishment in Liberation France*, trans. John Flower (Oxford, 2002), 181–186. A critical site for personal honor in the Middle Ages, the head became a special object of attention in early modern civility manuals. Sarah-Grace Heller, "Anxiety, Hierarchy, and Appearance in Thirteenth-Century Sumptuary Laws and the *Roman de la rose*," *French Historical Studies* 27 (Spring 2004): 334–335; Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 372–373; Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, trans. Caroline Beamish (New Haven, Conn., 1997).

[50] Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, eds., *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts, et des métiers*, 17 vols. (Paris, 1751–1765), s.v. "cheveux." For paraphrased statements, see Philippe Macquer, ed., *Dictionnaire raisonné universel des arts et métiers* (Paris, 1773), 436; and MM. Hurtaut and Magny, *Dictionnaire historique de la ville de Paris et de ses environs*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1779), 4: 14.

[51] [Guillaume François Roger Molé], *Histoire des modes françaises* (Amsterdam, 1773), 108–113. An alternate story of the wig's origins has the abbé de la Rivière appearing at the court of Louis XIII in 1620 with a full wig of blond hair. Four years later, the king took a wig as well, and the accessory became a success. See Diderot and d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie*, s.v. "perruque"; [Deguerle], *Éloge des perruques* (Paris, [1799]), 6–7; Woodforde, *The Strange Story of False Hair*, 14–15; and J. Quicherat, *Histoire du costume en France* (Paris, 1877), 514.

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desired "positional good"—a good that positions its owner or user in a given social order.

There is doubtless much truth to this interpretation of the wig's meaning. In 1666, on the far side of the English Channel, Samuel Pepys, a man of middling background and great social ambition, bought an expensive wig and "made a great show of it" in church.[52] Pepys's diary makes it clear that showing off his new wig was part of a larger strategy by which he aimed to enter respectable society. Similarly, it appears that wealthier artisans in France wore wigs to bolster their social position with respect to other city dwellers. How else to interpret the fact that Parisian baker Jean-Baptiste Hornet donned his wig before making rounds to settle accounts with his customers?[53] In all likelihood, he believed that his wig would enhance the cut of his figure and help him make a more imposing impression on his debtors. And how else to read the warning delivered by a disgruntled journeyman to a master baker that the journeymen "had had his hat during the past year, and now they wanted his wig"?[54] In this verbal threat, the wig undoubtedly served as a symbol of status.

Pictorial evidence also suggests that the wig was a positional good. One 1776 fashion pamphlet depicts men of descending social and professional status wearing different kinds of wigs or no wigs at all.[55] The seigneur, bishop, nobleman, magistrate, financier, abbé, bourgeois, and doctor all wear wig styles appropriate to their station. The artisan and gardener have natural hair under their hats. And the bald beggar exhibits an absence of hair altogether. Likewise, the 1783 engraving by J. L. Delignon titled *Le Seigneur chez son fermier* contrasts a bewigged landlord, dressed in fashionable attire, and a wigless tenant, bald and wearing an out-of-fashion coat.[56] If, as these images suggest, the wig was principally a marker of social status, a positional good, then it is not unreasonable to conclude that its downward social diffusion was driven by a process of emulation.

We should be careful not to press the emulation thesis too far, however, for the thesis has taken a severe beating in recent years. Historians, sociologists, anthropologists, and philosophers alike have criticized status-oriented approaches to consumption for being too narrow.[57] It is not so much that the emulation thesis is wrong per se, critics argue, but that in light of the plurality of meanings that consumers attribute to possessions, the thesis is insufficient. In addition to social identity, goods communicate messages about sexuality, nationalism, ethnicity, and individual identity; they trigger memory, mark stages in the life cycle, and bestow special meaning

[52] Woodforde, *The Strange Story of False Hair*, 24.

[53] Kaplan, *The Bakers of Paris*, 350.

[54] Michael Sonenscher, *The Hatters of Eighteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), 16.

[55] *Les Costumes françois representans les differens états du royaume avec les habillements propres à chaque état* (Paris, 1776).

[56] For additional illustrations contrasting bewigged nobleman with wigless (often bald) commoners, see BN, *Cabinet des Estampes*, Collection de Vinck, vol. 12, nos. 2017, 2055, 2062–2063; and Collection Henin, vol. 100, no. 8676, and vol. 117, nos. 10237–10238.

[57] Critics of the emulation thesis include historians Maxine Berg, Laurence Fontaine, Richard Goldthwaite, Dena Goodman, Colin Jones, Jennifer Jones, Giovanni Levi, Stana Nenadic, Daniel Purdy, Woodruff Smith, Amanda Vickery, and Lorna Weatherill; sociologist Colin Campbell; anthropologists Grant McCracken and Daniel Miller; and philosopher Gilles Lipovetsky. Although Pierre Bourdieu's momentous *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (London, 1984), seems to reinforce the emulation thesis insofar as it stresses consumption's role in social differentiation, the book demonstrates that lower social groups are not necessarily inclined to imitate their sociocultural superiors.

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on particular rituals and ceremonies. Thus, in pursuing the meaning of the wig, it may be helpful to consider interpretations beyond simple status-based theses. Freeing the wig from the constraints of the emulation thesis opens up new possibilities of interpretation.

One way to get at additional meanings attributed to wigs is to consider how taste leaders characterized specific changes in wig fashion. By "taste leaders," I mean self-proclaimed experts who, participating in the century's flourishing public sphere, used the printed word to influence consumer practices or to shape understandings of changes in fashion.[58] The taste leaders under consideration here fall into two groups, neither of which had strong ties to the court. The first group includes writers, from *philosophes* to fashion critics, who published on the subject of wigs in the second half of the eighteenth century. It does not include the small number of moralists who denounced wigs in categorical terms, completely dismissing them as a sign of mounting luxury and effeminacy.[59] The focus here is on the many more writers who engaged with wig fashion, seeking to interpret and guide it even as they criticized it. Such writers implicitly legitimated the wig's diffusion as they offered a range of commentary on its meaning.

Embedded in the world of commercial practice, the second group of taste leaders—producers of wigs themselves—brings us closer to comprehending how ordinary consumers understood wigs. It is possible to learn how wigmakers shaped the meaning of their products by analyzing the advertisements they placed in the burgeoning corpus of provincial and Parisian newspapers. By the late eighteenth century, in addition to long-time Parisian newspapers such as the *Mercure de France*, France produced around forty provincial advertiser-newspapers, which according to one estimate reached a readership of between 50,000 and 200,000, "and maybe many more."[60] In advertising their goods and services in provincial and Parisian newspapers, wigmakers articulated a particular set of consumer values that aimed to enhance the appeal of wigs.

How did taste leaders characterize wigs and wig fashion? Unlike their forebears in the fashion press of the late seventeenth century, taste leaders in the second half of the eighteenth century seldom spoke of wigs in terms of status or emulation. Instead, they distanced the wig from its courtly origins and from issues of social competition to set it in three alternative contexts: convenience, nature, and physiognomy. To discuss wigs in such contexts was to carve out a set of consumer values that evoked a new age of consumption.

The concept of "convenience" (*la commodité*) was central to the eighteenth-cen-

[58] I borrow the concept of taste leader from Frank Mort, *Cultures of Consumption: Masculinities and Social Space in Late Twentieth-Century Britain* (London, 1996), 8. Referring to professional marketers and advertisers, Mort writes: "These experts claim to provide answers to a set of pressing questions about the disintegration of established consumer patterns and the emergence of new ones."

[59] My aim in excluding such writers is not to deny their existence but to restore some balance to French fashion scholarship, which places undue emphasis on such moralists as Rousseau and Mercier. Few writers completely rejected wigs in the name of sexual differentiation. The earliest tract of this sort that I found was *Sur la coiffure et la perruque des petits-maîtres* (Paris, 1723). Later in the century, Mercier lambasted men for imitating "women in this art of curling, which effeminates and denatures us." Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, chap. 32.

[60] Jones, "The Great Chain of Buying," 18–19. Jones argues that this readership was composed principally of the middling sort, but he acknowledges that nobles, artisans, shopkeepers, and domestic servants also read the *Affiches*. I am grateful to Morag Martin for helping me locate wig advertisements.

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tury luxury debates.[61] Defending luxury against traditional critiques, pro-luxury writers strategically linked luxury to the less threatening notion of convenience, which they defined as the quality by which an object provided ease and pleasantness or relieved one of physical burden. Associating luxury with its benign cousin convenience, apologists argued that luxury posed no moral threat to society.

Emphasis on convenience was not limited to the luxury debates, however. Indeed, a similar language of convenience was employed to define a host of new consumer goods, from novel forms of architecture and furniture to clothing and, yes, wigs.[62] In the case of wigs, eighteenth-century commentators asserted that wearing someone else's hair was far more convenient than caring for one's own. "The convenience of wigs has made wearing them a nearly universal custom," observed classicist and teacher Jean Deguerle.[63] If Deguerle failed to mention why he thought wigs were so convenient, the *Encyclopédie méthodique* explained that wigs possessed several advantages over natural hair, "one of the greatest of which is to relieve men of daily cares."[64] In an age when civility manuals prescribed the perpetual cleaning, combing, and styling of hair, it was easier to have your head shaved and don a wig than to groom your own hair, particularly when your local wigmaker could service your wig for a small fee.[65]

The concept of convenience inevitably arose whenever taste leaders contrasted the full-bottom wigs of Louis XIV's reign to the new styles introduced since the Regency. The dominant style from the 1660s to 1715, the full-bottom reached its height, literally, in the second half of the reign of Louis XIV. An impressively large and dramatic wig, it was marked by several distinguishing characteristics: a central part, high side peaks, and, most notably, long, flowing hair down the front, side, and back. (See Figure 1.) Full-bottoms were so large that one wig could require up to

[61] Michael Kwass, "Ordering the World of Goods: Consumer Revolution and the Classification of Objects in Eighteenth-Century France," *Representations* 82 (Spring 2003): 87–116.

[62] As applied to consumer goods, the French idea of convenience was similar but not identical to the British notion of comfort. John E. Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America* (Baltimore, Md., 2001); Woodruff D. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600–1800* (New York, 2002), 83–86. Whereas English comfort pertained principally to residential architecture and furniture, French convenience applied to a wide variety of goods and services. In the home, *les commodités* denoted improvements ranging from ventilation to the addition of small functional rooms (such as toilettes and closets) to the use of specialized furniture such as cushioned chamber pots (Georges Vigarello, *Histoire des pratiques de santé* [Paris, 1999], 176–177; Pardailhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy*, 143–144). *Chaises de commodité*, adjustable reclining chairs, appeared in noble households in the late seventeenth century (Donna Bohanon, "Furnishings de Commodité" [unpublished paper, 2005]), while the *commode* became a popular fixture in Parisian households during the eighteenth century (Roche, *A History of Everyday Things: The Birth of Consumption in France, 1600–1800*, trans. Brian Pearce [Cambridge, 2000], 176). One mid-century dress with rigid panniers was named *paniers à commodité* because women could rest their elbows on them (Jacques Ruppert, *Le Costume: Époques Louis XIV et Louis XV* [Paris, 1990], 48). The same sort of convenience applied to the *robe retroussée dans les poches*, a dress whose back could be stuffed into skirt pockets to allow for freer movement. Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 39.

[63] Deguerle, *Éloge des perruques*, 34. See also Diderot and d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie*, s.v. "cheveux"; Alfred Franklin, *La vie privée d'autrefois* (Paris, 1887), 61; Macquer, *Dictionnaire raisonné*, 436; and Samuel Pepys, cited in Woodforde, *The Strange Story of False Hair*, 22–23.

[64] *Encyclopédie méthodique: Arts et métiers mécaniques*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1783–1790), 6: s.v. "perruquier."

[65] Jean-Baptiste de la Salle, *Les Règles de la bienséance* (1703), in *Cahiers lasalliens* 19 (Rome): 6; and Courtin, *Nouveau traité de la civilité*, 129–130. The wigmaker Le Tellier appears to have charged three or four *livres* for occasional maintenance. AD Seine-Maritime, EP 130.

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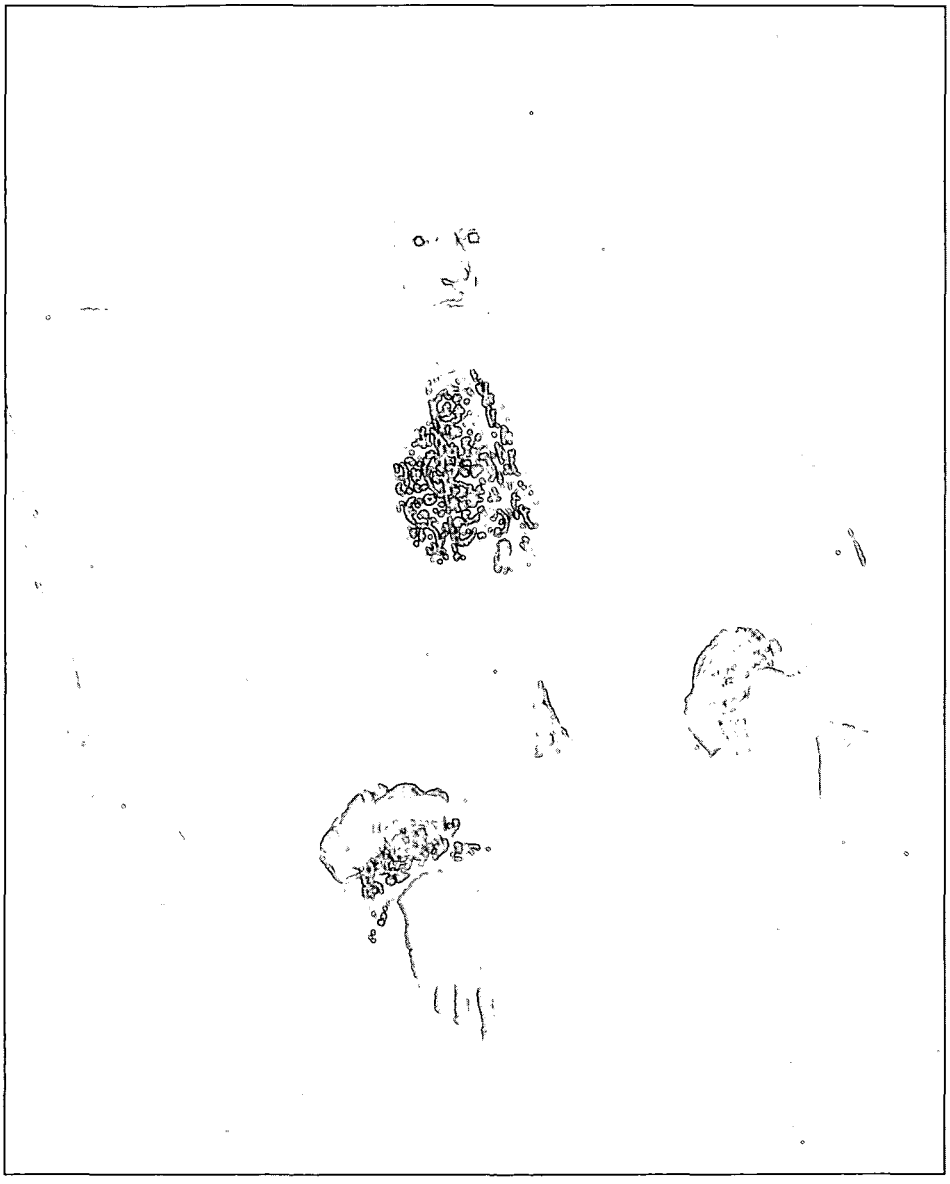


FIGURE 1: The full-bottom wig. Pierre Mignard, *Portrait de Colbert de Villacerf*, c. 1685. Reproduced by permission of La Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York.

ten heads of hair.[66] From the Regency on, however, the wig diversified. Long wigs continued to be worn for courtly ceremonies, but they were joined by an array of shorter and neater styles, including *perruques en bonnet*, *à bourse*, *à noueds*, and *à cadogan*.[67] The mid-century account book of the Rouen wigmaker Le Tellier lists

[66] Woodforde, *The Strange Story of False Hair*, 29. Louis XIV's wigmaker, Binet, famously declared that he would strip the heads of every subject to cover that of the sovereign. Diderot and d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie*, s.v. "perruque." The hair used in wigs came from women who apparently sold their hair to traders at provincial fairs. Although forbidden by guilds, hair from horses and goats was occasionally used. AN, F-12 99, 471–475.

[67] Hence, one 1775 Paris guidebook lists a wigmaker who fabricated both "les Perruques longues,

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several different models within a range of prices.[68] The least expensive (12–20 *livres*) and most popular was the *perruque en bonnet*, the round wig that many gentleman farmers, bourgeois, doctors, surgeons, and guild masters wore;[69] this was the wig that Rousseau adopted when he quit Parisian high society for the simple life of the countryside. The *perruque à bourse* or bagwig was also popular and relatively inexpensive, although the kingdom's elite were known to wear elegant versions of it as well. The most expensive wig that Le Tellier sold was the *perruque à noueds* (27–35 *livres*), which featured knotted hair hanging down the back.[70] All of these models marked a general evolution in the wig away from the large and expensive full-bottom toward smaller and less expensive styles. Even when hair on the new wigs remained long, it was pulled back in tails or knots or stuffed into bags.

According to Diderot, who penned the article "perruque" for the *Encyclopédie*, the old full-bottom wigs of Louis XIV's reign were excessively puffy, ridiculously long in front and in back, and prohibitively expensive (up to a thousand *écus*). Nothing about them compared favorably to the "convenient" wigs of his own day.[71] Countless other fashion critics agreed, including the prolific observer of French customs Louis-Antoine Caraccioli: "the wigs of the last century had an immensity that covered at least half of the body: those of today have a much more elegant air."[72] Size no longer mattered; convenience and style were what distinguished contemporary wigs.[73]

To drive their point home, taste leaders drew an analogy between the wig and another consumer good that diversified after the reign of Louis XIV: the book.[74] The full-bottom wigs of Louis XIV's reign were commonly called *in-folios*, in reference to the bulky, oversized tomes of the past. Louis-François Métra, for example, used this metaphor to describe the famous wig collection of Antoine-Gabriel de Sartine, navy minister and former lieutenant-general of the Paris police, a position that involved the regulation of the capital's book trade: "The collection of his wigs, *in-folio* as well as *in-quarto* and *in-douze*, large and small format, some more square than others, amount to sixty or eighty pieces of the most beautiful selection and highest

de Cour & de cérémonie" and "les perruques à bourse." [Roze de Chantoiseau], *Premier Trimestre: Tablettes Royales de Renommee* (Paris, 1775), 61–63. Louis XIV wore a short wig for his *lever* but replaced it with longer ones for the rest of his day. Franklin, *La vie privée d'autrefois*, 63.

[68] AD Seine-Maritime, EP 130.

[69] Moriceau, *Fermiers*, 762; [Jacques-Antoine Dulaure], *Pogonologie, ou histoire philosophique de la barbe* (Constantinople and Paris, 1786), 12.

[70] The *Almanach parisien*, 162, lists *perruques nouées* for roughly the same price, from thirty to thirty-six *livres*. Another relatively expensive wig among Le Tellier's offerings was the *perruque quarrée*, which, at twenty-four *livres*, featured two long tails in back and was the wig of choice for magistrates.

[71] Diderot and d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie*, s.v. "perruque." Although Diderot signed his name to the entry, Quicherat (575) claims that the Parisian wigmakers' guild supplied the essay.

[72] Louis-Antoine Caraccioli, *Dictionnaire critique, pittoresque et sentencieux* (Lyon, 1768), s.v. "perruquier," 226–227. See also Dulaure, *Pogonologie*, 8; François-A. de Garsault, *Art du perruquier* (s.l., 1767), chaps. 3 and 7; Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, chap. 491; *L'Encyclopédie méthodique*, s.v. "perruquier"; C. S. Walther, *Manuel de la toilette et de la mode*, 3 vols. (Dresde, 1771–1780), 2: pt. V, chap. 2, 11–14, 27.

[73] Thus, fashion magazines at the end of the Old Regime explained that the number of side curls, rather than length and fullness, distinguished formal from informal wigs. See *Magasin des modes nouvelles françaises et anglaises* (January 1, 1789, planche II). Helen Clifford, " 'Fashion is superior to merit': Silverware and Its Substitutes in the Second Half of the 18th Century," in Coquerie et al., *Artisans, industrie*, 367–383, notes a similar development in British household metal objects, namely that style became more highly valued than intrinsic worth.

[74] The diversification of the book is described in Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier, eds., *Histoire de l'édition française*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1984), 2: 120–139.

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quality."[75] To fashion critics, *in-folios*—both the books and the wigs—seemed excessively formal, expensive, heavy, and unwieldy. By contrast, the smaller, lightweight, cheaper, and more portable models that were introduced after the reign of Louis XIV stood for a new age in which convenience had taken the place of excessive baroque display. One fashion editor portrayed this transformation in the following terms: "Men of the court, Merchants, and Financiers judged that it was time to abdicate great heads of hair. Louis XIV, who loved them so much, no longer existed: a young prince ascended the throne, and the in-folio wigs were disgraced. New editions were made, which were more convenient, more portable; hence the wigs à queue, à bourse, à l'Espagnole, à la Financière, & others whose names have not come down to us."[76]

The bagwig, which Diderot called "the most modern" of all, became emblematic of this transition.[77] (See Figure 2.) Describing the convenience of post-Regency wigs, fashion critic Guillaume Molé explained that the bagwig was at first worn only while traveling, running morning errands, or getting around in the rain—all informal activities that required a great deal of movement; it was considered "indecent" to appear in a bagwig before *les Grands* or in public ceremonies.[78] But because "the invention appeared convenient," editor Conrad Walther explained, "men desired to make use of it." "With time, bagwigs acquired some consideration: they were allowed to appear in the best company" and eventually became the standard for fashionable dress.[79] Thus, the wig that toppled the *in-folio* had its origins not in the stiff and conspicuous public ceremony of the royal court, but rather in the less formal hustle and bustle of daily life under the Regency.[80] By mid-century, the bagwig had become one of the most popular wigs on the market, a sign for taste leaders of the material and aesthetic progress of their age.[81]

The idea of convenience was not simply a product of the fertile imaginations of fashion observers. Looking to attract customers, wigmakers themselves exploited the concept in advertisements. In growing numbers of provincial and Parisian newspa-

[75] François Métra, *Correspondance secréte, politique et litéraire*, 18 vols. (1787–1790; repr., Geneva, 1967), 2: 289.

[76] Walther, *Manuel de la toilette*, 2: pt. V, chap. 2, 28.

[77] Diderot and d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie*, s.v. "perruque."

[78] [Molé], *Histoire des modes françaises*, 119–120; Molé is paraphrased in Walther, *Manuel de la toilette*, 2: pt. V, chap. 2, 15; and *Magasin des modes nouvelles françaises et anglaises*, January 1, 1789. The bagwig began as an element of informal, private morning wear but gradually spread to more formal, public gatherings in the afternoon and evening. Men's frock coats and women's mantuas and *robe volantes* underwent a similar evolution, suggesting a pattern of movement from private to public life. Philip Mansel, *Dressed to Rule* (New Haven, Conn., 2005), chap. 4; and Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 34–37.

[79] Walther, *Manuel de la toilette*, 2: pt. V, chap. 2, 15. Walther explained the earlier fashion for knotted wigs in similar terms. Because fashion-conscious young men disliked the "inconveniences" of great heads of hair, they began to knot their hair in back during the summer and then all year round. The style soon caught on.

[80] For the rectitude of the court, see Georges Vigarello, "The Upward Training of the Body from the Age of Chivalry to Courtly Civility," in Michel Feher, ed., *Fragments for a History of the Human Body* (New York, 1989), 148–199. The civility expert de la Salle made it clear that convenience had no place in traditional court propriety; *Règles de la Bienséance*, 2, 9, 54–57, 69.

[81] For the success of the bagwig, see AD Seine-Maritime, 5 EP 130; J. Berthelé, ed., *Montpellier en 1768* (Montpellier, 1909), 148–149; and AM Nantes, HH 92, guild deliberations, 1748–1767, which reveal that bagwigs were a standard model for *chefs d'ouevre*. References to bagwigs were also prevalent in wig advertisements.

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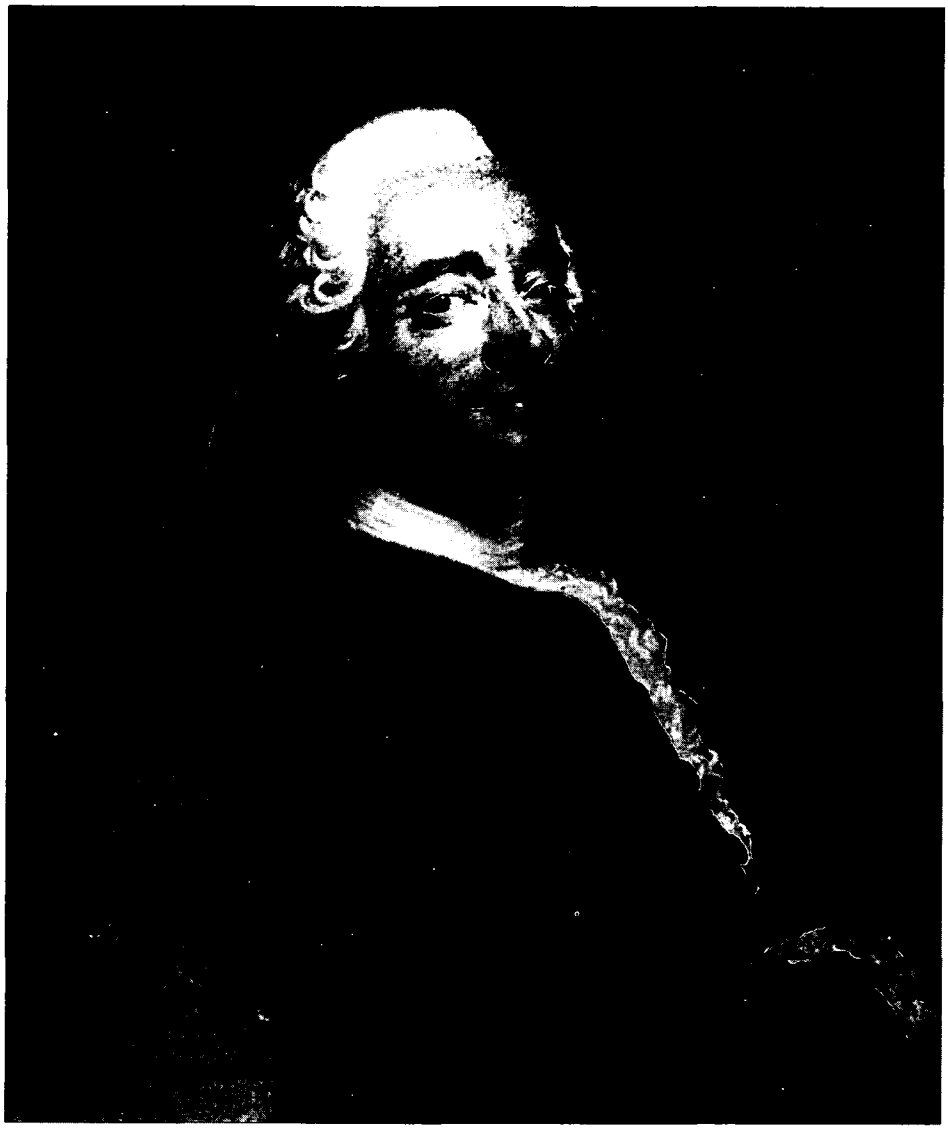


FIGURE 2: The bagwig. Maurice Quentin de La Tour (1704–1788), *Autoportrait*, pastel sur papier, Amiens, Musée de Picardie (cliché x). Reproduced by permission.

pers, wigmakers touted the "convenience" that new designs and technical improvements afforded wig wearers. Echoing a medical literature that sought to free the body from constrictive attire, one type of convenience that wigmakers were particularly keen to underscore was the comfort and free movement of the head.[82] In typical fashion, the Parisian wigmaker Neuhaus announced the invention of a new "elastic skin that grips the wig" without any irritating loops or garters. "This skin has the softness of velvet, & does not at all inconvenience the head, of which it follows every movement."[83] While Neuhaus's wigs were promoted as flexible and soft, other ad-

[82] Nicole Pellegrin, "L'Uniforme de la santé: Les médecins et la réforme du costume," *Dix-Huitième Siècle* 23 (1991): 129–140.

[83] *Annonces, affiches et avis divers*, March 8, 1777.

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vertisements featured a range of design modifications that enhanced convenience: ointments that attached wigs to the head without melting or otherwise bothering clients, wigs stripped of ribbons that cut off the circulation of blood or irritated the skin, and wigs (*à mouvement naturel*) that were comfortable enough to sleep in.

In a similar vein, wigmakers designed wigs to withstand the inconveniences of bad weather. One master was reportedly working on a kind of sports wig that protected the wearer while keeping its shape in water and wind, the perfect accessory for "hunters, horse people, travelers, couriers, men of the sea, finally for all those who expose themselves to inclement weather." Likewise, "economical wigs" made of iron thread were designed to withstand rain, wind, and hail, all without causing the wearer any pain or discomfort.[84]

Far from an object of Veblen-style conspicuous consumption, then, the post–Louis Quatorze wig was, according to taste leaders, an accessory of convenience. Rather than casting the wig as a positional good, taste leaders highlighted the physical ease and personal utility that present-day wigs afforded. While fashion critics argued that the convenience of wigs signaled the coming of a healthy, utilitarian aesthetic of consumption, wigmakers exploited the concept of convenience to market wigs to what had become a relatively broad customer base. Indeed, the emphasis that taste leaders placed on convenience suggests that utility should not be understood, as many economists today understand it, as an innate quality that inheres in certain goods, but rather as a consumer value that has its own history. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the value of utility was represented as one of the principal goals of consumption, even consumption well above the level of subsistence.

It is tempting to interpret this shift toward convenience in wigs as an early sign of what J. C. Flügel famously dubbed "the great masculine renunciation."[85] According to Flügel, after the French Revolution, bourgeois men rejected extravagant dress in favor of simple, dark, sober costume that symbolized the denial of beauty and pleasure and the acceptance of duty, self-control, and work. Women, by contrast, continued to wear colorful and ostentatious clothing, becoming the principal agents of conspicuous consumption. Elaborating on Flügel's theory, historians of dress and gender have extended its reach deeper into the eighteenth century, relating it to prerevolutionary prescriptions for greater sexual differentiation and for a sharper division between a male public and female private sphere.[86]

Although the wigs of the eighteenth century did indeed stand in marked contrast to the extravagant full-bottoms of the past, their evolution challenges variations on the Flügel thesis. First, taste leaders who applauded the convenience of new wigs did not aim to renounce pleasure and embrace sobriety. On the contrary, convenience was meant to enhance pleasure and beauty, setting newly designed wigs apart from their clumsy, hulking forebears. The explicit renunciation of an older courtly aesthetic in the name of convenience preceded and was qualitatively different from the more austere renunciation that would occur in the nineteenth century. Further, convenience was not a strictly gendered concept, since women as well as men were

[84] Garsault, *Art du perruquier*, 28–29. See also Walther, *Manuel de la toilette*, 2: pt. V, chap. 2, 29–30; [Roze de Chantoiseau], *Premier Trimestre*, 61–63; and [Molé], *Histoire des modes françaises*, 304–305.

[85] J. C. Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes* (London, 1950), 110–119.

[86] For variations on the Flügel thesis, see note 9.

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expected to participate in the new aesthetic. Little in the language of taste leaders suggests that convenience was a distinctively masculine attribute.[87] Current research on the French Revolution provides additional reasons to avoid projecting nineteenth-century gender ideology back onto the prerevolutionary period. The consensus that the Revolution by its very nature excluded women from politics and the public sphere, relegating them to a separate private realm, has been fatally challenged.[88] The most exclusive forms of masculine citizenship, it now appears, developed only very late in the Revolution (during the Directory, but especially during the Consulate and Empire) in reaction to women's civil gains. Work on masculinity and dress also reveals that the deepest transformations in masculinity occurred when French society was militarized under Napoleon.[89] This historiographical shift has important implications for gender and consumption in the prerevolutionary period, because it makes it difficult to speak of a monolithic "Age of Revolution," spanning from Rousseau to the 1804 civil code, that founded the ideology and practice of separate spheres. Indeed, in terms of consumer culture, the emphasis on convenience suggests that the period from the Regency to the Revolution should be treated as a distinct epoch, one that was moving beyond courtly forms of consumption but was not necessarily dominated by the rigid understandings of gender that would prevail in the next century.

Convenience was not the only value stressed by eighteenth-century taste leaders. They also described the evolution of the wig in the context of nature. Historians have noted that from the 1770s into the Revolution, the concept of nature, which was central to Enlightenment philosophy, spilled into the commercial domain, where

[87] Compared to men's short and tidy wigs, the towering female hairdos of the late 1770s suggest a divergence in masculine and feminine appearance, but such notoriously extravagant coiffures as the *Belle-Poulle* were worn only by courtiers for special occasions. In general, the rise and fall of women's hair paralleled that of men's, as the high styles of the reign of Louis XIV gave way to simpler fashions. See Legros, *L'Art de la coëffure des dames françoises* (Paris, 1768); Baronne d'Oberkirch, *Mémoires*, 295–296; Richard Corson, *Fashions in Hair: The First Five Thousand Years* (New York, 1965), chaps. 8 and 11; and Françoise Vittu, "1780–1804 ou vingt ans de 'révolution des têtes françaises,'" in Delpierre, *Modes & révolutions*. In dress, the trend toward simplicity, comfort, and lightness encompassed feminine as well as masculine clothing, which may explain why certain fashions (the frock coat, riding habits) could migrate from male to female wardrobes. One male hairstyle, the *cadogan*, was even adopted by women.

[88] Formed largely around Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), the consensus has not survived the scrutiny of two formidable works: Suzanne Desan, *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France* (Berkeley, Calif., 2004); and Carla Hesse, *The Other Enlightenment: How French Women Became Modern* (Princeton, N.J., 2001). Focusing on social and literary practices (rather than prescriptive representations), both works demonstrate that women possessed an active voice during much of the Revolution.

[89] André Rauch, *Le premier sexe* (Paris, 2000), argues that the nineteenth-century model of masculinity was based on Napoleonic notions of martial virility and, increasingly after 1830, professional bourgeois respectability. For changes in gender and citizenship under Napoleon, see Jennifer Heuer, *The Family and the Nation* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2005). The militarization of masculine dress and the proliferation of uniforms during and after the Empire is discussed in Mansel, *Dressed to Rule*, chaps. 4 and 5; Richard Wrigley, *The Politics of Appearances* (Oxford, 2002), 266–267; and Perrot, *Fashioning the Bourgeoisie*, 136, 163. For the psychological theory supporting postrevolutionary bourgeois masculinity, see Jan Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self: Politics and Psyche in France, 1750–1850* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005), chap. 4. According to William Reddy, male impulses to exclude women "were not, as Joan Landes has implied, primarily of Rousseauian origin, but dated from the Napoleonic years" and "seemed to grow stronger as the nineteenth century developed." Reddy, *The Invisible Code: Honor and Sentiment in Postrevolutionary France, 1814–1848* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 229. Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, Conn., 2004), suggests that gender boundaries in England did not harden until 1780–1800.

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new clothing fashions were taking on a simpler, natural look.[90] Even wigs, which we might expect to have been associated with Old Regime artifice and frivolity, were cast in this discourse of nature. François-Antoine de Garsault, for example, began his manual on the craft of wigmaking with the usual disparaging remarks about full-bottom wigs. In the infancy of the craft, he wrote, "people were so enamored [of wigs] that they could never have enough hair on their heads. The wigs were immense in width & in length, & sooner depicted the face of a bear or lion than the form of a human head." By the 1760s, however, the art of wigmaking had completely changed. To make a wig today, Garsault explained, "is to construct a kind of skin, through which one attaches and arranges curly or straight hair so artistically that, when placed on the head, it appears to be real. It is a matter here of imitating *la belle nature*."[91] The phrase *la belle nature* invoked an eighteenth-century aesthetic principle by which the arts were understood to represent the reality of nature. For Garsault, wigmakers were imitating artists who were depicting nature.

Hardly dabblers in aesthetic theory, wigmakers characterized their work in similar if simpler terms: they claimed that they were imitating nature directly. In fact, more than any other single theme, the theme of nature dominated wig advertisements. As early as 1754, well before the shift to more natural dress, a wigmaker named Sarriere claimed that his wigs "perfectly imitate natural hair"—a claim that would become a formula for wig advertising in the final decades of the Old Regime.[92] This trend was exemplified by the entrepreneurial efforts of a master wigmaker named Chaumont, the guild's most active advertiser, who moved his shop to the fashionable St. Honoré quarter. In a series of advertisements from the 1760s to the 1780s, Chaumont promoted several technical innovations that allowed him "to imitate nature perfectly in all wigs, notably those with bags."[93] Most of these innovations involved making the front piece of the wig, the toupet, meet the forehead and temples in such a seamless manner that the bewigged man's hair would look entirely natural. By reducing the thickness of the toupet (using a technique that, Chaumont claimed, had won the approval of the Royal Academy of Science) and artfully effacing its front edge, Chaumont produced wigs that "make allusion to the best planted head of hair."[94] By 1788, Chaumont had discovered a way to eliminate all edging and fabric from his toupets so that "one could not distinguish any difference between the uniformity of Nature and the perfection of the Craft."[95]

Wigmakers' ubiquitous appeal to nature points to two conclusions. First, it sug-

[90] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, chap. 6; Jones, *Sexing La Mode*, chap. 6; Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 43–47, 63, 71–73.

[91] Garsault, *Art du perruquier*, 5. Mercier makes a similar observation: "Only a century ago the wig was a rare and costly ornament . . . Today, without ruining oneself, one crowns his top with a false head of hair for four pistoles; and this wig is better made, better fitting, and imitates natural hair to the point where you can't tell them apart"; *Tableau de Paris*, chap. 491.

[92] *Annonces, affiches et avis divers*, October 7, 1754. The idea of natural clothing arose at mid-century, Roche explains in *The Culture of Clothing*, chap. 15, but the practice of wearing natural clothes seems to have followed the natural turn in wigs and cosmetics. Martin, "Consuming Beauty," 141–157, 213–217.

[93] *Mercure de France*, April 1767. Diderot and d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie* (s.v. "perruque"), also deemed the bagwig the most natural-looking.

[94] *Mercure de France*, June 1775. See also the *Mercure* of April 1774, January 1776, and November 22, 1788, and *L'Avant-Coureur* of March 16, 1767, and February 27, 1769.

[95] *Mercure de France*, November 22, 1788. Other wigmakers featured similar techniques to make wigs indistinguishable from natural hair. See, for example, the advertisements by Boqueton and Martine in *Avis divers*, June 14, 1777, and January 3, 1778.

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gests a modification of the argument put forward by Jennifer Jones, that the fashion press of the late eighteenth century assuaged moral concerns about the excesses of fashion by relegating fashion to a circumscribed feminine domain.[96] The case of the wig suggests that fashion was tamed not so much by turning it into a purely feminine affair but by rooting consumer goods—masculine as well as feminine—in nature. In a world that was changing with worrisome speed, the idea that goods were somehow natural may have provided consumers with a degree of ontological security. Second, the appeal to the natural suggests a connection between consumerism and authenticity, a connection that goes to the very heart of contemporary Western consumer culture.[97] Although in the eighteenth century, moralists such as Rousseau criticized the growth of consumption by positing the existence of a natural authentic self that was increasingly vulnerable to corruption and luxury, the concept of natural authenticity did not necessarily undercut the century's consumption. On the contrary, in the case of wigs, taste leaders actively appropriated the idea. Equating authenticity with bodily verisimilitude, they asserted that new techniques of production not only repaired nature's defects or enhanced her endowments, but made such improvements look genuinely natural. False hair now looked authentic. In this respect, the wig came to be considered as much a prosthesis as an article of fashion. As one critic put it, "Our way of dressing ourselves, of styling our hair, & of wearing our shoes, is more analogous to the construction of our body than it has ever been."[98] Authenticity was to be grounded in the body, including its hair. In an age when the *literati* sought natural forms of religion, history, law, and philosophy, taste leaders promoted a similar turn in the commercial domain, establishing an odd yet enduring link between modern consumption and the pursuit of authenticity.

If the new wigs of the eighteenth century were deemed more convenient and natural than the old *in-folios*, they were also understood to be more suitable for expressing individual character. Indeed, when framing the meaning of wigs, taste leaders consistently alluded to physiognomy, "the art of knowing the *moeurs*, the inclinations of people through inspection of the face."[99] It has been claimed that after receiving much attention in the seventeenth century, physiognomy fell out of favor until the 1770s, when Lavater and others turned the art into a science.[100] Yet, far from stagnating earlier in the eighteenth century, the physiognomical belief that facial features expressed one's moral and psychological essence thrived in works of literature and in the domain of commerce.[101] Well before Lavater's works appeared, taste leaders emphasized that instead of burying men's faces, as had the old *in-folios*, the wigs of their day expressed individual character by accenting one's facial "air."[102]

[96] Jones, *Sexing La Mode*, 180.

[97] Celia Lury, *Consumer Culture* (Cambridge, 1996); Miles Orvell, *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880–1940* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1989), pt. 3; and Jennifer Price, *Flight Maps: Adventures with Nature in Modern America* (New York, 1999).

[98] Walther, *Manuel de la toilette*, 2: pt. VI, chap. 9, 59–60.

[99] *Dictionnaire de L'Académie française*, 1st ed. (1694), s.v. "physionomie."

[100] Jean-Claude Courtine and Claudine Haroche, *Histoire du visage: Exprimer et taire ses émotions XVIe-début XIX siècle* (Paris, 1988), 117.

[101] For literature, see Christopher Rivers, *Face Value: Physiognomical Thought and the Legible Body in Marivaux, Lavater, Balzac, Gautier, and Zola* (Madison, Wis., 1994), chap. 2.

[102] Diderot and d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie*, s.v. "perruque." Repeated in *Encyclopédie méthodique*, s.v. "perruquier." British observers also noted that newer wigs made men's faces more visible; Corson, *Fashions in Hair*, 292.

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Ambitious wigmakers seized on this idea, publicizing how particular techniques of production enhanced their customers' physiognomies. In a series of advertisements in the *Mercure de France* and *Annonces, affiches et avis divers*, the Parisian wigmaker Rochefort announced that after many years of research, he had invented a new kind of mannequin for the head that allowed him to size wigs "with Mathematical precision, following different individual tastes; so that they naturally follow the contours of the face." The new mannequin not only helped Rochefort make wigs that were comfortable and natural-looking but allowed him as well to tailor his wigs to the individual faces of his clients.[103] Rochefort was not the only wigmaker to publicize the physiognomical advantages of his wigs. Chaumont claimed that by allowing his clients to choose a hairstyle from among several that "varied according to different tastes," he was better able to capture the particular "air" of his clients' faces. The editors of the newspaper *L'Avant-Coureur* acclaimed his technique: "If hair is styled to go with physiognomy & bring it out, one must commend the method of Sr Chaumont, Wigmaker, which we have already advertised in our pages. The Sr Chaumont never sizes any wig for which he has not designed the facial contour. In the presence & following the choice of individuals, he then sketches the hairstyle which suits their physiognomy the best."[104] Claiming to highlight the faces of their clients, wigmakers exploited the individualistic thrust of physiognomy for commercial purposes.[105]

The physiognomic attributes of wigs were taken to satiric extremes by Jean-Henri Marchand, a Parisian lawyer and fashion advocate known for his wit. Stung by the decision of the editors of the *Encyclopédie* not to assign him the entry on wigs, Marchand published his own *L'Enciclopédie perruquiere* in 1757. The purpose of this short treatise was to observe "every physiognomy and the relationship it should have to a type of hairstyle that is proper to it. People who are happy, sad, crazy, serious, bilious, the young, the old, the healthy, the sick, the pimply, the fat, the skinny, the large-foreheaded, the small-foreheaded . . . should not be styled in a uniform way." Accordingly, Marchand illustrated forty-five different styles of bag- and tiewigs designed for particular faces and personalities. (See Figure 3.) Matching each style with a face was intended to help the individual reader select the right wig for himself: "Every man eager to turn himself out will have this work within reach, and will choose the form which most flatters the air of his face."[106]

By attaching personalized names to the bewigged men whom he illustrated, fur-

[103] *Mercure de France*, October 1755, January 1757.

[104] *Mercure de France*, January 1764; *L'Avant-Coureur*, August 7, 1769. See Chaumont's other advertisements in *L'Avant-Coureur*, February 27 and June 12, 1769.

[105] This explains why wigmakers also advertised new techniques for pulling hair back from the face and securing it with ointment. *Annonces, affiches et avis divers*, February 12, 1781. A similar attention to facial appearance manifested itself in the commercial fields of dental care, cosmetics, and portraiture. See Colin Jones, "Pulling Teeth in Eighteenth-Century Paris," *Past & Present* 166 (February 2000): 100–145; Martin, "Consuming Beauty"; Anne de Herdt, "Liotard: Entre portrait de cour et portrait bourgeois," in Xavier Salmon, ed., *De soie et de poudre* (Versailles, 2003), 75–101. For a different interpretation of fashion and physiognomy, see Roy Porter, "Making Faces: Physiognomy and Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England," *Études Anglaises* 38 (October–December 1985): 385–396.

[106] [Jean-Henri Marchand], *L'Enciclopédie perruquiere* (Amsterdam, 1757), 27. Marchand's discussions of style did raise questions of professional status ("a churchwarden and a musketeer must each preserve the character that is proper to them"), but the majority of his wig styles were meant to express individual personality type.

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FIGURE 3: Physiognomic wigs. J. H. Marchand, *L'Enciclopédie perruquiere*, nos. 4, 12, 44. Reproduced courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

thermore, Marchand seems to have been playing satirically with the world of feminine fashion. Just as women's hairstyles and accessories were marketed with fanciful names that expressed individual character traits ("gentle smile," "honest composition," "restlessness"—indeed, the front of a women's hairdo was even called the "physiognomy"),[107] Marchand labeled his illustrations ("M. A Ladorable," "M. A Laparesseuse," "M. A Linconstance," and so on) to match particular styles of side curls with the personalities of the men who wore them. The joke lay in the fact that such curls were male, not female, but the concept of physiognomy had so infused wig fashion that the implicit comparison was not too far off the mark.

There is no doubt that among the stars of the Enlightenment, hairstyle as well as dress became a medium for the expression of self. Rousseau, as we know, stepped down to a round wig to reflect his social independence; Jean-Baptiste Greuze sported idiosyncratic side curls (pigeon wings with spirals) to signal his creative genius; Benjamin Franklin, upon arriving in France in 1776, abandoned ornamental dress and wig in favor of plain clothes and a cap of marten fur; Diderot preferred to be portrayed without a wig; and Marie-Antoinette caused a stir when she allowed herself to be painted as an individual woman without any signs of royal station.[108] The social and cultural life of the wig reminds us that while the period's greatest personalities created identities through the flagrant use of fashion and hair, countless ordinary

[107] Hurtaut and Magny, *Dictionnaire historique de la ville de Paris*, s.v. "modes"; *Almanach parisien*, 156, 167. For feminine hairstyles, see the advertisements of Legros, Donnadieu, and Lagarde, respectively, in *L'Avant-Coureur*, January 16, 1769, August 7, 1769, and April 2, 1770. Women's hairstylists must do each personality differently and "match the style to the affections of the soul"; Walther, *Manuel de la toilette*, 2: pt. VIII, chap. 12, 67. "To be perfect," wrote Legros, the hairdresser "needs to have in mind a taste and *esprit* for each woman"; *L'Art de la coëffure*, 33. Garnot sees in the proliferation of women's *coiffes* and bonnets the same desire to personalize clothing; *Culture materielle*, 111 .

[108] Alden Cavanaugh, "The Coiffure of Jean-Baptiste Greuze," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38 (Fall 2004): 165–181; Bernard Bailyn, *To Begin the World Anew: The Genius and Ambiguities of the American Founders* (New York, 2003), chap. 3; Walther E. Rex, *Diderot's Counterpoints: The Dynamics of Contrariety in His Major Works* (Oxford, 1998), 26–38; and Desmond Hosford, "The Queen's Hair: Marie-Antoinette, Politics, and DNA," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38 (Fall 2004): 183–200. See also Purdy, *The Tyranny of Elegance*, chap. 7.

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men were routinely encouraged to accentuate their selves on a less conspicuous level by wearing a wig that was tailored to their face and personality.[109]

By organizing the meaning of wigs around the idea of character, taste leaders shifted public attention from social identity to individual identity. In theoretical terms, they downplayed the notion of the social or relational self, which orients itself to the external values around it, and emphasized instead the idea of the reflective self, which consciously pursues the project of its own construction.[110] If the self of the royal court had primarily been relational, insofar as courtiers tailored their behavior to meet imperatives of social decorum, that invoked by eighteenth-century taste leaders was primarily reflective. Hence consumer guides such as the *Manuel de la toilette et de la mode* contrasted old luxury goods that merely "announced" the consumer's "rank" with present-day goods that signaled the consumer's own aesthetic "genius."[111] Developed and publicized by Enlightenment taste leaders, the concept of the reflective self would go on to become an integral part of late modern consumer culture.[112]

THE WIG STRADDLED TWO OVERLAPPING FORMS of consumption in Old Regime France. The first form, courtly consumption, expanded dramatically in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Whereas feudal modes of consumption had been directed toward domestic service and hospitality, courtly consumption involved greater spending on durable and semidurable consumer goods.[113] At court, where gatherings of nobles made consumption more visible, aristocrats used luxury goods to signal their rank to one another and to express their collective elevation above the rest of society. Indeed, it was the capacity of luxury goods to communicate high rank that justified them. As Pierre Nicole observed, "The splendor that goes with the position of the great . . . is what makes them honored by most people. And since it is good that they be honored, it is just that grandeur be allied to external magnificence."[114] The large,

[109] For a similar account of the processes of individuation at work in food consumption, see Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant*, chap. 3.

[110] I borrow the terms "relational" and "reflective self" from Jerrold Seigel's lucid book *The Idea of the Self: Thought and Experience in Western Europe since the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 2005).

[111] Walther, *Manuel de la toilette*, 2: pt. VII, 3–4 (see also 2: pt. VI, 58–60, 71–72; pt. VII, 68; and pt. VIII, 18 and 60).

[112] Both social and reflective self merit closer historical study. Emphasizing the social self of court society, Norbert Elias and Roger Chartier describe how courtly interdictions were internalized by individuals. According to Chartier, seventeenth-century civility "is best understood as above all a social seeming. Every man must strive to be as he seems, and thus adjust his moral nature to the appearances demanded by his position in the world"; Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton, N.J., 1987), 86–87. However, Jonathan Dewald notes that some seventeenth-century nobles began to develop notions of private selfhood in response to the court's overbearing social pressure; Dewald, *Aristocratic Experience and the Origins of Modern Culture* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), chaps. 4 and 6. Scholarship on the eighteenth-century reflective self has long focused on the novel and its creation of an emotional inner life. Yet, despite Colin Campbell's attempt to join romanticism and consumerism in *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford, 1987), I would argue that the self elaborated in the commercial domain was not identical to that developed in Romantic literature. Consumer practices reveal a different (although perhaps intersecting) vector of individuation.

[113] Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art*, 150–158.

[114] Quoted in Dewald, *Aristocratic Experience*, 170. See also Michael Moriarty, *Taste and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century France* (Cambridge, 1988).

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expensive full-bottom wig was part of this world of socially instrumental magnificence.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, wigs had spread beyond elite circles to enter an intermediate zone of consumption between aristocratic luxury and popular necessity. This pattern of social diffusion may partially be explained in the familiar terms of Veblen and Elias, as an emulation-driven extension of courtly consumption. Yet a closer look at the meanings attributed to wigs suggests that there was more going on than the Veblen-Elias model indicates—that taste leaders formulated new understandings of consumption as they responded to an expanding intermediate zone of goods.[115] Remaining curiously silent about social status and rank—matters treated explicitly in earlier commentary on dress—eighteenth-century fashion critics and wigmakers used the printed word to shift public attention to an alternative set of consumer values based on convenience, nature, and physiognomy. By linking the wig to such values, taste leaders distanced the accessory from its aristocratic origins, to place it in a strikingly modern context.

Such a context can be called modern because the values forged by taste leaders have become basic features of contemporary consumer culture. But it was also modern insofar as it contributed to the construction of a new form of historical consciousness that valorized present over past. Taste leaders publicized the idea that the French were living through a turning point in history, a moment in which society was liberating itself from an archaic material culture and embracing a new consumer aesthetic.[116] Even the once courtly wig was recast as an agreeable product of a distinctively new and better age. Superseding conspicuous display, the concept of convenience endowed post–Louis Quatorze wigs with a utilitarian purpose that signified the material and moral advances of the present day. Perfecting the natural appearance of wigs distinguished them from the artificial styles of the past and rendered them suitable for an epoch that placed a premium on authenticity. And attention to physiognomy personalized wigs, accentuating the individual (rather than the social) character of the faces they framed. The wig, therefore, was not simply an aristocratic luxury good brought low. As its reach extended deeper into eighteenth-century society, it took on meanings that evoked a new age of consumption.

This is not to suggest a Whig history of the wig. It is important to treat the language of taste leaders critically. Despite the rhetorical claims of fashion commentators and wigmakers, the evolution of the wig did not conform to a linear history of progress, individualism, and liberty. First, it should not be inferred from the absence of class in taste leaders' language that consumers were somehow freed from

[115] Similar challenges to Elias's court-centered model of cultural diffusion have been mounted by historians of sociability, who argue that elite sociability shifted during the Enlightenment from courtly civility to a less formal and more inclusive code of politeness. Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, chap. 3; Daniel Gordon, *Citizens without Sovereignty: Equality and Sociability in French Thought, 1670–1789* (Princeton, N.J., 1994); and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie and Jean-François Fitou, *Saint-Simon and the Court of Louis XIV*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 2001), Appendix 1. I am advancing a parallel critique with respect to consumption.

[116] Here I part ways with Fritzsche, *Stranded in the Present*, who minimizes the Enlightenment's sense of rupture with the past to emphasize the French Revolution's impact on modern historical consciousness. True, the Revolution's ideological and military mobilization politicized historical consciousness, but the Enlightenment—including its consumer culture—had already encouraged the feeling that one was living in a new age.

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long-standing imperatives of social status. Nobles continued to wear ceremonial wigs at Versailles, where etiquette kept courtly notions of rank and status alive.[117] Wealthier urban men, meanwhile, purchased wig models that best suited their particular profession, social station, and financial capacity. And everywhere the bewigged minority established a sharp visual distinction between its respectable self and the wigless majority. Convenience, nature, and individuality were values that most French men could not afford to express. Thus, in practice, wigs continued to mark social status even if taste leaders were reluctant to characterize wigs of their day as positional goods.[118]

Further, a hierarchy did exist within the seemingly classless language of taste leaders. Although they rejected an older, allegedly unsophisticated consumer culture in which goods directly signaled social rank, taste leaders implicitly constructed a new model of distinction in which the status meanings of consumption would be mediated by principles of utility, authenticity, individuality, and, one could add, cleanliness, taste, and health.[119] Goods would continue to indicate status, but they would no longer do so directly. Rather, they would now signal a commitment to certain values, which would in turn express status. Thus, what in court society had been a close and direct link between consumption and status was now loosened to accommodate a host of mediating values. By promoting such values without explicitly addressing their social implications, taste leaders flirted with the fiction that personal consumption was no longer about class. (Was there not something modern in this as well?) But their rhetoric clearly implied the formation of a new social hierarchy based on aesthetic knowledge and the financial capacity to consume goods that reflected such knowledge. An older hierarchy of raw socio-legal rank was to be supplanted by a new one divided by levels of wealth and consumer competency.[120] Historians should therefore be careful when assessing the language of Enlightenment taste leaders: what looks like emergent egalitarianism is better understood as inequality transformed.[121]

Finally, this account of the wig suggests that we should pay closer attention to the periodization of consumption, especially with respect to gender. A number of historians have argued that eighteenth-century changes in clothing consumption her-

[117] For the persistence of courtly consumption, see Natacha Coquery, *L'Hôtel aristocratique: Le marché du luxe à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1998).

[118] The production of wigs, like their consumption, scarcely supports a Whig interpretation, given the sharp social conflict between masters and journeymen that the trade generated. See Gayne, "Illicit Wigmaking"; and Truant, "Independent and Insolent."

[119] For cleanliness, taste, and health, see, respectively, Georges Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness: Changing Attitudes in France since the Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 1988); Jones, *Sexing La Mode*, chap. 4; and Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant*, chaps. 1–2. The development of mediating principles helps to explain why sumptuary law, which was predicated on a direct relationship between consumption and status, declined in the eighteenth century. See Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (New York, 1996), 373–378.

[120] For a superb analysis of how Parisian nobles were caught up in precisely this kind of sociocultural transformation, see Mathieu Marraud, *La Noblesse de Paris* (Paris, 2000), 370–400, 535–546. See also Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability*.

[121] Again, the histories of sociability and consumption are analogous in this respect. Antoine Lilti, "Sociabilité et mondanité: Les hommes de lettres dans les salons parisens au XVIIIe siècle," *French Historical Studies* 28 (Summer 2005): 415–445, argues that scholars have exaggerated the egalitarianism of Enlightenment sociability. Literary representations notwithstanding, Enlightenment salons continued to operate as important sites of social distinction.

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alded the coming polarization of nineteenth-century gender roles, in which men were cast as producers and women as consumers. Yet, as current work on the French Revolution suggests, we must be careful to balance prescriptive representations with the realities of social practice. The success of the wig reminds us that eighteenth-century fashion consumption was not always gendered feminine. Indeed, the moralist critique that wigs symbolized the increasing effeminacy of men and should therefore be rejected does not seem to have had much purchase on the minds of male consumers before the very end of the century.[122]

Thus, if we are at all to retain Flügel's concept of a "great masculine renunciation," we must recognize that it unfolded in two stages. The first stage, which occurred during the eighteenth century, was largely aimed at moving beyond courtly forms of consumption to establish a consumer ethic consistent with Enlightenment values of utility, nature, and self. The second stage, which in France began in earnest during the militarization of society under the Consulate and Empire, involved a full-scale redefinition of masculinity and a hardening of gender boundaries. The case of the wig suggests that during the first stage, proto-republican warnings about luxury and effeminacy were either widely ignored or, more likely, deflected by consumer values that endowed goods with a degree of moral sustainability.[123] By relegating courtly consumption to the past while linking intermediate-level goods to modern values of utility, authenticity, and individuality—indeed, to the value of progress itself—taste leaders answered or at least dulled the impact of moralist critiques and helped to lay the ideological foundations for the rise in eighteenth-century consumption.

[122] The use of wigs and powder declined in the 1790s, to disappear altogether during the Consulate. The demise of the wig has been attributed to a variety of political, medical, and gender concerns. Martin, "Consuming Beauty," 226–233; Morag Martin, " 'The Great Masculine Renunciation': Coping with Masculine Hair-Loss in France, 1780–1830" (unpublished manuscript); Lanoë, "Barbiers-perruquiers de Paris," 185–190; Vittu, "1780–1804 ou vingt ans de 'révolution des têtes françaises,' " 54–55; and Wrigley, *The Politics of Appearances*, 233–234, 239.

[123] For other examples of how French taste leaders responded to critiques of consumption, see Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant*, chaps. 1–2; Martin, "Consuming Beauty," chap. 5; and for a later period, Lisa Tiersten, *Marianne in the Market: Envisioning Consumer Society in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001).

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Tasting Empire: Chocolate and the European Internalization of Mesoamerican Aesthetics

MARCY NORTON

> When the Spanish and Portuguese arrived in the Americas, the inhabitants there made a cacao liquor which was diluted in hot water seasoned with pepper and other spices . . . all these ingredients gave this mixture a brutish quality and a very savage taste . . . The Spanish, more industrious than the Savages, procured to correct the bad flavor of this liquor, adding to this cacao paste different fragrances of the East and many spices of this country [Spain]. Of all these ingredients we have maintained only the sugar, vanilla, and cinnamon.[1]

WRITTEN AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, this account of the European assimilation of chocolate is one of the earliest versions of the myth that suffuses modern scholarship: the notion that because Spaniards found the Indian form of chocolate unappetizing, they "procured to correct the bad flavor" by eliminating strange New World spices and adding sugar. Contrary to popular and scholarly opinion, the reason for chocolate's success with Europeans was not that they could insert it into existing flavor complexes and discursive categories, masking indigenous flavors with sugar and Mesoamerican symbolism with medical excuses. The Spanish did not alter chocolate to fit the predilections of their palate. Instead, Europeans unwittingly developed a taste for Indian chocolate, and they sought to re-create the indigenous chocolate experience in America and in Europe. Europeans in the New World and then the Old World somatized native aesthetic values. The migration of the chocolate habit led to the cross-cultural transmission of tastes (an appetite for spices such as vanilla and pepper, the color red, and a foamy froth). Over time, the composition of chocolate did evolve, but this was a gradual process of change linked to the technological and economic challenges posed by long-distance trade rather than a radical rupture in the aesthetic preferences of chocolate consumers.[2]

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[1] Antonio Lavedán, *Tratado de los usos, abusos, propiedades y virtudes del tabaco, café, té y chocolate* (1796; facs. ed., Madrid, 1991), 214.

[2] "Cacao" refers to the seed kernels of the fleshy pods of the cacao tree (*Theobrama cacao*). "Chocolate" refers to consumable substances in which a primary ingredient is cacao; before 1800, it almost always refers to a beverage.

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When and how do societies assimilate foreign things? In the context of early modern globalization, this question has been taken up by scholars working in three historiographic traditions—histories of imperial expansion and colonialism, consumerism, and food. Although there has been surprisingly little dialogue across these fields, their approaches can be categorized in similar ways: they tend toward biological and economic essentialism, on the one hand, and toward cultural functionalism, on the other. By revisiting the reasons that Europeans came to develop a taste for chocolate, it becomes clear that both essentialist and functionalist models of taste are inadequate. The first Europeans who learned to like chocolate were neither fulfilling physiological destiny nor embodying a socially desirable ethos.

Among the many advances in studies of colonialism and imperialism is the recognition that colonialism is no longer only something done to someone else; struggles and endeavors in the periphery changed the society and culture, as well as the economy, of the metropole.[3] Traditionally, historians interested in the material exchanges between metropole and periphery have considered "goods" as a static category. Alfred Crosby's landmark study *The Columbian Exchange* takes for granted the universal character of migrating things. Crosby shows how Europeans eventually incorporated potatoes, maize, tomatoes, and other New World crops into their foodways, while American soil became a hospitable site for sugar plantations and wheat farming; and how pathogens crossed oceans and precipitated demographic catastrophe.[4] This literature largely ignores the question of *why* Europeans adopted certain goods from colonies, taking for granted the cheap sustenance of maize and potatoes, the luxurious tastiness of chocolate, and the insidious addictiveness of tobacco. Environmental histories such as this do not consider the American or European social context, which largely determined what and how novel New World flora and fauna were appropriated.[5]

Another set of scholars have taken the opposite tack in studying European adoption of colonial goods, or, conversely, indigenous appropriation of metropolitan goods. In *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pa-*

[3] Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony," in Cooper and Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 1. Phenomena once viewed as exclusively internalist European developments—scientific innovations, nationalist identities, Enlightenment epistemologies, and modern anthropology, among others—have now been linked to dynamic relations between European centers and colonial peripheries. See Londa Schiebinger, "Forum Introduction: The European Colonial Science Complex," *Isis* 96 (2005): 52–55; Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen, eds., *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2002); Londa Schiebinger and Claudia Swan, eds., *Colonial Botany: Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World* (Philadelphia, Pa., 2005); Jorge Cañizares Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World* (Stanford, Calif., 2001); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (London, 1991), 56–57; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, Conn., 1992); Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire, and the World, 1600–1850* (New York, 2002); Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago, 2001); Antonio Barrera, *Experiencing Nature* (Austin, Tex., 2006). These arguments find their place alongside an older, but renewed and vibrant, debate concerning the role of European expansion in the development of modern capitalism; see below.

[4] Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: The Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Conn., 1972). Works in this tradition include Elinor G. K. Melville, *A Plague of Sheep: Environmental Consequences of the Conquest of Mexico* (Cambridge, 1994), and Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York, 1997).

[5] Crosby's environmental determinism is even more in evidence in the sequel *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (Cambridge, 1986), esp. 145–170.

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cific, a study of how Westerners and Pacific Islanders have used each other's material artifacts, Nicholas Thomas contends that "objects are not what they were made to be but what they have become" and rejects "stabiliz[ing] the identity of a thing in its fixed and founded material form."[6] For Thomas, Europeans' collections of stone tools, feather dresses, carved bowls, weapons, and other museum-worthy artifacts "performed the . . . operation of standing for a voyage and the work of science." Such an argument parallels that made by J. H. Elliott in his seminal study of how and when Europeans "assimilated" the New World discoveries into their intellectual frameworks. He found that Renaissance naturalists and ethnographers could see New World goods only through the grid inherited from classical models exemplified in the work of Aristotle, Galen, and Dioscorides.[7]

Culinary historians have similarly argued that existing food and drug paradigms go a long way toward explaining when and how Europeans incorporated unknown foodstuffs or drugs into their diets and apothecaries. According to culinary historian Alan Davidson, the reason some New World consumables met with more success than others was Europeans' "ability to fit them into the European scheme of things, to make analogies between them and familiar foodstuffs." This logic informs similar studies which argue that New World turkeys and beans caught on quickly because Europeans recognized them as kin to familiar fowl and legumes; or that maize succeeded in places such as northern Italy where people already relished *pulmentum* (polenta) made from millet or barley. In contrast, it is argued—problematically—that potatoes and tomatoes were initially treated with suspicion because of their similarity to poisonous belladonna.[8] A similar framework has explained Europe's embrace of tobacco: its purported therapeutic effects matched the European obsession with the quest for a universal panacea.[9]

[6] Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 4, 184, 125–126, 143, 153. Similarly, Marshall Sahlins developed the idea of "commodity indigenization" to argue that non-Western cultures did not passively accept European goods but incorporated them on their own terms, in ways that were consistent with their cultures; Sahlins, "Cosmologies of Capitalism: The Trans-Pacific Sector of 'the World-System,'" *Proceedings of the British Academy* 74 (1988): 1–51. Jordan Goodman uses Sahlins's model to help account for tobacco's success in Europe; Goodman, *Tobacco in History: The Cultures of Dependence* (London, 1994), 41–42.

[7] J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492–1650* (Cambridge, 1970), 8, 15. Other works in this tradition include Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, trans. Richard Howard (New York, 1984); Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* (Cambridge, 1982); Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago, 1991); and Claudia Swan, "Collecting *Naturalia* in the Shadow of Early Modern Dutch Trade," in Schiebinger and Swan, *Colonial Botany*.

[8] Alan Davidson, "Europeans' Wary Encounter with Potatoes, Tomatoes, and Other New World Foods," in Nelson Foster and Linda S. Cordell, eds., *Chilies to Chocolate: Food the Americas Gave the World* (Tucson, Ariz., 1992), 3. Ken Albala writes that "the key" to explaining a food's acceptance "appears to be whether the new food was considered analogous to something already standard in the diet or could be substituted in a recipe with comparable results"; Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002), 233–238. The idea of "analogousness" *is* often an important mechanism for the absorption of new goods and is one that I discuss below in accounting for changes in chocolate's composition, but it does not apply in the initial phase of European assimilation of chocolate. Both volumes suggest that more research is needed on the diffusion of tomatoes and potatoes, for the notion that there was considerable resistance to them rests on literary sources, whereas evidence from the inventories of a Sevillan hospital show their regular use by the late sixteenth century; Earl J. Hamilton, *American Treasure and the Price of Revolution in Spain, 1501–1650* (New York, 1965). The hospital inventories record regular purchases with no special explanation; see, for instance, Archivo de la Diputación de Sevilla, Hospital Cinco Llagas, lib. 110, 1591–1595.

[9] Among others, see Sarah Augusta Dickson, *Panacea or Precious Bane: Tobacco in Sixteenth Cen-*

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The "cultural-functionalist" model is also apparent in theoretically informed histories of consumption. The work of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu is both illustrative and influential. In *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, Bourdieu actively disputed Platonic and Kantian traditions (whose heirs are biological determinists) that accept a natural and universal capacity to discern the inherently beautiful or excellent. Instead, he sought to show the contingent and contextual basis of aesthetic determinations. His thesis is that "taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier. Social subjects classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make, between the beautiful and the ugly, the distinguished and the vulgar, in which their position in the objective classifications is expressed or betrayed." Bourdieu argued that seemingly subjective pleasures accord with social hierarchies.[10] The particular form that the human capacity to discriminate between sights, sounds, touch, and flavor (alias taste) takes at a given historical moment, he affirmed, serves the interests of those in power.

Echoing the findings of sociologists from Thorstein Veblen to Bourdieu, cultural historians, by and large, have eschewed biological or economic determinism and instead theorize taste as socially constructed. The cultural-functionalist model of taste is apparent in what is perhaps the most innovative and important study to date on the intermingled history of colonialism and consumerism, Sidney Mintz's *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. Its central thesis is that the seemingly unquenchable desire for sugar in the modern world is not simply the outcome of the tongue's biologically based affinity for sweetness, but rather the historical result of a conjuncture of factors. As Mintz traces sugar's transformation from a medicinal additive to a luxury good among the upper classes, he argues that sugar "embodied the social position of the wealthy and powerful." He points to "sugar's usefulness as a mark of rank—to validate one's social position. To elevate others, or to define them as inferior." Sugar use traveled down to other classes in large part because their members accepted the meanings of their social superiors: "those who controlled the society held a commanding position not only in regard to the availability of sugar, but also in regard to at least some of the meanings that sugar products acquired . . . the simultaneous control of both the foods themselves and the meanings they are made to connote can be a means of a pacific domination."[11] For Mintz, like Bourdieu, class hegemony is based on a trickle-down interpretation of the diffusion of taste.

Some scholars have faulted the "emulation" model for assuming an "identity between this 'trickle-down' phenomenon and imitative behavior." An astute critic, Colin Campbell, points out that "the fact that a merchant or shop-keeper was now

tury Literature (New York, 1954); Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, 41–44. I offer another interpretation of tobacco's transculturation—similar to the one offered here for chocolate—in Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate, 1492–1700* (Ithaca, N.Y., forthcoming), expanded from my dissertation, "New World of Goods: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Spanish Empire, 1492–1700" (University of California, Berkeley, 2000).

[10] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 6, 3; Loïc Wacquant, "Taste," in T. B. Bottomore and W. Outhwaite, eds., *The Blackwell Dictionary of Twentieth-Century Social Thought* (Oxford, 1992), 662.

[11] Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York, 1985), 140, 139, 153, 166–167.

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both able and willing to purchase a product previously a characteristic of superior aristocratic consumption patterns does not necessarily mean that he sought to imitate an aristocratic way of life." He proposes replacing the "emulative thesis" with an approach that "accord[s] a central role to the subjective meanings which, in reality, accompany and inform conduct." This leads Campbell to argue that the novelty of consumer behavior in eighteenth-century England was that it was informed by a "romantic" sensibility that distinguished it from previous forms of consumption, as it was marked by "a distinctive form of hedonism, one in which the enjoyment of emotions as summoned through imaginary or illusory images is central . . . combined with the ranking of pleasure above comfort."[12] A few historians have taken Campbell's lead to relate new forms of consumer behavior to a prevailing "ethos," and so attribute the seemingly sudden fondness of British consumers for coffee and then tea to emerging ideals of "virtuosi" (marked by "limitless curiosity"), "masculine rationality," and then "feminine domesticity" in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England.[13] Yet while distancing themselves from "functionalist" interpretations of consumer behavior, all of these scholars share with their "functionalist" predecessors an idealist conception of behavior: in other words, bodily comportment follows abstract values; behaviors manifest an "ethos."[14]

These scholars have performed a great service by debunking the notion of the rational consumer who acts simply in attempting to maximize function use-values of goods or to fulfill biological destiny. Yet this reductively rational or biological actor has been replaced by the reductive consumer who consumes solely in order to manifest her or his social identity, or the one to which he or she aspires. In its current form, the history of consumers has been written largely in a way to replicate already existing narratives of modernization—the emergence of the court consumer, the public-sphere consumer, the bourgeois consumer, or the romantic hedonist consumer. Moreover, not all concur that "modern consumption" originated in eighteenth-century England. Others locate its origins in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Renaissance Europe, or seventeenth-century Netherlands. In accordance with the fracas about periodization and geography, a major fault line divides those who believe that modern consumption was a phenomenon initiated among court society and emulated by bourgeois, and those who consider the new middle classes of northern Europe to be the significant innovators.[15] An offshoot of this debate concerns dis-

[12] Colin Campbell, "Understanding Traditional and Modern Patterns of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century England," in John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993), 40, 42, 48; Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Oxford, 1987).

[13] Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, Conn., 2005), 11; Woodruff D. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600–1800* (New York, 2002).

[14] Thus I categorize them as "cultural-functionalist" theorizers of taste, since for them "taste" is still a function of an abstract ethos.

[15] Among the eighteenth-century partisans, see Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1982), and Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger, eds., *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires, and Delectable Goods* (New York, 2003). For the Renaissance view, see Richard Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600* (Baltimore, Md., 1993); Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence: An Economic and Social History* (Baltimore, 1980); Chandra Mukerji, *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism* (New York, 1983); Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (New York, 1996); and Paula Findlen, "Possessing the Past: The Material World of the Italian Renaissance," *AHR* 103, no. 1 (February 1998): 83–114. Jan de Vries insists that "modern con-

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tinguishing "modern" from "traditional" consumption or "New Luxury" from "Old."[16] Scholars' inability to agree on when the quintessential modern consumer emerged and what his or her salient characteristics were suggests that such distinctions are mostly semantic and thus too arbitrary to be useful.

But it is indisputable that a genuinely new consumer phenomenon was the accelerating demand for novel, luxury "groceries"—the exotic imports of tobacco, coffee, and tea, as well as chocolate, and the massive explosion in sugar consumption. One measure of this transformation is that whereas in 1559 "non-European groceries" accounted for less than 9 percent of the total value of English imports, by 1800 that proportion had risen to almost 35 percent.[17] There is a heated debate about the impact of overseas expansion on Europe's domestic economies and, ultimately, its modernization; yet those who ascribe to both "internalist" and "externalist" interpretations of European modernization seem to agree that the demand and trade in these Atlantic commodities had far-reaching economic effects. In line with both Adam Smith and Karl Marx, Kenneth Pomerantz and Robin Blackburn argue that the colonial trading companies and profits from the slave trade and slave-based plantation economies—fueled by European demand for tropical groceries—were a prerequisite for industrialization and the European economic takeoff.[18] But even some of those who reject the view that profits from Atlantic commerce directly fueled the peculiar European dynamism that culminated in the Industrial Revolution think that the mass desire for overseas luxury imports—tobacco, sugar, cacao, coffee, and tea—affected the European economy significantly, albeit indirectly.[19] For one, cravings

sumer behavior made a decisive advance . . . in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic"; de Vries, "Luxury in the Dutch Golden Age in Theory and Practice," in Berg and Eger, *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century*, 41. For seventeenth-century origins, see also Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth Century England* (Cambridge, 2005). Concerning the bourgeois vs. aristocratic origins of modern consumption, the classic debate was between Werner Sombart and Max Weber. Those who see the locus of the consumer revolution in eighteenth-century Britain point to the ascendant middling classes, while those who locate it earlier focus on courts. For de Vries, the urban society of the Golden Age Dutch Republic generated modern consumer behavior; "Luxury in the Dutch Golden Age." For an overview on the debates, see Jean-Christophe Agnew, "Coming Up for Air: Consumer Culture in Historical Perspective," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 23–25, and Craig Clunas, "Modernity Global and Local: Consumption and the Rise of the West," *AHR* 104, no. 5 (December 1999): 1497–1511.

[16] Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic*; Joyce Appleby, "Consumption in Early Modern Social Thought," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 172; de Vries, "Luxury in the Dutch Golden Age," 43, 50–53.

[17] Carole Shammas, "Changes in English and Anglo-American Consumption from 1550 to 1800," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 178. See also Sidney W. Mintz, "The Changing Roles of Food in the Study of Consumption," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 266; Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*, trans. Harriet de Onís (1947; repr., Durham, N.C., 1995); Goodman, *Cultures of Dependence*; Goodman, *Tobacco in History*; Sophie D. Coe and Michael D. Coe, *The True History of Chocolate* (London, 1996); Jordan Goodman, Paul E. Lovejoy, and Andrew Sherratt, eds., *Consuming Habits: Drugs in History and Anthropology* (London, 1995); James Walvin, *Fruits of Empire: Exotic Produce and British Taste, 1660–1800* (New York, 1997); Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability*.

[18] Jan de Vries, *The Economy of Europe in an Age of Crisis, 1600–1750* (Cambridge, 1976), 141; Elliott, *The Old World and the New*; Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery* (London, 1998), 363, 376; Kenneth Pomerantz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), 194. See also Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*.

[19] De Vries, *The Economy of Europe*, 145; David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge, 2000), 270–276; Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815* (Cambridge, 1997), 350, 502.

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for these stimulants may have motivated people to work harder to earn the cash necessary to supply their new habits, in what Jan de Vries has coined the "Industrious Revolution." And with the demand for tobacco, chocolate, coffee, and tea came yearnings for accessory implements, spurring European manufacturers to produce porcelain chocolate pots, imitation Chinese teacups, clay pipes, and snuffboxes. The newfound love of American tropical groceries stimulated commerce in Europe as well as its colonies.[20]

Despite this increasing emphasis on the importance of "luxury groceries" for transformations in European culture and economy, scholars have failed to recognize the primacy of chocolate in the pantheon of tropical imports. By the eighteenth century, coffee and particularly tea would overtake chocolate in terms of mass quantities imported,[21] yet the latter was the *first* stimulant beverage consumed in significant quantities by Europeans. This fact is overlooked in even the most recent studies of the arrival of stimulant beverages into Europe. At best, chocolate is ignored; more often, scholars wrongly assume that chocolate *followed* coffee. This mistaken view has led many to explain the diffusion of chocolate as a consequence of the popularity of coffee.[22] Yet chocolate had a significant presence in Iberia by the 1590s, and had spread northward by the 1620s.[23] Coffee, on the other hand, did not gain a permanent foothold in England until the 1650s (despite English traders' involvement in its commerce in the inter-Asian market in prior decades), and in Spain until the end of the eighteenth century; tea's ascendance did not begin until the end of the seventeenth century in Britain.[24] The common view that coffee con-

[20] Jan de Vries, "Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods: Understanding the Household Economy in Early Modern Europe," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 85–132, and de Vries, "The Industrious Revolution and the Industrial Revolution," *Journal of Economic History* 54 (June 1994): 249–270; de Vries, *European Economy*, 41. For tobacco, coffee, tea, and chocolate's indirect contribution to particular sectors such as tobacco processing, snuff and pipe manufacture, and porcelain in the "first modern economy" of the Dutch Republic, see de Vries and van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy*, 305–311, 324–329.

[21] Jordan Goodman, "Excitantia: Or How Enlightenment Europe Took to Soft Drugs," in Goodman, Lovejoy, and Sherratt, *Consuming Habits*, 126.

[22] For instance, Davidson suggests that chocolate was accepted when an "analogy was eventually made with coffee," so that it "could then be slotted into place as a luxury beverage with stimulating qualities"; "Europeans' Wary Encounter," 3. See also Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, 111; David T. Courtwright, *Forces of Habit: Drugs and the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge, 2001), 19; Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, 75. Wolfgang Schivelbusch is wrong that chocolate remained an "exclusively Spanish phenomenon" in the seventeenth century; Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants*, trans. David Jacobson (New York, 1992), 91.

[23] On Spain, see below. Chocolate's place in early-seventeenth-century northern Europe has not received the attention that it deserves, but available evidence is suggestive. The first treatise devoted to chocolate in England (a translation of Antonio Colmenero de Ledesma's treatise) appeared more than twenty years before the first coffee treatises; compare *A Curious Treatise of the Nature and Quality of Chocolate . . . Put into English by Don Diego de Vades-forte* (London, 1640) with Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, 314–326. Colmenero de Ledesma wrote in 1631, "the number of people who nowadays drink Chocolate is so great that it is not only in the Indies where this drink originated and began, but also in Spain, Italy, and Flanders it is already very common"; *Curioso tratado de la naturaleza y calidad del chocolate* (Madrid, 1631), 1r. Records from 1624 show Jesuits in New Spain shipping chocolate through Seville to Rome; Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla (hereafter AGI), Contratación (hereafter CT) 825, no. 8. Also, translations proliferated of Colmenero de Ledesma's *Curioso tratado* in English (1640, 1652, and 1685), French (1643, 1671), Latin (1644), and Italian (1667, 1678, 1694). Wolf Mueller, *Bibliographie des Kaffee, des Kakao, der Schokolade, des Tee und deren Surrogate bis zum Jahre* (Krieg, 1960). Given the close links between European nobility and Spanish aristocrats' devotion to chocolate by the 1620s, it is logical that non-Iberian nobility would have had opportunities to acquire a taste for chocolate.

[24] The first European encounters with coffee took place in the late sixteenth century, mostly in

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sumption led to chocolate consumption in Europe is backward. Rather, it seems, chocolate helped pave the way for coffee by creating a craving among consumers for dark, bitter, sweetened, hot stimulant drinks.[25] Chocolate, like the caffeinated drinks that followed it, may have also increased demand for sugar, since it was an important vessel for sugar. One cannot fully understand the accelerating popularity of sugar without paying attention to the reasons for the diffusion of stimulant beverages.[26]

CHOCOLATE SCHOLARSHIP LIES AT THE INTERSTICES of culinary, colonial, and consumer history, and like these, it gravitates toward biological essentialism or cultural functionalism. Chemical and neurophysiological studies that have isolated and identified powerful psychoactive compounds provide support for chocolate's inherent attractiveness, or even addictive qualities. Cacao contains stimulating methylxanthines (small amounts of caffeine and abundant but weaker theobromine), even more potent amphetamine-like phenylethylamine, pleasure-producing cannabinoids, and cholesterol-lowering flavonoids. The fat and sugar in chocolate also may stimulate the brain to produce opiates.[27] The view that chocolate may hold universal appeal

regions under Ottoman control, but it was not imported for European consumption until the mid-seventeenth century. Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, 58–60; Jean Leclant, "Coffee and Cafés in Paris, 1644–1693," in Robert Forster and Orest Ranum, eds., *Food and Drink in History* (Baltimore, Md., 1979). Chocolate remained hegemonic in Spain until the end of the eighteenth century, when coffee began its triumphant ascendance; Charles E. Kany, *Life and Manners in Madrid, 1750–1800* (Berkeley, Calif., 1932), 151.

[25] Direct evidence that coffee was recognized as a cognate of chocolate is *Carta qve escrivió vn Médico cristiano, que estava curando en Antiberi, a vn Cardenal de Roma, sobre la bebida del Cahuè o café* [n.p., 16–], University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library. In the early seventeenth century, a Spanish doctor who was visiting an unidentified locale in the Ottoman Empire viewed "this new drink coffee . . . so common among the Turks, Persians, and Moors" through chocolate-tinted glasses. He designated the special coffee cups used by the Turks, Moors, and Persians with the hispanized pre-Columbian term used for chocolate vessels: *jícaras*. He referred to the vessel used to boil the water as "a glass pot or a tin-covered *chocolatera* with a spout." He noted that "they add a spoonful of ground sugar as with Chocolate, and stir it with a silver spoon and drink it by sipping it like Chocolate, as hot as they can take it." Throughout Europe, many early treatises grouped together chocolate, coffee, and tea: Dufour, *Traitez nouveaux*; [Jacob Spon], *Usage du caphé, du thé et du chocolate* (Lyon, 1671); John Chamberlayne, *The Natural History of Coffee, Thee, Chocolate, Tobacco* (London, 1682); *Tractatvs novi de potv caphé; de Chinensivm thé; et de chocolata* (Paris, 1685); Nicolas Blegny, *Le bon usage du thé, du caffé et du chocolat* (Lyon, 1687).

[26] Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, 150; Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability*, 121. Why have scholars failed to recognize the actual relationship between chocolate and coffee? Part of the answer may lie in the anachronistic projection of contemporary chocolate (low in cacao, high in milk and other additives) onto the prevalent early modern formula, which prescribed a large amount of stimulating cacao and no milk. And perhaps long-standing assumptions about Dutch and British exceptionalism and the teleological recognition that these precocious economic modernizers ultimately derived the most economic benefit from the trade in Asian and Atlantic goods has led scholars to focus on the success of these goods in the northern European context and to ignore the Iberian Atlantic. Yet British and Dutch economic prowess should not obscure the fact that the European demand for stimulant beverages originated in the Spanish Americas, followed by the Iberian Peninsula, and then moved northward. For studies that redress the neglect of Iberia in the development of Enlightenment epistemology and the scientific revolution, respectively, see Cañizares Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*, and Barrera, *Experiencing Nature*.

[27] Biochemists have identified more than three hundred chemical compounds in cacao and subjected several of them to intense experimentation. There is ongoing research and still much ambiguity about how these compounds work on the nervous system. See Bennett Alan Weinberg and Bonnie K. Bealer, *The World of Caffeine: The Science and Culture of the World's Most Popular Drug* (New York, 2001),

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because of a jigsaw-like fit between its active compounds and "propensities of the human body" is persuasive.[28] One cannot ignore the powerful psychoactive properties of cacao and its role in human history. However, this alone is an insufficient explanation for Europeans' acquisition of a taste for chocolate.[29]

One shortcoming of the purely pharmacological explanation should be immediately obvious: habit-forming properties may account for the continued use of chocolate, but not for its initial success. Another problem with this explanation is that the seventy-year time lag between the first European encounters with chocolate and its wide-scale use in Europe makes untenable assertions of instant addiction. Moreover, the fact that cacao contains compelling psychoactive compounds does not help explain the varying and evolving forms that chocolate has taken throughout history. Perhaps the most persuasive rebuttal to the theory that Europeans instantly recognized the aesthetic and psychoactive attractions of chocolate is that the empirical evidence demonstrates the opposite. Those with only scant exposure to the drink tended to find it disgusting, as indicated by the experience of the Milanese adventurer Girolamo Benzoni. He came across chocolate in Nicaragua in the middle of the sixteenth century, and famously wrote that it "seemed more a drink for pigs, than a drink for humanity. I was in this country for more than one year, and never wanted to taste it."[30] The Jesuit José de Acosta likewise disparaged chocolate, asserting that those who had not grown up with it "could not have a taste for it," and likening the frothy foam that capped the drink to feces.[31] While the powerful chemical compounds in cacao may help to explain some of its enduring attraction, they clearly cannot account for why people began to consume chocolate or for the particular ways in which they used it.

The historians who have paid attention to chocolate by and large eschew biological explanations and employ cultural-functionalist assumptions to account for its assimilation into European foodways. They assume that Europeans appropriated the Indian beverage on their own terms—that they found it "analogous" to existing drink categories; that it matched the ethos of "decadent" court society; that its stimulant effects were appropriate to the needs of an ascendant bourgeoisie; or that they tinkered with the recipe until it satisfied their palate, and ensconced it in a familiar medical paradigm to veil its exotic origins. Eric Wolf was one of the first of many to hypothesize that American import commodities provided stimuli for global capitalism by invigorating both transatlantic commerce and laborers: "Among the pan-

217–219, 223, 231–232, and E. D. Tomaso, M. Beltramo, and D. Piomelli, "Brain Cannabinoids in Chocolate," *Nature* 382 (1996): 667.

[28] Eric Wolf referred to Europe's "Big Fix"; Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982), 322.

[29] On the insufficiency of biological explanations for the triumph of sucrose, see Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, 5–6; Goodman, "Excitantia," 127. There may be "universal" parameters in which contingent taste is developed. For instance, people generally avoid lethal poisons, and certainly studies have shown that babies respond immediately to sugar. But within these parameters there is much that is culturally specific about taste.

[30] Quoted in Sophie Coe, *America's First Cuisines* (Austin, Tex., 1984), 109; Girolamo Benzoni, *Historia del Mondo Nuovo* (Venice, 1565), fol. 102.

[31] José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Sevilla, 1590), fols. 163r–164v. Diego Durán relayed that when Cortés and his men were first offered chocolate, they viewed the drink with suspicion and refused to try it; Angel María Garibay K., ed., *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e Islas de la Tierra Firme*, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1967), 2: 509–510. Translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

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oply of products destined for consumption in the industrializing areas a few are clearly not staple foodstuffs or industrial products but rather stimulants . . . favored because they provided quick energy in a period when more intense and prolonged performance was demanded from the human body."[32] Sidney Mintz likewise argues that such beverages, along with sugar, helped to fuel industrialization by providing laboring classes "stimulus to greater effort." Wolfgang Schivelbusch developed a similar hypothesis, counterposing coffee and chocolate, apparently ignorant of the latter's earlier ascendance. He viewed the former as the liquid manifestation of the Protestant ethic that lay beneath the economic modernization of northern Europe while characterizing chocolate as the potion that matched the decadent, aristocratic ethos of the declining powers of southern Europe.[33]

A significant claim made in the cultural-functionalist vein is that Europeans initially found chocolate repugnant, so they doctored it until it matched the sensibilities of their palate, most notably by sweetening it and eliminating strange and often spicy additives. According to preeminent chocolate authorities Sophie D. Coe and Michael D. Coe,

> To cross the ethnocentric taste barrier and be accepted as a normal beverage by the Spanish-born and the creoles, the cold, bitter usually unsweetened drink had to undergo its own process of hybridization. The first transmutation was that the whites insisted on taking chocolate hot rather than cold or at room temperature, as had been the custom among the Aztecs . . . Secondly, it came to be regularly sweetened with cane sugar. Thirdly, Old World spices more familiar to the invaders, such as cinnamon, anise seed, and black pepper, began to be substituted for native flavorings like "ear flower" and chili pepper (this never could have been too popular with the invaders, anyway).[34]

Echoing the assertion of the eighteenth-century author quoted in the opening epigraph, these and many other modern authorities—no doubt also influenced by current forms of chocolate that seem to bear little resemblance to the peppery liquid favored by pre-Columbian (and the first European) consumers—assume that the evolution of chocolate was marked by a radical rupture inaugurated by picky colonial drinkers.[35] According to this view, not only did the invaders transform chocolate's material basis, but they also swathed it in a new ideological husk. "The Spaniards had stripped it of the spiritual meaning which it had for the Mesoamericans," the Coes continue; "for the [Spanish] invader, it was a drug, a medicine, in the humoral system to which they all had adhered."[36] Europeans attempting to fix these substances in a classificatory scheme invoked the Galenist humoral medical context most

[32] Wolf, *Europe and the People without History*, 322.

[33] Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, 186; Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise*, 34, 38–39, 87–93.

[34] Coe and Coe, *The True History of Chocolate*, 112–115. See also Dauril Alden, "The Significance of Cacao Production in the Amazon Region during the Late Colonial Period: An Essay in Comparative Economic History," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 120, no. 2 (April 1976): 105.

[35] An exception to this view can be found in Ross W. Jamieson, "The Essence of Commodification: Caffeine Dependencies in the Early Modern World," *Journal of Social History* 35, no. 2 (2001): 269–294, which argues that Europe's acquisition of caffeinated drinks was dependent on a "dynamic history of interaction with cultures that struggled in complex relation to increasing European power" and that "All caffeine drinks came to Europeans embedded within the cultural practices of the non-Europeans who were using them" (287).

[36] Coe and Coe, *The True History of Chocolate*, 126; see also Goodman, "Excitantia," 132; Solange Alberro, *Del gachupín al criollo: O cómo los españoles de México dejaron de serlo* (Mexico, D.F., 1992), 76–77.

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familiar to them. Many authors assume that the early success of chocolate, as well as other stimulant beverages, was due to its acceptance as a medicine, and only later was it appreciated as an object of recreation and pleasure.

There is much that these accounts offer, but they fail to *explain* how chocolate got a foothold among European consumers in the Americas and then Europe. Past studies of colonial appropriation have focused on formal collecting endeavors and systematic scientific practices but have not paid attention to other sites of material transmission. In the case of chocolate, fundamental vectors of cultural transmission were social networks that emerged in colonial and imperial contexts, the informal and formal relationships that emerged between European missionaries and Indian subjects, conquistadores and tributaries, market buyers and vendors, and those between clergy and merchants who moved often and easily within an integrated Spanish Atlantic world. During the early history of chocolate among Europeans, the transmission of taste did not accord with the top-down structure of society. Instead, it flowed in the opposite direction: from the colonized to the colonizer, from the "barbarian" to the "civilized," from the degenerate "creole" to the metropolitan Spaniard, from gentry to royalty. The European taste for chocolate emerged as a contingent accident of empire.

From this revisionist account of chocolate's diffusion to Europeans, an alternative way of understanding taste emerges—overdetermined by neither biology nor ideology, but rather autonomous and contingent. In line with the scholarship of cultural functionalists, the history of chocolate reveals weaknesses with environmental determinism that neglects the social context in which resources, foods, and microbes crossed cultures.[37] But consistent with the Platonic-Kantian "biological" tradition, taste functions as an autonomous force, not a dependent manifestation of ideology, mentalité, ethos, or social identity.[38] Social conditions can accidentally affect the body in ways that have far-reaching consequences. In the case at hand, Spanish methods of colonization and imperial organization led Europeans in the colonies and metropole to internalize Mesoamerican aesthetics, which in turn inaugurated Old World demand for stimulant beverages.

AT THE TIME THE SPANISH ARRIVED ON THE SCENE in the early sixteenth century, the use of cacao in beverages was a unifying trait of linguistically and geographically diverse communities encompassing Mesoamerica, and perhaps even extending beyond its frontiers.[39] Since the finicky cacao tree flourishes mostly in tropical lowland

[37] For excellent examples of environmental history that foreground the dialectical relationship between environment and culture, see William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York, 1983), and Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York, 1991).

[38] The history of chocolate also indicates the way that colonial histories have suffered from an overemphasis on "discourse determinism" at the expense of embodiment or "lived experience" in colonial encounters and exchanges; see Lynn M. Meskell and Rosemary A. Joyce, *Embodied Lives: Figuring Ancient Maya and Egyptian Experience* (London, 2003). In thinking about the role of the body in history, I have also found useful the notion of *habitus* developed in Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford, Calif., 1990).

[39] Mesoamerica is the geographic area covered by the Mayan area of Central America and southeast Mexico, the Oaxacan zone, the Gulf zone of Veracruz and Tabasco, western Mexico, and the central

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climates, many pre-Columbian consumers had access to cacao only through long-distance trade. The Mexica (Aztecs) who dominated much of Mesoamerica at the time of the Spanish arrival obtained their cacao supply through tribute (almost half came from cacao groves in Soconusco on the southern Pacific Coast), as well as voluntary long-distance trade.[40]

Despite the different languages, long-standing enmities, and geographic expanses separating Mesoamerican communities, cacao and chocolate were a common interest, even obsession. That cacao beans functioned as currency throughout the region underscores their pan-Mesoamerican embrace. From Nicaragua to northwest Mexico, there was a fundamental sameness among the modes of consumption, ritual contexts, and symbolic resonances of chocolate. Everywhere, the prevailing cacao concoction was consumed as a beverage, sometimes hot and sometimes cold, mixed with maize or not, and often sweetened with honey and spiced with chili peppers, vanilla, and other fragrant flora. The starting point for all of them was the same. Cacao nibs—what are commonly called "beans," or the seeds inside the pulpy mass of the cacao fruit—were dried and fermented to increase their "oily and buttery" qualities. They were then toasted until the nibs turned from brown to black and sloughed off their husks, and finally they were ground between two stones (one of which had a fire burning beneath) known as a *metate*. (A similar process still characterizes chocolate production.) The paste that resulted was perishable and would spoil within a week. If formed into hardened tablets, however, it would last for up to two years.[41] The final beverage was made by dissolving the cacao paste in water and mixing in diverse additions (maize, spices, honey).

Sixteenth-century dictionaries from the Zapoteca, Nahua, and Mayan regions had distinct terms for cacao drinks, but they all included entries for "the beverage of cacao with maize," "the beverage of cacao with chili peppers," "the beverage of cacao alone," and "the beverage of cacao with dried and ground flowers." Nahuatl speakers designated as *atexli* a beverage composed of water, cacao, and maize, prepared cold and sometimes enhanced with the spices described below. *Tzone* was

highlands. Paul Kirchhoff, "Mesoamérica," *Acta Americana* 1, no. 1 (1943): 92–107, classified cacao as one of the unifying features of this region, along with the *coa* (planting stick); maize cultivation and its preparation with lime; paper; and ritual human sacrifice for religious purposes. On the origins and development of pre-Columbian cacao and chocolate, see Allen M. Young, *The Chocolate Tree: A Natural History of Cacao* (Washington, D.C., 1994), 5–18; Coe and Coe, *The True History of Chocolate*; [Karen Dakin and Søren Wichmann], "Cacao and Chocolate: A Uto-Aztecan Perspective," *Ancient Mesoamerica* 11 (2000): 55–75; John S. Henderson and Rosemary A. Joyce, "Brewing Distinction: The Development of Cacao Beverages in Formative Mesoamerica," in Cameron McNeil, ed., *The Origins of Chocolate: Cacao in the Americas* (Gainesville, Fla., in press).

[40] "Mexica" refers to the Nahua-speaking Indians who were settled in Tenochtitlán and whom colonial Spanish identified as Aztecs. I will use the terms "Aztecs" and "Nahuas" more or less interchangeably, and "Mexica" to refer to the tribally affiliated group of Tenochtitlán. For the cultivation of pre-Columbian cacao, see John F. Bergmann, "The Distribution of Cacao Cultivation in Pre-Columbian America," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 59 (1969): 85–96; René F. Millon, "When Money Grew on Trees: A Study of Cacao in Ancient Mesoamerica" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1955), 107–127; Murdo J. MacLeod, *Spanish Central America* (Berkeley, Calif., 1973), 69–70.

[41] The creolized doctor Juan de Cárdenas provided a detailed description of cacao preparation and chocolate; Cárdenas, *Problemas y secretos maravillosos de las Indias* (1591), ed. Angeles Durán (Madrid, 1988), 136–137, 144–145. Writing for a European audience in 1636, Antonio de León Pinelo provided a very similar description; León Pinelo, *Question moral: Si el chocolate quebranta el ayuno eclesiástico* (Madrid, 1636), fol. 5v.

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made of equal quantities of toasted corn and cacao and "served as a refreshing food and not as a medicine." *Chilcacautl* was the beverage composed of cacao and chili peppers. Finally, there was the cacao beverage of cacao, water, and flower spices, known as *xochiaya cacautl*, the beverage described by the great Franciscan ethnographer Bernadino de Sahagún as "honeyed chocolate made with ground-up dried flowers." This cacao preparation became hegemonic among creoles and then Spaniards in the Old World.[42]

The "ground-up dried flowers" were *xochinacaztli* (also known as *gueynacaztle*), *mecaxóchitl*, and *tlixochitl*. *Xochinacaztli* probably referred to the thick ear-shaped petal on blossoms of *Cymbopetalum penduliflorm*, a tree of the custard-apple family that grows in the tropical forests of Veracruz, Oaxaca, and Chiapas. The taste has been described as akin to that of black pepper with "a hint of resinous bitterness," and compared to nutmeg, allspice, and cinnamon. *Mecaxóchitl* are small flowers (probably *Piper sanctum* and related to black pepper) with a spicy, floral edge reminiscent of anise. *Tlixochitl* we know as vanilla (*Vanilla planifolia*).[43] This flower spice constellation had an ancient lineage, in evidence in Mayan cosmological and sacred texts of the Popul Vuh.[44] Chili peppers added a further bite to many renditions. Achiote (*Bixa orellana*, also known in English as annatto) tinged the drink red and imparted a slightly musky flavor (sometimes compared to paprika and saffron). And honey was used to sweeten many cacao drinks. Mesoamerican chocolate was frequently topped with a foamy froth produced by pouring the liquid from one container into another from a "certain height until it produced a foam, and the fatty parts, with an oil-like quality, rose to the surface." (See Figures 1 and 2.) Finally, chocolate was imbibed from drinking vessels made for that purpose. During the pre-Hispanic era, finely painted lacquered gourds and ceramics were manufactured exclusively for chocolate—some of them painted with designs, others colored in a "smoky" tone. Known in Nahuatl as *tecomatl* (for ceramic cups) and *xicalli* (for the calabash variety), these vessels were among the tribute items levied by Moctezuma.[45] (See Fig-

[42] Alonso de Molina, *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana*, 2 vols. (1571; facs. ed., Madrid, 1944), 1: 19v; 2: 10v. The Zapotec–Spanish dictionary includes these entries for "cacao": "a fruit like pine nuts that is drunk as a beverage" (*pizòya*), "a cacao drink of these made with water" (*niçapizòya*), "cacao in this way with chili peppers" (*niçapizòya quiña*), "cacao in this way with certain things that have fragrance" (*niçapizòyachina*), and "cacao made this way to drink raised high [e.g., with foam]" (*tocaniçapizòyachina*); Juan de Córdoba, *Vocabulario castellano-zapoteco*, ed. Wigberto Jiménez Moreno (1578; facs. ed., México, D.F., 1942), 64v. Commissioned by Philip II in the 1570s to investigate the *materia medica* of New Spain, Francisco Hernández conducted extensive interviews with indigenous authorities and described the preparation of various cacao beverages; Hernández, *Obras completas*, Tomo 2: *Historia natural de Nueva España*, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1959), 1: 303–305, 100. Bernardino de Sahagún, *The Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain*, trans. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles Dibble, 12 vols. (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 1950), 8:13, 39. For similar Maya preparations, see Coe and Coe, *The True History of Chocolate*, 63–64.

[43] Coe and Coe, *The True History of Chocolate*, 89–91.

[44] Susan D. Gillespie and Ana Lucrecia E. de MacVean, "Las Flores en el Popol Vuh," *Revista Universidad del Valle de Guatemala* 12 (2002): 10–17.

[45] On achiote, Hernández, *Historia natural*, 1: 27–28; on sweeteners, *The Florentine Codex*, 8:13, 39, and below; on foam, Hernández, *Historia natural*, 1: 305; *The Florentine Codex*, 10:26, 93. The importance of chocolate foam is also suggested by the fact that Sahagún's informants listed aerating stirring sticks among the ruler's chocolate paraphernalia; *The Florentine Codex*, 8:13, 40; 9:6, 27; Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, intro. and ed. Joaquín Ramírez Cabañas (México, D.F., 1964), chap. 91, 155–156. A Maya vase from the Late Classic period (600–900 A.D.) depicts the frothing process by showing a woman pouring the liquid from one vessel into another; Coe and Coe, *The True History of Chocolate*, 52. On drinking vessels, Frances F. Berdan and Patricia Rieff Anawalt,

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FIGURE 1: *Codex Tudela*, fol. 3r. From a manuscript painted in New Spain ca. 1553, this image depicts a Nahua woman, of high social rank (as suggested by her fine cloak), frothing chocolate by pouring it from a height. A similar representation of chocolate-frothing occurs on a ceramic piece used for serving chocolate by Maya from the Late Classic period (A.D. 600–900). 21 x 15.5 cm. Ink on vegetable-fiber paper. Reproduced courtesy of the Museo de América, Madrid, Spain.

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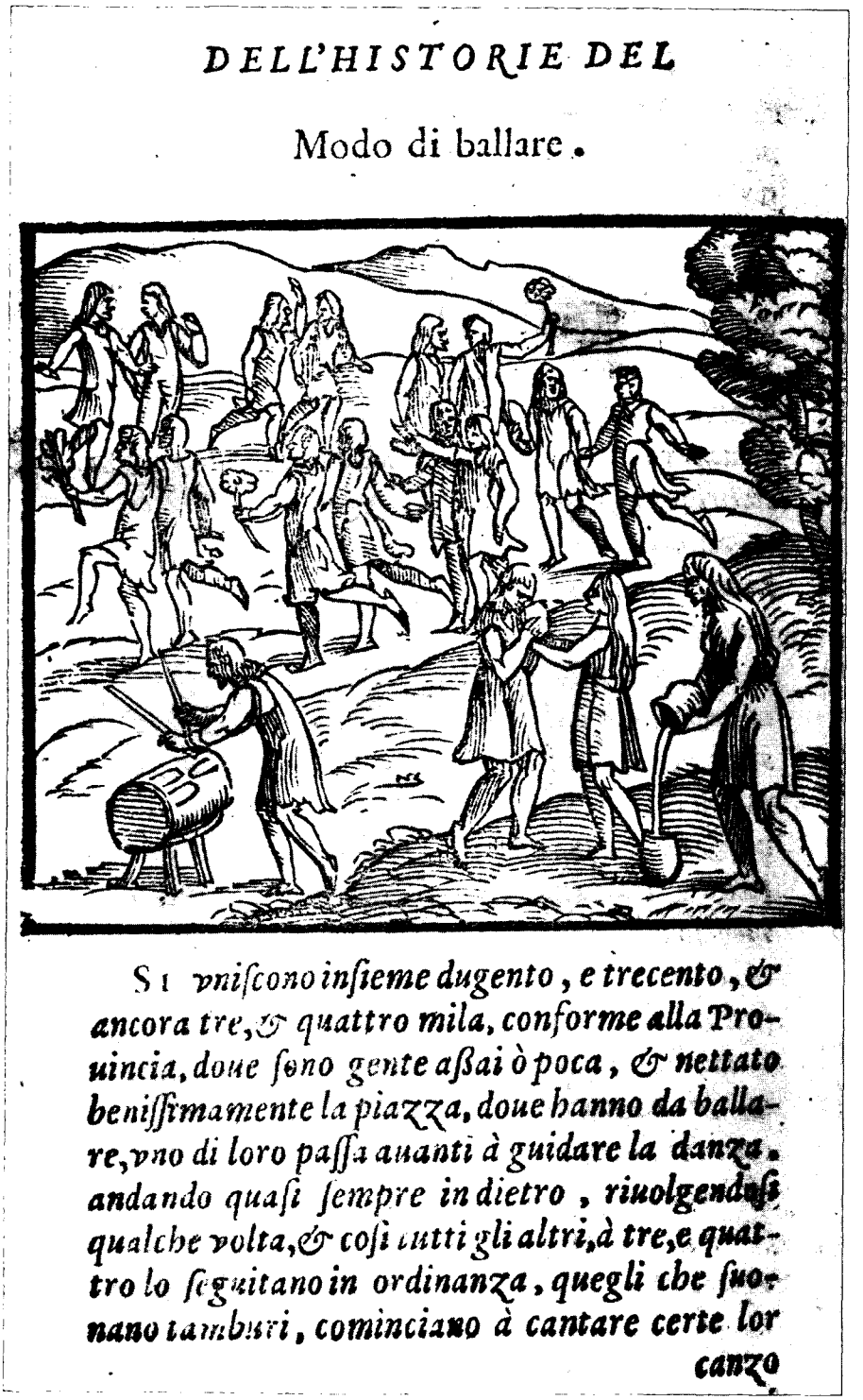


FIGURE 2: Girolamo Benzoni, *La Historia del Mondo Nuovo* (Venice, 1572), fol. 104v. This engraving, which also appeared in the 1565 edition, depicts Mayan revelers. Although disdainful to Benzoni, chocolate was integral to keeping the Mesoamerican celebrants awake for the nocturnal festivities. In the lower right corner, a figure froths the chocolate. Shelfmark: xE141.B42. Reproduced courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

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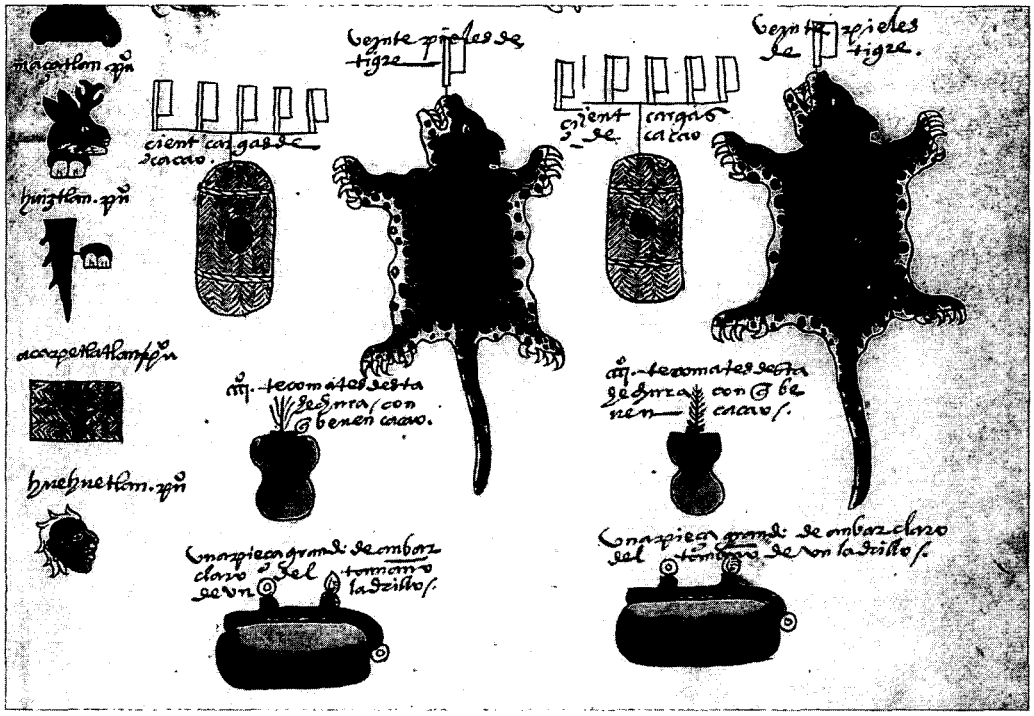


FIGURE 3: *Codex Mendoza*, fol. 47r. Although this manuscript was commissioned and compiled ca. 1541–1542, the tribute lists that it includes are thought to be based on pre-Hispanic prototypes. The loads of cacao and chocolate-drinking vessels were among the items that the Aztec ruler levied from tributaries. Ink on European paper. Shelfmark: MS. Arch. Seld.A.1. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford University, England.

ure 3.) Mesoamericans appreciated chocolate for its psychological effects as well: "when an ordinary amount is drunk, it gladdens one, refreshes one, consoles one, invigorates one."[46] Drinking chocolate was a complex somatic experience for pre-Columbian and colonial Indians. The emphasis put on flower spices, the frothy foam, the special drinking vessels, and the requisite reddish hue shows that chocolate was valued not only for its effects on the taste buds, but also for the stimulation of the olfactory, tactile, visual, and affective senses.

IT WAS NOT UNTIL 1519, when Cortés began the march on Mexico that culminated in the fall of the Aztec Empire, that the stage was set for Europeans' education in and eventual adoption of chocolate. Within a few years of the fall of Tenochtitlán in 1521, Spanish military control coalesced throughout central Mexico.[47] Colonial policies

eds., *The Essential Codex Mendoza* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 47r, 68r, "Commentary," 1: 219; Molina, *Vocabulario mexicana*, 93r, 158v; *The Florentine Codex*, 9:7, 35, 9:6, 28. *The Florentine Codex* also refers to vendors who specialized in different kinds of gourd containers, including those for chocolate; 10:21, 78.

[46] *The Florentine Codex*, 11:6, 119. See also Hernández, *Historia natural*, 1: 305.

[47] The first known European encounter with cacao came in 1502, during Columbus's fourth voyage, when his crew captured a Mayan trading vessel off the Honduran coast and discovered among its cargo cacao beans, later described by Christopher's son Fernando as "those almonds which in New Spain are

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ensured the continued cultivation, commerce, and consumption of cacao, because the Spanish rulers' immediate ability to profit from the conquest depended on their usurpation and maintenance of the tribute system organized by the Aztec rulers. Indian demographic catastrophe and Spanish pressure to overproduce led to the decline of traditional pre-Hispanic cacao-producing regions in southern Mexico (Tabasco and Soconusco) and to the development of new regions for cultivation or intensification of cacao production in the Sonsonate region in Guatemala and El Salvador.[48] Although Spanish policies and cupidity transformed the geography of cacao cultivation, the crop itself, if not the indigenous producers, flourished under the colonial regime. In the sixteenth century, Spanish policy encouraged (or rather demanded) that Indian tributaries augment cacao production; cacao had been a tribute item under Aztec rule, and the new imperial overlords, the Spanish, envisioned that wealth could be secured through its continued sale to indigenous consumers.

Given that the existing evidence suggests that Europeans' first encounters with chocolate were overwhelmingly negative, how did this Mesoamerican beverage ingratiate itself among Europeans in the Indies, Spain, and beyond? That chocolate became a success in Spain was due to the social organization of the Spanish Empire. Spaniards in the New World absorbed many elements of the material practices connected to pre-Columbian chocolate. Despite their position at the apex of the social hierarchy, colonists in sixteenth-century Mexico were enveloped within an Indian cultural milieu and were susceptible to native acculturation.[49] Even with Indians' catastrophic mortality in the face of Old World pathogens and increasing European emigration, Spaniards still constituted only a small minority in their most densely settled areas.[50] In mid-sixteenth-century Mexico City, for instance, Indians vastly outnumbered Spaniards, and people of African descent almost equaled the Spanish in number: Spaniards and their "pure" descendants made up only 5 percent of the population in Mexico City in 1570, and still only 10 percent by the mid-seventeenth century.[51]

used for money"; quoted in Coe and Coe, *The True History of Chocolate*, 107. There is no indication that the Spanish explorers knew anything about the use of cacao as the basis for beverages.

[48] By the late sixteenth century, Guatemala had become the prime producer of cacao. But after Spanish exploitation exhausted the labor supply and the delicate ecology of that region, production moved southward to the Guayaquil region in Ecuador and the area around Caracas in Venezuela and more than compensated for (and contributed to) the drop-off in Guatemala. In net terms, total cacao production continued to increase in the seventeenth century in Guatemala. Alden, "The Significance of Cacao Production," 105–106; MacLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 68–94, 235–252; Eduardo Arcila Farías, *Comercio entre Venezuela y México en los siglos xvi y xvii* (México, D.F., 1950); Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule* (Stanford, Calif., 1964), 335, 348–349.

[49] Alberro examines this process of acculturation generally in *Del gachupín al criollo*. For an archaeological perspective on Europeans' acculturation to native foodways, see Enrique Rodríguez-Alegría, "Eating Like an Indian: Negotiating Social Relations in the Spanish Colonies," *Current Anthropology* 46 (2005): 551–573.

[50] Perhaps 1,500,000 people lived in the Valley at the time of conquest; the Indian population had declined to 325,000 by 1570, and it continued to decrease until the mid-seventeenth century, according to Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule*, 141. Around 8,000 Spaniards arrived in New Spain before 1560, and almost as many again by 1580, according to Peter Boyd-Bowman, "Patterns of Spanish Emigration to the Indies until 1600," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 56 (1976): 601.

[51] Alberro, *Del gachupín al criollo*, 55; Ida Altman, *Emigrants and Society: Extremadura and America in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), 325; R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico* (Madison, Wis., 1994), 13–22; Colin Palmer, *Slaves of the White God* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979).

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Spaniards learned to like chocolate because of their continued material dependence on Indians. Colonial spaces of dependence included households where women labored as wives, concubines, and servants. Cross-cultural contacts flourished in intimate settings, some voluntary, others coerced. Both a drastic shortage of Spanish women[52] and a conscious and explicit strategy of appropriation and conquest through matrimony led to many marriages, as well as less formal domestic unions, between Indians and Europeans in the early sixteenth century.[53] Historians have long commented on the role of Indian wives in acculturating Spanish men (and creating culturally mestizo households) to Indian dietary and domestic practices.[54] The role of women as cultural intermediaries has particular salience for the history of chocolate, since numerous sources disclose that women were charged with its preparation in pre-Columbian and colonial Mesoamerica.[55] (See Figures 1 and 2.) As emigration increased the pool of Spanish women, elite Spaniards no longer married Indian women (although commoners continued to do so), but Indian women still dominated the domestic sphere.[56] In the Yucatán, for example, Maya domestics created a culturally indigenous milieu for creoles: "Creole children spent their infancy, literally from birth and their early childhood in almost the sole company of Maya women," writes Nancy Farriss, "suckled by Maya wet nurses commandeered from the villages, reared by Maya nurses, and surrounded by Maya servants."[57]

Indian villages were another place in which colonists became the unwitting students of native teachers. Maintained as political units by the Spanish colonial regime, these Indian enclaves were constantly penetrated by non-Indians: the *encomenderos* and *corregidores*, accompanied by their retainers and servants, came to collect tribute and demand laborers for their agricultural and building enterprises, while friars, clerics, and their assistants built churches and convents in and near pueblos to spread

[52] Not only did the number of emigrants spike in the second half of the sixteenth century, but their social composition changed from the early years, in which the predominant social element was single men desiring to be conquistadors. In the second half of the century, a greater proportion were women, and more of the men were merchants, artisans, lay or ecclesiastical bureaucrats, and their servants—the latter accounted for more than half of the male emigrants in the years between 1595 and 1598. Women constituted less than 7 percent of the migrants before 1540, and more than 25 percent in the period after 1560. These figures apply to Spanish emigration to the Indies as a whole, but it seems obvious that they would particularly characterize emigration to New Spain—an area identified as a major settlement region for Europeans and therefore in need of administrators and wives; Boyd-Bowman, "Patterns of Spanish Emigration to the Indies until 1600," 583–584, 599. Pedro Carrasco has calculated that out of a total of sixty-five married men in Puebla in 1534, twenty were married to Indian women. While the sixty-five men included both conquistadors and later arrivals, the latter (of lower social standing) were more likely to be married to Indian women than were the conquistadors, who nevertheless made a statistically significant showing in the cross-cultural unions.

[53] Pedro Carrasco, "Indian-Spanish Marriages in the First Century of the Colony," in Susan Schroeder and Robert Haskell, eds., *Indian Women of Early Mexico* (Norman, Okla., 1997), 88. These cross-cultural unions continued even though marriages with Spanish women remained the socially esteemed preference for Spanish men.

[54] J. H. Parry, *The Spanish Seaborne Empire* (1966; repr., Berkeley, Calif., 1990), 123; Coe and Coe, *The True History of Chocolate*, 110–111; Alberro, *Del gachupín al criollo*, 71–73.

[55] Díaz del Castillo and Sahagún were unequivocal that it was women who prepared and served chocolate at traditional Aztec banquets; Coe, *America's First Cuisines*, 75, 78, 103. Diego Valadés, *Retórica Cristiana* (Perugia, 1579), 172–173.

[56] Alberro, *Del gachupín al criollo*, 72.

[57] Nancy Farriss, *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (Princeton, N.J., 1984), 112.

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their faith and enforce orthodoxy.[58] During visitations, the Spaniards continued their education in chocolate, along with other facets of Mesoamerican culture. Indian tributaries and parishioners, following traditional pre-Hispanic practice, welcomed the Spanish lords and priests with chocolate. Toribio de Benavente (often known by his Nahuatl nickname, Motolinía), one of the twelve Franciscan friars who inaugurated conversion efforts in New Spain, described the reception that he and his fellow missionaries received in Indian villages:

> [The friars] visited and baptized three or four villages in one day . . . and many times they gave [the friars] who carried out this mission chocolate, which is a drink that is used frequently in this land, especially in the hot season . . . [T]he lord marquis Hernando Cortés . . . ordered that they show much reverence and hospitality to the priests, as they used to show to the ministers of their idols. And so they showed the same reception to the Spanish.[59]

This passage demonstrates how the direction of cultural influence was independent of that of power dynamics. Despite—or because of—the colonial relations of subordination, Indians' cultural practices infiltrated colonists' milieu. Similar receptions of friars and colonists continued into the seventeenth century.[60]

Another setting for initial chocolate encounters was the marketplace, an Indian institution. Lists compiled in the mid-sixteenth century of goods sold at markets in Mexico City, Tlaxcala, and Coyocán include cacao, chocolate, and the gourd containers used for drinking chocolate.[61] A Spaniard who spent time in New Spain during the 1570s clearly viewed these markets as an Indian space, albeit one wherein Europeans and others moved freely, and found chocolate: "In all of the neighborhoods there is a plaza where every fifth day or with greater frequency are celebrated markets not only in Mexico City but in all of the cities and villages in New Spain," he wrote, "in which congregate a numerous multitude of men and women . . . The varieties of fresh and dried fruits, indigenous and from our land [e.g., Spain], sold there cannot be enumerated, and that which is held in higher appreciation than all of the others is the *cacaotl* [cacao]."[62] Another Spaniard, the physician and author Bartolomé Marradón, who visited Mexico some years later, took a less sanguine view of such transactions:[63]

> The usage of chocolate is so familiar and so frequent among all of the Indians, that there is not a square or market where there isn't a black woman or an Indian woman with her aunt, her *Apstlet* (which is a clay vessel), and her *molinillo* (which is a stick like the needles they

[58] Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule*.

[59] Toribio de Benavente, *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España*, intro. and ed. Claudio Esteva Fabregat (México, D.F., 2001), 131. I modified the translation in Toribio Motolinía, *Motolinía's History of the Indians of New Spain* [*Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España*], trans. and ed. Francis Borgia Steck (Washington, D.C., 1951).

[60] Thomas Gage, *The English-American, His Travail by Sea and Land; or, A New Survey of the West-India's* (London, 1648), 25.

[61] James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, Calif., 1993), 187; Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule*, 353, 356.

[62] Francisco Hernández, *Antigüedades de la Nueva España*, trans. and notes by Joaquín García Pimentel (México, D.F., 1945), 80, 82.

[63] Bartolomé Marradón, *Diálogo del uso del tabaco . . . y de chocolate y otras bebidas* (Sevilla, 1618). Not being able to consult the only known exemplar in the Vatican, I have relied on the French translation "Dialogue du Chocolate," in *Traitez nouveaux et curieux du café, du thé et du chocolat*, trans. Philippe Sylvestre Dufour (Lyon, 1685), 423–445.

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use to spin yarn in Spain), and their containers to collect the run-off and cool the foam [off the chocolate]. These women first put a section of the paste or a square of chocolate in water and dissolve it, and after removing a portion of this foam . . . they portion it into vessels called *Tecomates* . . . Then the women distribute it to Indians, or to Spaniards who surround them. The Indians are great impostors, giving to their plants Indian names, which renders them in high repute. We can say that of the Chocolate sold in the marketplace and stands.[64]

Marradón anxiously reveals the marketplace as a meeting point among cultures, one where the normative order is thrown out of balance. Women—particularly Indian and black women—became the purveyors of desirable knowledge and edible and potable substances, while Spaniards were the seekers and buyers.[65]

As the demographic and social composition of colonial society changed during the sixteenth century, creole and mestizo spaces became important for chocolate socialization as well. Religious houses served as nodes of transmission, in that they were spaces where people from both sides of the Atlantic met, socialized, and shared experiences. The experience of Thomas Gage, a young clerical recruit to the Dominican Order who came to Mexico lured by tales of easy riches, reveals how rituals of hospitality could lead to chocolate inauguration. Gage recalled how, after disembarking in Veracruz, the Dominican novitiates participated in a procession to the cathedral, and then their supervisor "entertained us very lovingly with some sweetmeats, and every one with a Cup of the Indian drink called chocolate."[66] An autobiographical aside in the physician Antonio Colmenero de Ledesma's *Curious Treatise on the Nature and Properties of Chocolate* (1631) affords another glimpse of transmission in creole spaces. He described his initiation into chocolate consumption when, "arriving hot [in the Indies], visiting sick people and requesting a little bit of water to refresh" him, he was instead "persuaded to drink a *jícara* [gourd cup] of chocolate . . . which placated [his] thirst."[67] When Europeans arrived in the Americas, they became integrated into social networks—organized around family, occupation, or religious order—which exerted considerable pressure for them to conform to local customs.

As there was nothing intrinsically appealing about chocolate, how did a taste for the beverage develop in Europe? It took a while. Chocolate had no significant presence in Spain until the very end of the sixteenth century, and it became well established in Seville only in the first decades of the seventeenth century.[68] Before then, small quantities of chocolate arrived in Spain infrequently and erratically. For instance, an abusive *encomendero* (the conquistador-turned-Spanish lord who received tribute from Indians) ordered his subjects to prepare a thousand pounds of "ground cacao ready to drink" for his voyage to Spain in 1531.[69] A retinue of Indians brought Prince Philip (the future Philip II) a gift of chocolate in 1544.[70] Yet both contem-

[64] Marradón, "Dialogue," 431–433.

[65] For other references to cacao and chocolate sold in the colonial "Indian" marketplace, see Lockhart, *Nahuas*, 187; Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule*, 353, 358–360.

[66] Gage, *The English-American*, 23.

[67] Colmenero de Ledesma, *Curioso tratado*, fols. 6r, 6v.

[68] Pierre Chaunu and Huguette Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique, 1504–1650*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1956–1959), 6, pt. 2: 1043, 2129, 4439, 4440, 4452, 4462.

[69] *Noticias relativas al pueblo de Tepetlaoxtoc* (México, D.F., 1944), 18.

[70] Coe and Coe, *The True History of Chocolate*, 130–133. Oliva Sabuco de Nantes, a singularly enigmatic female physician, made a passing mention of cacao in her medical advice book intended for a

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porary commentators and tax registries for American imports attest that chocolate was not a regular trade item until the 1590s.[71] The first work about chocolate to be published with a Spanish readership in mind was printed in 1624.[72] By the 1620s, thousands of pounds of cacao and chocolate were imported into Spain annually. Venezuela exported more than 31,000 pounds between 1620 and 1650, and more than 7 million pounds between 1650 and 1700.[73]

A critical mass of aficionados with New World experience had to develop in Spain before a market for the beverage could exist. A necessary, though not sufficient, condition for the arrival in Europe of chocolate as an object of consumption was the degree of social contact between mainland and colonial Spaniards. Return migration has been estimated at between 10 and 15 percent.[74] A study of passenger lists discloses that two groups in particular—clergy and merchants—crossed the Atlantic in both directions most frequently.[75] Not surprisingly, members of these communities appear among the vanguard of consumers who initiated chocolate neophytes in Europe. As in the New World, religious houses were important nodes for such socialization. When the representatives of religious orders (*procuradores*) attended general meetings in Europe, they made sure to "carry with them great wealth, and gifts to the Generalls, to the Popes and Cardinals and Nobles in Spain, as bribes to facilitate whatsoever just or unjust, right or wrong they are to demand." Among these "gifts" were "a little wedge of Gold, a Box of Pearls, some Rubies or Diamonds, a Chest of Cochineal, or Sugar, with some boxes of curious Chocolate, or some feather works of Mechoacan."[76] A 1634 lawsuit brought against a ship's captain by a Jesuit in Seville for two large containers of lost chocolate that had been shipped from the brethren in Veracruz provides ample detail of how his order may have facilitated the transmission of the habit.[77] Some of the shipment was destined for the "procurador general" based in Seville, and some was to be shipped on to "brother Antonio who

Spanish mainland audience, *Nueva filosofía de la naturaleza del hombre* (Madrid, 1588), fols. 132, 176, 183r–v.

[71] León Pinelo, writing before 1636, estimated that chocolate had been in common use among Spaniards for about forty or fifty years; *Questión moral*, fol. 8v. Tomás Hurtado wrote around 1645 that it had had a presence on the Iberian Peninsula for about fifty years; Hurtado, *Chocolate y tabaco: Ayuno eclesíastico y natural* (Madrid, 1645), fol. 19. I examined the cargo lists of eight ships returning from New Spain between 1588 and 1591; only one ship listed a shipment of chocolate—one box with no more than forty pounds of chocolate in 1591; AGI, CT 4390, 2595. Of the cargo lists I examined for twenty ships returning from New Spain in 1595, I found four with chocolate shipments, each of about fifty pounds; AGI, CT 4389.

[72] Santiago de Valverde Turices, *Un discurso de chocolate* (Sevilla, 1624).

[73] Arcila Farías, *Comercio entre Venezuela y México*, 51–61, 72–73, 106, 143–145. These numbers, however, do not reflect the total amount of cacao imported, for they do not include cacao from New Spain or Guatemala, which were still vital producers until the mid-seventeenth century, nor the considerable trade in smuggled cacao; see Wim Klooster, *Illicit Riches: The Dutch Trade in the Caribbean, 1648–1795* (Leiden, 1995).

[74] Ida Altman has estimated around 10 percent; *Emigrants and Society*, 248. Using ship manifests, Auke P. Jacobs found that between 1598 and 1621, 944 passengers traveled from New Spain to Castile, which he calculates as a 14 percent rate of "return migration"; Jacobs, *Los movimientos migratorios entre Castilla e Hispanoamérica durante el reinado de Felipe III, 1598–1621* (Amsterdam, 1995), 150–151. See also James Lockhart, "Letters and Peoples to Spain," in Fredi Chiappelli, ed., *First Images of America*, 2 vols. (Los Angeles, 1976), 2: 791–793.

[75] Jacobs, *Los movimientos migratorios*, 160.

[76] Gage, *The English-American*, 7–8.

[77] AGI, CT 825, no. 8.

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resides in Rome." Likewise, the earliest shipments of chocolate—along with chocolate-drinking paraphernalia—were destined for members of Seville's elite merchant class in such limited quantities as to suggest that it was for their household consumption.[78]

Having crossed the "taste barrier," the chocolate neophytes fully embraced the beverage in the manner in which it was presented to them, having no alternative way to think or feel about it. The taste for chocolate encompassed not only gustatory appreciation but also the olfactory, visual, tactile, and cognitive senses. Europeans in both the New and Old World learned to like chocolate in its full Mesoamerican complexity, adopting the whole spectrum of cacao beverages that surrounded them. Juan de Cárdenas, a Spanish-born doctor transplanted to and educated in Mexico, lauded chocolate concoctions that were identical to those described as Indian beverages.[79] Their acceptance is further indicated by the hispanization of the Nahuatl terms—for example, *atextli* became *atole*. The Spanish provided the literal translation *orejuelas* ("little ears") for the Nahuatl terms for the flower spices *gueynacaztle* ("great ear" in Nahuatl) and *xochinacaztli* ("flowery ear"). They hispanized *mecaxóchitl* into *mecasuchil*, and baptized *tlixochitl* as vanilla ("en nuestra romance *vainillas olorosas*").[80]

While Cárdenas gave pride of place to the flower-spiced cacao beverage, he also recommended the other cacao drinks. *Atole*, which was "consumed and sold in all of the Mexican plazas and streets," he opined, was "that which is most refreshing and most quenches the thirst and provides the most sustenance" of all the cacao beverages.[81] As described by Cárdenas, Europeans in the New World selected the cacao beverages that best fit their needs or temperament, choosing the more common *atole* when they wanted something refreshing and sustaining, and favoring the spicier, more potent chocolate at other times. Colonists and visiting Spaniards adopted the full array of cacao beverages made by Indian women in villages, markets, and households throughout the sixteenth century.

All these forms likewise arrived in Spain in the early seventeenth century. In the first years of chocolate's diffusion in Europe—beginning with Spain—there was little difference between the types of chocolate consumed by creoles, Indians, and Iberians. A 1636 source testified that "in this court" there were "Mexicans" (Indians) and "persons of the Indies" (creoles) using chocolate in the same manner as they had in the Americas (with maize and honey).[82] These New World arrivals were the first to use chocolate in the Old World, and they brought their chocolate with them, as it was prepared in the Americas.[83] At the beginning of its diffusion, there was not

[78] Among the illustrious chocolate purchasers in the period 1591–1602 were Antonio Armijo, described as "one of the most powerful Sevillan merchants at the end of the sixteenth century"; Pedro Mendoza, who amassed more than 4 million maravedis in 1596, and "thus was one of the wealthiest Indies traders"; and Cristóbal de Ribera. See Eufemio Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España con América en la época de Felipe II*, vol. 1: *Los mercaderes y el tráfico indiano* (Valladolid, 1979), 336, 380, 395. Their chocolate purchases were registered in AGI, CT 2595, 4389, and 4412. The small quantities (one box apiece, which ranged between 20 and 100 pounds)—particularly in comparison with the massive amounts of bullion and dye goods they were importing—suggest auto-consumption.

[79] Cárdenas, *Problemas*, 145–146.

[80] Ibid., 140–142.

[81] Ibid., 146.

[82] León Pinelo, *Questión moral*, 7v.

[83] For instance, in the fleet tax records of 1585, only chocolate, and not cacao, was imported; AGI,

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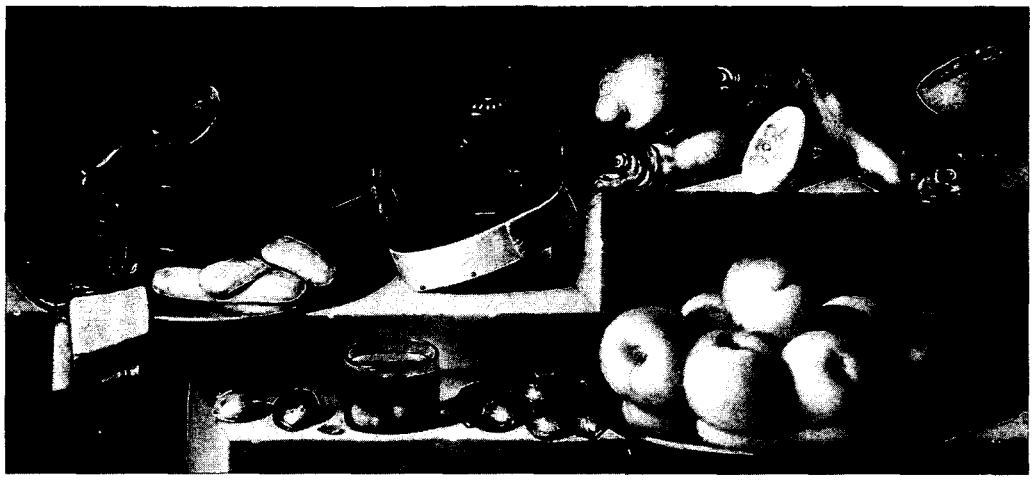


FIGURE 4: Antonio Ponce (1608–1677), *A Still Life of Peaches, Fish, Chestnuts, a Tin Plate and Sweet Box and Two Mexican Lacquer Cups*. In Spain, it became increasingly common by the late 1630s for still lifes to depict chocolate accoutrements. In this painting, chocolate is signified by the lacquered gourds known as *jícaras* and the *molinillo* used to froth chocolate (*upper left*), perched on a container holding ground cacao. The presence of the gourds and frother demonstrates that chocolate engaged Iberians' tactile and visual senses in much the same way it did their Mesoamerican antecessors. Reproduced courtesy of the Galería Caylus, Madrid, Spain.

sufficient technical knowledge to warrant bringing the raw materials, so chocolate itself was transported. It was not until the 1630s that chocolate artisans populated Madrid in detectable numbers.[84] This trajectory makes clear that European chocolate was not just similar to American chocolate. It *was* American chocolate.

Europeans who had grown up with the drink in the New World—or who had been immersed in an Indian milieu for a sufficient time—not only acquired a taste for the thick chocolate, but consumed it in the manner that it had been long consumed in Mesoamerica. Likewise, Spaniards assimilated the cacao complex in its entirety, and tried to maintain the sensory sensations that went with traditional chocolate even across the ocean divide. Royal legislation from 1632 hints at Spaniards' appreciation for the chocolate-flavoring agents vanilla and *mecaxóchitl*. That year the crown levied a special tax on chocolate consumption in Spain, and the levy singled out these two additives as essential raw ingredients of chocolate.[85] The Jesuit who sued a ship captain for the loss of valuable chocolate and cacao also charged the defendant with the disappearance of cargo comprising "orijuelas," "mecasuchial," and "achiote," as well as vanilla—in other words, the essential Mesoamerican chocolate spices.[86] It is widely held that the Spanish did not maintain the practice of combining maize and cacao in a beverage as was customary in Mesomaerica. Yet a description of choc-

CT 4389. In 1602, the fleet tax records show six boxes of chocolate and two boxes of cacao; AGI, CT 4412.

[84] Matilde Santamaría Arnaïz, "La alimentación de los españoles bajo el reinado de los Austrias" (Ph.D. diss., Universidad Complutense, Madrid, 1986), 712–713.

[85] "Sobre el 'servicio' de los dos millones y medio" (1634), AGI, Consulados, leg. 93, no. 9. The 1632 edict (reissued in 1634) to implement a new kingdom-wide tax or monopoly on chocolate specified that duties were to be paid on *mecazuchil* (½ real/lb.) and *vanillas* (12 reales/lb.), as well as cacao and manufactured chocolate. Manufactured chocolate was to be taxed at 1 real/lb., cacao at ½ real/lb.

[86] AGI, CT 825, no. 8. The spellings *orijuelas* and *mecasuchial* are irregular variants of *orejuelas* and *mecasuchil*, the Spanish terms for the Nahua-named *xochinacaztli* and *mecaxóchitl*.

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olate-making techniques in the court in 1636 testifies to the use of maize, as does a 1644 lawsuit, which also mentions "mecasuchil," "orejuelas," and achiote.[87]

Spanish appreciation and somatic expectations of chocolate were not restricted to the taste buds but encompassed visual and tactile preferences. Like native Mesoamericans, creoles and Spaniards learned that the beverage was better with achiote, which was praised by Cárdenas for enhancing chocolate with a "red and pleasing color."[88] Another author expressed the "truth" that achiote was necessary for giving a "better taste, color, and flavor to chocolate."[89] As the initial reaction of the Jesuit José de Acosta reveals, the foam hardly had immediate appeal to Spanish senses. Yet post-conquest connoisseurs in Mesoamerica and Spain alike came to agree with pre-conquest aficionados that chocolate was incomplete without a foamy head. Just as pre-Columbian artifacts make clear that foam was fundamental to chocolate consumption, so does the iconography of sixteenth-century creoles and mestizos, and seventeenth-century Spanish art. The *molinillo* (chocolate-frother) used to produce the foam became standard in representations of chocolate in seventeenth-century Spain. (See Figures 4, 5, and 6.)[90] The Spanish also learned from Mesoamericans that chocolate must be sipped from a special vessel—the *tecomate*, a cup fashioned from clay, or the *jícara*, a lacquered calabash gourd (hispanized from the Nahuatl *tecomatl* and *xicalli*).[91] Ship manifests indicate that in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Iberian-based chocolate consumers bought *tecomates* and *jícaras* along with chocolate and cacao imports.[92] Likewise, early chocolate still lifes depict the lacquered gourds as part of the conventionalized chocolate service. (See Figures 4 and 5.)

Europeans did, of course, add their own "inventions" to chocolate. The composition of chocolate and its paraphernalia evolved as it moved from pre-Columbian to colonial America and then to Europe. However, there was no conscious effort by "Europeans" to radically reinvent the substance. Instead, modifications came about

[87] León Pinelo, *Questión moral*, 8r. A 1644 lawsuit against a vendor accused of selling chocolate illegally in Madrid mentions that the chocolate's ingredients included "mecasuchil" (*mecaxóchitl*), "orejuelas" (*xochinacaztli*), achiote, and "harina de maiz" (cornmeal); Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Sala de Alcaldes, Lib. 1231.

[88] Cárdenas, *Problemas*, 142–143.

[89] Valverde Turices, *Un discurso*, fol. A1-v.

[90] Foam references include Cárdenas, *Próblemas*, 145–146; Marradón, "Dialogue"; León Pinelo, *Questión moral*, 8.

[91] Molina, *Vocabulario mexicana*, 93r, 158v. I wish to thank Margaret E. Connors McQuade for helping me identify the materials from which the vessels were fashioned and explaining the significance of the *bucaró* tradition.

[92] AGI, CT 4389, buyer 392; 4412, buyer 13, 601; 4413, buyer 708; 4424, fols. 210, 245, 296v; 4440, fols. 132, 133, 139; 4462, 315r. That these were meant to be used with chocolate is indicated by their being paired with it in the manifest, e.g., "un caxon de chocolate y xicaras"; AGI, CT 4424, fol. 245. See also León Pinelo, *Questión moral*, 8r. For other still life paintings that depict paraphernalia for making and drinking chocolate, such as *jícaras* made of lacquered gourds and/or porcelain and chocolate-frothers, by artists including Juan de Zurburán, Francisco Barrera, and Franciso Barranco, see *Tres siglos de pintura* (Madrid, 1995), 140, 142; and Peter Cherry, *Arte y naturaleza: El bodegón español en el Siglo de Oro*, ed. Conchita Romero, trans. Ivars Barzdevics (Madrid, 1999), plates 82, 86, 87. On this genre, see also William B. Jordan and Peter Cherry, *Spanish Still-Life from Velázquez to Goya* (London, 1995). I am grateful to William Jordan for helping me locate the still life in Figure 4 (as well as identifying Antonio Ponce as its artist), and to José Antonio de Urbina of Galería Caylus for allowing me to reproduce it. Mr. Urbina also relates that the celebrated court painter Juan van der Hamen y León, who was an apprentice in Ponce's studio, later painted the identical chocolate service that is depicted in the upper-left-hand corner of Figure 4 in a painting auctioned by Christie's in 1996.

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because of gradual tinkering motivated by efforts to maintain—not change—the sensory impact of chocolate. The most famous modification was the addition of sugar. Contrary to the popular view that the Spanish invented the idea of sweetening cacao, native Mexicans and Mayans already sweetened many of their cacao beverages with honey. Since the Spanish recognized both sugar and honey as sweeteners, switching one for the other represented a slight modification but not a major divergence from the concoction as they had first tasted it. Sugar can be seen as a substitute for honey, in which the intention is to approximate the taste of the original, not to radically change it. Cárdenas mentioned that some dissolved the cacao tablets in hot water with a "touch of sweetness, which makes it very pleasing," but notably, he did not indicate whether the addition was sugar or honey, suggesting their interchangeability.[93] Likewise, the chocolate authority Antonio de León Pinelo recognized honey and sugar as performing the same function in chocolate, although he suggested that Spaniards preferred their chocolate sweeter.[94]

Another arena for Spanish "invention" was spices. Spanish colonists modified traditional Mesoamerican chocolate by adding or substituting spices esteemed in the Old World—cinnamon, black pepper, anise, rose, and sesame, among others—in place of the native flower spice complex, achiote, and chili peppers. Cárdenas, the creolized doctor, indicated that Spaniards innovated with the recipes by using Old World imports, yet he insisted that "the fragrant spices of the Occidental Indies" were superior, since they "do not give us the excessive heat of those brought from the Oriental Indies."[95] Similarly, the Madrid physician Colmenero de Ledesma recommended spices from the New World, but acknowledged that Old World substitutes might be more practical. He suggested that the rose of Alexandria could replace *mecasuchil* (*mecaxóchitl*), because both substances possessed "purgative" qualities (perhaps the fact that *mecaxóchitl* and rose are flower blossoms also suggested the latter as a suitable substitute for the former).[96] He offered Old World black pepper as an alternative, albeit inferior, to Mexican chilies, enumerating the preferred kinds native to Mesoamerica (*chichotes*, *chiltecpin, tonalchies*, and *chilpatlagual*).[97] It seems likely that cinnamon, too, which became ubiquitous in chocolate preparations by the late seventeenth century, caught on because it had both the spicy aspect of chili pepper and the floral attributes of the flower spice constellation. When Spaniards tinkered with the recipes by using Old World spices, they were actually trying to simulate the flavors offered by less available New World flowers.[98]

Maize did eventually disappear from European chocolate beverages, it is true. Yet cacao beverages employing maize, such as *atole*, did not become largely extinct in Spain as a result of distaste. Rather, it seems that maize fell out of use because

[93] Cárdenas, *Problemas*, 140, 142–143, 145–146.

[94] León Pinelo, *Questión moral*, 8r. He wrote, "the Indians who invented [chocolate], it is without doubt, that in much water they added enough honey in order to sweeten it and a bit of cacao, with nothing else . . . the Spanish augmented the sweetness with sugar." He also mentioned, however, that Spaniards from the Indies used honey as well as sugar.

[95] Cárdenas, *Problemas*, 140, 142–143, 145–146.

[96] Colmenero de Ledesma, *Curioso tratado*, on the preference for chilies, fols. 4v, 8r; on the wonders of achiote (confirmed via the experiments of "physicians of the Indies" on sheep—early animal testing), varieties of chilies, and substitutions, fols. 6r, 8r.

[97] Ibid., fol. 6r.

[98] Cárdenas, *Problemas*, 140, 142–143, 145–146.

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FIGURE 5: Antonio de Pereda, *Still Life with an Ebony Chest* (1652). This masterpiece (which is reproduced in color on the cover) is dedicated to New World sensory delights. On the left is a *chocolatera*, in which chocolate paste and sugar were dissolved together. The *molinillo* for frothing chocolate is to its right. On the tray below are three kinds of *jícaras* (chocolate-drinking cups); the two in front are made of Iberian ceramics, and the one in back is likely a porcelain piece imported from Asia. The spoon—a conventional element in early modern chocolate still lifes—was probably meant to scoop the foam off the top, a European variant of the tortoiseshell spoons used by Mesoamericans for the same purpose. On the right, wooden containers contain cacao paste, and a clump of white sugar is ready for use. Among the vessels sitting on top of the chest is another *jícara*, a splendidly decorated gourd imported from New Spain. Biscuits, favored for eating alongside chocolate, rest in the foreground. The chest could have been a storehouse for the cacao; the lock and key remind viewers of the value of its luxurious contents. The painting also illustrates another American-inflected sensory tradition: the red ceramic vessels, probably manufactured in Tonolá (outside Guadalajara in New Spain) and known as *búcaros*, were celebrated for the aromatic earthy qualities they imparted to water. Oil on canvas, 80 x 94 cm. Collection of William Coesvelt, Britain, 1815. Reproduced courtesy of the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia.

Spanish consumers internalized Mesoamerican definitions of luxury, and because maize-less chocolate fared better in long-distance travel. *Atole* was generally prepared with a highly perishable viscous cacao paste. But the traditional Mesoamerican preparation of hot chocolate without maize employed the "tablet" form of cacao. Cacao in this form could last "at least two years," making it suitable for the lengthy voyage across the Atlantic.[99] So the predominance of the maize-free cacao beverages

[99] Cárdenas describes the preference for the perishable chocolate for cacao in ibid., 145.

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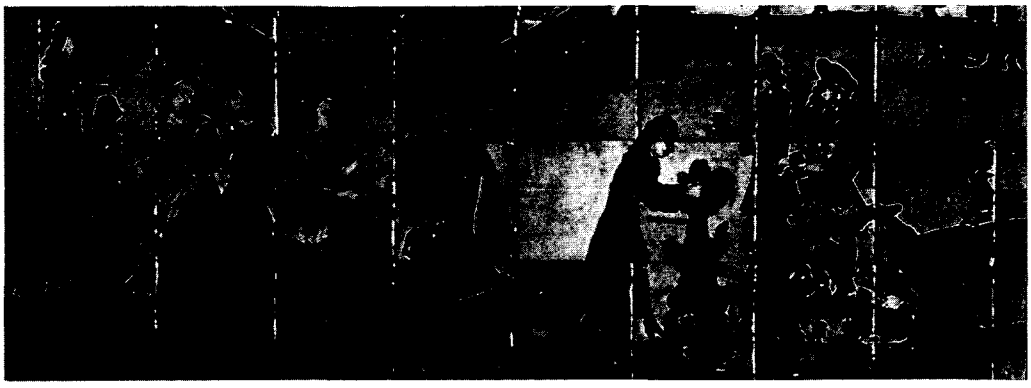


FIGURE 6: Detail, *La Chocolatada*, attributed to the workshop of Llorenç Passoles (Barcelona, 1710). The mural entitled *The Chocolate Party* illustrates an aristocratic gathering. It leaves no doubt that chocolate remained fundamental to elite sociability in the eighteenth century, and it underscores how the beverage's aficionados continued to prize the foam on top, as the scene displays the gentlemen, rather than their servants, engaged in frothing the chocolate. Reproduced courtesy of Museu de Ceràmica, Barcelona, Spain.

seems likely related to problems of storage posed by long-distance travel. It is also possible that Nahuas viewed the maize and cacao beverages as more quotidian, and the spicy, flowery cacao beverage as more of a special-occasion drink. In turn, if Spanish internalized such connotations, the elite who were vital to chocolate's transatlantic passage may have had a preference for the more "luxurious" chocolate.[100] In other words, it is possible that the disappearance of maize from Spanish chocolate is actually evidence of Spanish absorption of Mesoamerican values. –

Finally, developments in vessels used for drinking chocolate demonstrate the dynamic of interwoven change and continuity and the error in seeing a sudden rupture in the history of chocolate. Over time, wealthy chocolate consumers in both the New and Old World increasingly replaced ceramic cups and hollowed gourds with porcelain and *mayólica* vessels. But while these were fashioned from new materials, they maintained a similar size and shape as well as the Nahuatl name.[101] (See Figure 5.) The continuity is made particularly clear by the fact that chocolate consumers in Spain adopted the Nahuatl-derived term *jícara* for their porcelain cups.

In New Spain, and even more so in the Iberian Peninsula, Spaniards experimented with substitutes for Old World spices. But when they did so, their aim was to approximate original flavors, not to introduce new palate sensations. The view that Spanish "improved" on the chocolate of pre-Hispanic America is found in self-justifying Spanish texts by the eighteenth century. That chocolate had conformed to European taste was a myth that supported the Spanish ideology of conquest: it presupposed that the colonists brought their civilization to barbarians rather than the opposite. In fact, Europeans inadvertently internalized Mesoamerican aesthetics and did not modify chocolate to meet their existing tastes. Rather, they acquired new ones, a reality at odds with colonial ideology.

[100] According to *The Florentine Codex*, the chocolate served to the highest-ranking lords on special occasions did not include maize; 8:13, 39. Cárdenas's description suggests the quotidian/luxury distinction among cacao beverages; *Problemas*, 146.

[101] Donna Pierce, "Mayólica in the Daily Life of Colonial Mexico," in Roin Farwell Gavin, Donna Pierce, and Alfonso Pleguezuelo, eds., *The Story of Spanish and Mexican Mayólica* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2003), 253–254, 259.

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SCHOLARSHIP IN THE CULTURAL-FUNCTIONALIST TRADITION that concerns consumption in general and chocolate in particular assumes that taste follows discourse, that bodily practices reflect a dominant ideology, a guiding mentalité, or a prevailing ethos. The case of chocolate suggests a more complicated relationship between taste and discourse. For both Spanish colonists in the New World and Iberians in the Old World, chocolate-drinking habits drew attention to the paradoxes and tensions within the colonial project. Some have seen the fact that chocolate was discussed within a medical paradigm as an explanation for how Europeans came to embrace chocolate and remove its potentially idolatrous associations. Yet the medical paradigm neither led to Europeans' adoption of chocolate nor resolved the fraught issues concerning cultural difference. Instead, the "medicalization" of chocolate was a consequence, not a cause, of the challenge that this novel taste posed for colonial ideology. It emerged, first, because of the defensive posture assumed by creoles as they attempted to deny charges that those of European ancestry living in the Americas were less civilized than their counterparts resident in the Old World, and later, as metropolitans recognized their assimilation of a practice that emerged out of a non-Christian and non-European culture.[102]

Colonial officials in the metropole believed that Europeans born and raised in the New World degenerated so much that the latter became little better than Indians. Such ideas, grounded in environmental theories of the day, led metropolitan officials to prohibit creoles from holding clerical offices in the late sixteenth century. They claimed, for instance, that "the greater part" of Europeans in the New World "take the nature and customs of the Indians, since they are born in the same climate and reared among them."[103] At the same time, by the late sixteenth century, creoles themselves worried about the possibility of reverse acculturation. Authorities fretted about the enduring, even renewed, idolatry among the majority Indian population, and, even more problematic, its influence on people of European and mestizo descent, particularly in plebeian contexts in which people of differing ancestry lived cheek by jowl.[104] Inquisition dossiers attested that white colonists, as well as those of "mixed blood," sought out native *curanderos* for assistance, so as to restore stolen goods, gain the affection of a beloved, or resolve other life difficulties. This phenomenon indicated disturbing failures in the evangelical project. Moreover, from the point of view of creole authorities, it also inverted the natural social order, since it

[102] On the formation of white creole identities, see D. A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492–1867* (Cambridge, 1992), 2–3; Anthony Pagden, "Identity Formation in Spanish America," in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden, eds., *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), 51; Pagden, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination: Studies in European and Spanish-American Social and Political Theory, 1513–1830* (New Haven, Conn., 1990), 91; Jorge Cañizares, "New World, New Stars: Patriotic Astrology and the Invention of Indian and Creole Bodies in Colonial Spanish America, 1600–1650," *AHR* 104, no. 1 (February 1999): 35.

[103] Brading, *The First America*, 200, 297.

[104] Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *Medicina y magia: El proceso de aculturación en la estructura colonial* (México, D.F., 1963); Aguirre Beltrán, *El proceso de aculturación y el cambio sociocultural en México* (México, D.F., 1970); Solange Alberro, *Les Espagnols dans le Mexique colonial: Histoire d'une acculturation* (Paris, 1992); Alberro, *Inquisition et Société au Mexique, 1571–1700* (México, D.F., 1988); Serge Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico: The Incorporation of Indian Societies into the Western World, 16th–18th Centuries*, trans. Eileen Corrigan (Cambridge, 1993); Georges Baudot, *Utopie et Histoire au Mexique* (Toulouse, 1977). On such plebeian contexts, see Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination*.

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made those at the bottom of the social echelon—Indians—into sought-out authorities.

Colonists' fondness for chocolate seemed to give credence to metropolitans' charge of creole difference and to affirm the vulnerability of colonial subjects of all castes to acculturation to native ways. Chocolate cleaved Americanized Spaniards from new Iberian arrivals; the latter noted and often balked at the peculiar habits and tastes of their creolized compatriots, while the former squirmed under the derisive condescension of haughty *peninsulares*. In *Problems and Marvelous Secrets of the Indies*, a manifesto of creole legitimacy, Juan de Cárdenas acknowledged the criticisms of "those doctors in Spain [who] without understanding and inquiring what it is condemn everything about [chocolate]."[105] The Spanish Jesuit José de Acosta, after spending a year in New Spain, noted derisively that it was a "crazy thing" how those Spanish women "fashioned in the manner of this land will die for this black chocolate while those who are not so fashioned are disgusted by it."[106] Iberian disdain for chocolate became tantamount to peninsular denigration of creoles.

Chocolate was associated with various forms of colonial "idolatry." Jacinto de la Serna, intent on identifying and extirpating idolatrous practices in the Yucatán, wrote in 1656, "it is worthy to note that blacks, mulattos and some Spaniards, having left the hand of God . . . search out Indians, whom they pay" for services with various drugs. And he alleged that "in this city of Mérida . . . these Indian women put in chocolate enchanted things that bewitch their husbands."[107] Inquisition cases also confirmed the linkages between chocolate and sorcery, particularly associated with women of all castes. For instance, María de Riviera, identified as a mulatto woman in Puebla, in order that one of her paying customers might capture the affection of a man, instructed her client to grind cacao and add "certain powders and give the said chocolate to the said man to drink." Inquisition records from New Spain and Guatemala in the seventeenth century contain many cases like these, revealing chocolate as a crucial medium for the effective deployment of cures, love potions, and spells.[108]

Juan de Cárdenas's *Problems and Marvelous Secrets of the Indies* (1591) contains the first extensive discussion of chocolate in the context of European consumption. That he inserted chocolate within a medical discourse cannot be separated from his defensiveness about creoles' claims to equality with *peninsulares*, nor from his fears about enduring Indian "superstition" and colonists' susceptibility to it. Cárdenas was motivated to write about chocolate in large part because of its ambiguous status. He bristled at the criticisms of "those doctors in Spain" who "condemn everything

[105] Cárdenas, *Problemas*, 140.

[106] Acosta, *Historia natural*, fols. 163r–164v.

[107] Jacinto de la Serna, "Tratado de las supersticiones, idolatriacas, hechicerias y otras costumbres de las razas aborígenes de Mexico," in de la Serna, *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, dioses, ritos hechicerías y otras costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de Mexico*, ed., notes, and intro. Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, 2 vols. (México, D.F., 1953), 1: 279.

[108] Bancroft Library, Ms. 96/95, "Processo y causa criminal contra Maria de Rivera mulata libre natural y vezina de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles" (1652), fols. 3r–v. Similar cases are documented and analyzed in M. Á. Méndez, "Una relación conflictiva: La Inquisición novohispana y el chocolate," *Caravelle* 71 (1998): 9–21, and Martha Few, "Chocolate, Sex, and Disorderly Women in Late-Seventeenth- and Early-Eighteenth-Century Guatemala," *Ethnohistory* 52 (2005): 673–687, http://ethnohistory.dukejournals.org/cgi/reprint/52/4/673. I appreciate that Martha Few first brought these cases to my attention.

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about" chocolate. He thought that the lack of consensus on chocolate in the New World was also a problem: "In terms of the harms and benefits, I hear every person with his own opinion: some despise chocolate, considering it the inventor of numerous sicknesses; others say that there is nothing comparable in the world . . . there is no one who does not present his or her judgment to the populace."[109]

Cárdenas's concern for chocolate's ambiguous status related to the anxiety that permeates his work about marking the line between creoles and Indians. He expressed concern for Spaniards' recourse to Indian healers, lamenting that he had to

> listen every day to 2,000 tales and so many other stories, fables, and nonsense concerning those who cast spells, or another who expelled a bag of worms because of a potion or *patle* they gave, and this business does not stop here but they want you to believe that there are herbs, powders, and roots that have properties to make two people fall in love, or hate each other . . . and the ignorant multitude (*vulgo*) are persuaded not only to believe this, but also to believe and imagine (mostly barbarous and stupid people) that herbs and potions can be taken that predict the future (a matter reserved only for God).[110]

The shadowy characters to whom Cárdenas alluded—those who dispensed cures to the "multitudes"—included "a certain black slave" and "these Indians who are great dissimulators and clamorers."[111]

To rescue chocolate from its associations with "colonial idolatry" and its potential as a medium for cultural contagion, Cárdenas asserted that chocolate could be made European and sanitized from pagan associations through application of Old World medical principles. The act of prescribing provided the illusion that acculturation to Indian material ways could be mediated and safeguarded against unseemly and dangerous cultural contamination. Following the model provided by other European writers concerned with *materia medica*, Cárdenas began his discussion of chocolate by providing it with a humoral profile using the hot/cold and wet/dry categories deployed by the classical authority Galen (131–201 A.D.) and adopted by medieval and Renaissance physicians.[112] He explained that cacao was composed of three parts with different and contradictory properties, but that humorally speaking, its cold qualities predominated. In turn, he described the variety of cacao beverages and prescribed them according to individuals' temperament, location, age, and other factors affecting humoral balance. After describing the confusing multitude of opinions concerning chocolate, Cárdenas promised that "Only the divine Hippocrates can deliver us from this confusion with that much cited sentence that says: 'Not all for everything, but each thing for what it is,' which is a way of saying that we do not want to give

[109] Cárdenas, *Problemas*, 146.
[110] Ibid., 265–266.
[111] Ibid., 270, 273.
[112] In framing his discussion of New World *materia medica* in this way, Cárdenas adopted the model established by Nicolás Monardes, a Sevillan trader and physician, who wrote the best-selling and much-translated *Historia medicinal: De las cosas que se traen de nuestras Indias Occidentales, que sirven al uso de Medicina* (Sevilla, 1565–1574). Although Monardes did not discuss cacao or chocolate, he offered a prototype of sanitization in his discussion of tobacco. For Cárdenas's debt to Monardes and Monardes's publications as a pivotal turning point in European representations of the New World, see Norton, "New World of Goods," 54–62, 104–112, 177–190. More recently see Daniela Bleichmar, "Books, Bodies, and Fields: Sixteenth-Century Transatlantic Encounters with New World Materia Medica," in Schiebinger and Swan, *Colonial Botany*, 83–99.

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one single thing to all subjects, to all complexions, to all illnesses."[113] While others have viewed the insertion of chocolate into the classical medical paradigm based on Hippocrates and Galen as a *cause* of its success in Europe, it is better understood as an *effect*: a way that creole—and soon-to-follow Iberian—authorities found to reconcile their taste for an Indian delicacy with an ideology of cultural superiority. In writing about chocolate, Cárdenas reacted to, rather than caused, the widespread popularity of chocolate among creoles. Likewise, this medical discourse followed, not preceded, chocolate's insinuation among Spanish consumers in Europe. *A Dialogue Concerning the Use of Tobacco, Chocolate, and Other Beverages*, the first treatise that addressed chocolate consumers *in Spain*, was published in 1618, at least twenty years after chocolate had a detectable presence among consumers there.

Despite Cárdenas's efforts, the Indian legacy of chocolate continued to haunt some as the substance migrated to Europe. The author of the *Dialogue*, Bartolomé de Marradón, was an Andalusian physician (or apothecarist) who typified the vanguard of metropolitan chocolate drinkers: he traveled to the Indies (New Spain and/or Guatemala) at least twice and had family who migrated there.[114] Marradón's text reveals the unresolved tension between the medical framework and the lingering anxieties about chocolate as a vector for spreading Indian culture. As evidenced by the title, Marradón constructed his treatise as a dialogue between characters named "a Physician" (presumed to be Hispanic), "an Indian," and "a Bourgeois." The physician personage has few kind words for chocolate—he found its flavor distasteful, its effects unhealthy, its use unchristian, and its essence deplorably Indian. Yet, with the figure of the "Indian," Marradón revealed the paradox in Spanish dependence on chocolate. The Indian recounts witnessing a Spanish priest—who was supposed to be proselytizing to his fellow native—so beholden to chocolate that he was compelled to interrupt Mass to guzzle it. The Indian spoke: "I once saw in a port town where we disembarked to purify water a priest saying Mass who was obliged by necessity—being exhausted—to sit on a bench, and drink a *tecomate* full of chocolate, and then God gave him the energy to complete the Mass."[115] That the priest relied on chocolate *during* Mass indicates how in adopting chocolate, Spanish civilizers themselves fell victim to Indian idolatry. Interpolated into the most central rite of Catholicism—the transformation of wine and bread into the blood and flesh of Christ—was chocolate drinking, a practice intertwined with heathen idolatry. Providing more evidence for this perversion, the "Bourgeois" adds that clerics took to drinking chocolate while in church.

The conclusion of the dialogue makes explicit the notion that chocolate was not neutral material, sanitized through medical discourse, but rather a vessel for the spread of Indian heresies. The last words in the conversation come from the Indian: he relates that Spanish women use "this beverage to give occasion to avenge their jealousies, learning and using spells from Indian women, who are the great masters, having been taught by the Devil." He describes murders due to the spells of these women and cautions that "it is very good to abstain from Chocolate, in order to avoid

[113] Cárdenas, *Problemas*, 139, 146.

[114] AGI, CT 5360, no. 8; CT 5407, no. 8. Marradón was nicknamed "médico [physician] de Marchena" in Dufour, but in the AGI documents he appeared as a *boticario*.

[115] Marradón, "Dialogue," 436–438.

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familiarity and frequenting with a people so suspected of sorcery."[116] Through his ventriloquism of the Indian character, Marradón sought to make clear that chocolate could not be separated from its cultural lineage, one that made Europeans apprentices to Indians, whom he portrayed as masters—or rather mistresses—of sorcery, or even diabolism. In doing so, he ensured that notions prevalent in colonial Mesoamerica, as indicated by the attention that chocolate-dispensing healers and sorceresses drew from Inquisition authorities, migrated to Spain. The 1618 *Dialogue* underscored the ironies inherent in European adoption of chocolate in a world where ostensibly the Spanish were sowers of civilization, not apprentices to Indian culture.[117]

Most studies of consumption in general, and those of stimulant beverages in particular, assume or seek to demonstrate that tastes reflect social hierarchies, or an ascendant ethos. In other words, taste is a function of other social phenomena. The case of chocolate demonstrates another possibility: that taste, instead of naturalizing ideologies of hegemony, can reveal internal contradictions in ideological apparatuses. In Spain and Spanish America, Europeans' taste for chocolate did not bolster a normative hierarchy that elevated European colonists over Indian subjects, or Christians over pagans. Instead, it brought unwanted attention to the failures of the colonial civilizing and evangelical project and revealed the civilizers' vulnerability to cultural metamorphosis and Christians' potential for internalizing idolatry.

Not quite so abstract as ideas and not so tangible as goods, taste—understood here as embodied habits and aesthetic dispositions—formed part of the "Columbian Exchange." These embodied habits and aesthetic dispositions have a history that exists in relation to—but not dependence on—other historical phenomena. In the case of chocolate, particular social conditions, namely Spaniards' sustained proximity to Indian cultural milieus and the social integration of the Spanish Atlantic world, account for Europeans' acquisition of a new taste. This taste, rather than bolstering a monolithic imperial ideology, spotlighted its internal contradictions. Taste, here, is an autonomous force that affected, rather than reflected, discourse.

[116] Ibid., 444–445.

[117] Subsequently, cultural authorities in Spain and throughout Europe—physicians, pharmacists, theologians—hewed more closely to Cárdenas than to Marradón and emphasized the medical virtues of chocolate (when it was used in moderation). However, a subtext remained concerning the potentially unchristian aspects of chocolate consumption; see Norton, "New World of Goods" or *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures*.

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Modernity and Enchantment: A Historiographic Review

MICHAEL SALER

SPECTERS ARE ONCE AGAIN HAUNTING EUROPE AND AMERICA—as are magicians, mermaids, mesmerists, and a mélange of marvels once thought to have been exorcised by the rational and secular processes of modernity. In recent years, historians from disparate fields have independently challenged the long-standing sociological view that modernity is characterized by "disenchantment." This view, in its broadest terms, maintains that wonders and marvels have been demystified by science, spirituality has been supplanted by secularism, spontaneity has been replaced by bureaucratization, and the imagination has been subordinated to instrumental reason. In the past decade, however, a new historiographic position, if not consensus, has emerged that presents Western modernity as "enchanted." The ongoing redefinition of such an established view is of consequence for a variety of reasons, not the least of which has to do with the master narratives underlying the stories that historians choose to tell. As Dipesh Chakrabarty usefully reminds us, "The moment we think of the world as disenchanted . . . we set limits to the ways the past can be narrated."[1] The emergent view that modernity is as enchanted as it is disenchanted may conjure alternative vistas to the historical imagination, and at the very least offers the possibility of pulling new rabbits out of old hats.

Narrating a historiography of "modernity and enchantment" has limitations of its own, however. Those historians who challenge the equation of modernity with disenchantment often present their views within the context of topical debates in their respective fields. It will therefore be useful to tease out some of the common concerns and findings that have appeared in otherwise distinct areas of study, such as the histories of science, religion, and mass culture. The works examined here are necessarily eclectic, drawn primarily from European and American histories of these subfields, but they are nevertheless representative of how the topic is currently being handled across historical specialties.

A second challenge has to do with defining such inherently vague and complex terms as "modernity" and "enchantment." Taken separately, each term has manifold meanings. When the two terms are paired under a particular interpretation of the relationship between "modernity and enchantment," however, each assumes greater

I would like to thank Benson Saler, Ted Margadant, and the anonymous reviewers of an earlier draft of this essay for their helpful comments.

[1] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), 89.

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specificity through their joint interrelationship. Discussing the historiography of "modernity and enchantment" thus has the benefit of illumining some of the different stances that historians have taken toward defining modernity as a whole.

Authors tend to present the interrelationship between modernity and enchantment in one of three ways, each of which corresponds to an "ideal type" that the author holds about the question, either explicitly or implicitly. Excavating these three ideal types that underlie so many discussions of modernity and enchantment might help others to use them in a more self-reflexive way. These can be called the binary, dialectical, and antinomial approaches, although those are somewhat rough-and-ready heuristic labels intended to highlight key features of particular interpretations, rather than being all-inclusive models. The binary and the dialectical approaches to the topic, with their "either/or" logic, have been common since the late nineteenth century, but the antinomial approach, with its "both/and" logic, seems to have become the prevailing one in recent years.

A final issue also emerges as a result of the reconfiguration of the discourse. From our present vantage point, it seems incredible that the automatic association of modernity with disenchantment can have had such a long-standing purchase on the historical imagination. A recent commentator has called the trope of disenchantment "one of our most fundamental clichés of the modern period"; another dismisses it as "trite"; a third warns that it is a performative discourse, bringing about the very effects it describes.[2] The question then arises: How did Western elites become so enchanted with that incantatory phrase "the disenchantment of the world"? One might respond that certain aspects of the disenchantment narrative are compelling: the modern Western world has lost the overarching meanings and spiritual purposes formerly provided by religious world views; the prevalent emphases on scientific progress, technology, and instrumental reason can be dehumanizing; the rapid changes of modern existence can yield feelings of anomie, fragmentation, and alienation; and so on. But there are corresponding enchantments to the modern world that, on the whole, have not been as widely and repeatedly rehearsed. Why has this been the case, and why is it changing now?

Not all the works to which we shall turn address these questions directly, but in the aggregate they suggest possible answers. One of the most striking is the role played by a diverse population of "elites" in promulgating the discourse of modern disenchantment. They did this as a way to maintain distinctions between themselves and the masses in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to secure the predominance of "normal science" against both religion and alternative forms of knowledge between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries, and to retain their cultural authority against the challenges posed to it by the new mass culture of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Elites have enchanted themselves with the spell of disenchantment, but that spell appears to be breaking, leaving a specifically modern, "disenchanted" enchantment in its wake.

Before we launch into an examination of some of the works of history that are

[2] Philip Fisher, *Wonder, the Rainbow, and the Aesthetics of Rare Experiences* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999), 82; Rémi Brague, *The Wisdom of the World: The Human Experience of the Universe in Western Thought*, trans. Teresa Lavender Fagan (Chicago, 2003), 194; Jane Bennett, *The Enchantment of Modern Life: Attachments, Crossings, and Ethics* (Princeton, N.J., 2001), 4.

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part of this fresh approach, we need to define in more detail the earlier approaches that dominated the historiography. This will involve a necessarily cursory discussion of an enormous topic—the nature of "modernity"—and then a more in-depth examination of the related discourses of modernity as disenchanted, which assumed either a "binary" or a "dialectical" form for much of the past century. We will then be in a position to examine the emerging "antinomial" understanding of modernity as enchanted in a disenchanted way. This antinomial approach to the topic of modernity and enchantment offers a capacious way to address a host of phenomena formerly treated in a more limited and hierarchical fashion, which is one of its more marvelous features.

"MODERNITY" IS ONE OF THE MOST AMBIGUOUS WORDS in the historian's lexicon. The term is often used as if there were a common understanding of its meaning, whereas scholars continue to define it in different and sometimes contrasting ways. (One historian likened the term to a "multisided room of mirrors.")[3] In broad outline, modernity has come to signify a mixture of political, social, intellectual, economic, technological, and psychological factors, several of which can be traced to earlier centuries and other cultures, which merged synergistically in the West between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. These factors include (but are not exhausted by) the emergence of the autonomous and rational subject; the differentiation of cultural spheres; the rise of liberal and democratic states; the turn to psychologism and self-reflexivity; and the dominance of secularism, nationalism, capitalism, industrialism, urbanism, consumerism, and scientism. Different accounts of modernity may stress diverse combinations or accentuate some factors more than others. There is one characteristic of modernity, however, that has been emphasized fairly consistently by intellectuals since the eighteenth century: that modernity is "disenchanted."[4]

[3] David Hollinger, "The Knower and the Artificer, with Postscript 1993," in Dorothy Ross, ed., *Modernist Impulses in the Social Sciences* (Baltimore, Md., 1994), 26. An adequate survey of the concept of modernity would require an essay in its own right. Among the many works devoted to it are Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (Harmondsworth, 1988); Anthony J. Cascardi, *The Subject of Modernity* (Cambridge, 1992); Matei Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity* (Durham, N.C., 1987); Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995); David Frisby, *Fragments of Modernity: Theories of Modernity in the Work of Simmel, Kracauer, and Benjamin* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986); Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford, Calif., 1990); Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, "A History of the Concept 'Modern,'" in Gumbrecht, *Making Sense in Life and Literature*, trans. Glen Burns (Minneapolis, Minn., 1992); Jürgen Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity: Twelve Lectures*, trans. Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, Mass., 1987); Stuart Hall, David Held, Don Hubert, and Kenneth Thompson, eds., *Modernity: An Introduction to Modern Societies* (Oxford, 1996); John Jervis, *Exploring the Modern* (Oxford, 1998); Leszek Kolakowski, "Modernity on Endless Trial," in Kolakowski, *Modernity on Endless Trial* (Chicago, 1990); Scott Lash and Jonathan Friedman, eds., *Modernity and Identity* (Oxford, 1992); Stephen Toulmin, *Cosmopolis: The Hidden Agenda of Modernity* (New York, 1990); Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989); and Bryan Turner, *Theories of Modernity and Postmodernity* (London, 1990). For a spirited interrogation of the concept, see Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, Mass., 1993).

[4] See Hans Blumenberg, *The Legitimacy of the Modern Age*, trans. Robert M. Wallace (Cambridge, Mass., 1983); Brague, *The Wisdom of the World*; Marcel Gauchet, *The Disenchantment of the World: A Political History of Religion*, trans. Oscar Burge (Princeton, N.J., 1997); James T. Kloppenberg, "Democracy and Disenchantment: From Weber to Dewey to Habermas and Rorty," in Ross, *Modernist Impulses in the Social Sciences*, 69–90; and Roy Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason: The Modern Foundations of Body and Soul* (New York, 2004).

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Max Weber famously discussed the "disenchantment of the world" in a 1917 lecture, by which he meant the loss of the overarching meanings, animistic connections, magical expectations, and spiritual explanations that had characterized the traditional world, as a result of the ongoing "modern" processes of rationalization, secularization, and bureaucratization.[5] Weber's memorable phrase encapsulated a long-standing critique, begun by the early romantics during the late eighteenth century and elaborated by "cultural pessimists" through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, of the Enlightenment emphasis on reason and science at the expense of other ways of apprehending and being in the world.[6] Enchantment was associated not only with transcendent meaning and purpose, but also with wonder and surprise; these were the qualities that modernity, with its emphasis on inviolable natural laws, threatened to extirpate. By the late nineteenth century, the positivistic approach of scientific naturalism, which eschewed nonmechanistic accounts of existence, had become so prevalent that Weber's account was recognizable to his contemporaries: "the increasing rationalization and intellectualization ... means that principally there are no mysterious incalculable forces that come into play, but rather that one can, in principle, master all things by calculation. This means that the world is disenchanted."[7] Thus, whatever else modernity might be, in the particular discourse of "modernity and disenchantment" it was equated with a narrow, instrumental rationality and a hollow, expanding secularism permeating the West since at least the seventeenth century.

Perhaps proving that you can never get too much of a bad thing, the discourse of disenchantment continued to be dominant among Western intellectuals in the twentieth century, in two closely related modes that we can distinguish for heuristic purposes as the "binary" and the "dialectical." The binary discourse, which has been the most prevalent, defined enchantment as the residual, subordinate "other" to modernity's rational, secular, and progressive tenets. This marked a departure from the way "enchantment" had been used discursively from at least the Middle Ages, when it signified both "delight" in wonders and the possibility of being "deluded" by them.[8] While it could continue to have these ambivalent meanings in everyday speech, with the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century and the championing

[5] Max Weber, "Science as a Vocation," in H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds., *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York, 1946), 129–156. See also Ronald M. Glassman and Vatro Muvar, eds., *Max Weber's Political Sociology: A Pessimistic Vision of a Rationalized World* (Westport, Conn., 1984); Stephen Kalberg, "Max Weber's Types of Rationality," *American Journal of Sociology* 85, no. 5 (1980): 1145–1179; Edward Shils, "Max Weber and the World since 1920," in Wolfgang Mommsen and Jürgen Osterhammel, eds., *Max Weber and His Contemporaries* (London, 1987), 547–580; Lawrence A. Scaff, *Fleeing the Iron Cage: Culture, Politics, and Modernity in the Thought of Max Weber* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989).

[6] Weber may have drawn his phrase from Schiller, whose poem "Die Götter Greichenlands" referred to "die entgöttertur Natur." In the late nineteenth century, "disenchantment" was often used synonymously with "pessimism," the latter term given currency by the vogue for the "pessimistic" philosophy of Arthur Schopenhauer; see Edgar Evertson Saltus, *The Philosophy of Disenchantment* (New York, 1885). The phrase "cultural pessimist" has been applied to a range of nineteenth- and twentieth-century thinkers who criticized aspects of the modern West, among them Friedrich Nietzsche, Matthew Arnold, Oswald Spengler, T. S. Eliot, Arnold Toynbee, and Martin Heidegger. See Arthur Herman, *The Idea of Decline in Western History* (New York, 1997); for a later trajectory, see Oliver Bennett, *Cultural Pessimism: Narratives of Decline in the Postmodern World* (Edinburgh, 2001).

[7] Weber, "Science as a Vocation," 139.

[8] In the *Oxford English Dictionary*, for example, the definitions of "enchant" include "to hold spellbound; in bad sense, to delude, befool" as well as to "delight, enrapture."

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of Enlightenment in the eighteenth, enchantment tended to be defined by elites in a more limited fashion, as a form of duplicity associated with the "superstitions" of organized religion and the dogmatic authority of monarchical rule. Reason would free individuals from being enthralled by such enchantments; science would affirm that what had been taken for centuries as "wonders" and "marvels," when examined empirically and without reliance on revelation, would be explicable in terms of uniform natural laws.

Enchantments did not disappear entirely within the binary model, but were marginalized in various ways as residual phenomena both subordinate to and explicable by modernity's rational and secular tenets. Wonders and marvels were relegated by elites to the ghettos of popular culture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the new mass culture that succeeded them in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[9] In addition, enchantments became associated with the cognitive outlooks of groups traditionally cast as inferior within the discourse of Western elites: "primitives," children, women, and the lower classes.[10] Rational adults could partake of enchantments through the exercise of their imaginations, but despite the protestations of romantics, the imagination continued to be cast as inferior to reason, and a potentially dangerous instigator of desire, throughout much of the nineteenth century.[11] (Indeed, nineteenth-century concepts of "culture" were formulated partly as a way to contain the transgressive desires of an unregulated imagination.)[12]

Those who sought alternatives to the prevalent discourse of modern disenchantment were often tagged by their critics as reactionary antimodernists engaged in a futile struggle to recapture The World We Have Lost.[13] For example, one finds a range of responses to the discourse of disenchantment in the late nineteenth century,

[9] The literature on "folk," "popular," and "mass" cultures is extensive. For overviews of selected facets, see Peter Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City* (Cambridge, 1998); Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1978); Herbert J. Gans, *Popular Culture and High Culture: An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste* (New York, 1975); Michael Kammen, *American Culture, American Tastes: Social Change in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1999); Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988); Barbara Maria Stafford, *Artful Science: Enlightenment Entertainment and the Eclipse of Visual Education* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994); and Dominic Strinati, *An Introduction to Theories of Popular Culture* (New York, 1995).

[10] This view was reiterated in 1976 by Bruno Bettelheim. Arguing for the pedagogical importance of fairy tales for children, he maintained that children's thought is animistic, like that of "all preliterate people": "A child trusts what the fairy story tells, because its world view accords with his own." Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales* (New York, 1976), 45.

[11] Johann P. Arnason, "Reason, Imagination, Interpretation," in Gillian Robinson and John Rundell, eds., *Rethinking Imagination: Culture and Creativity* (London, 1994), 156–169; Patrick Brantlinger, *The Reading Lesson: The Threat of Mass Literacy in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction* (Bloomington, Ind., 1998); John Tinnon Taylor, *Early Opposition to the English Novel: The Popular Reaction from 1760 to 1830* (New York, 1943). The anthropologist Arjun Appadurai describes the dramatic shift in attitudes toward fantasy and the imagination during the course of the past two centuries: "Until recently . . . a case could be made that fantasy and imagination were residual practices, confined to special moments or places . . . [but] this weight has imperceptibly shifted. More persons throughout the world see their lives through the prisms of possible lives offered by the mass media in all their forms. That is, fantasy is now a social practice; it enters, in a host of ways, into the fabrication of social lives for many people in many societies." Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1997), 53–54.

[12] Christopher Herbert, *Culture and Anomie: Ethnographic Imagination in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago, 1991), 35.

[13] Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* (1965; repr., New York, 2004). For other explorations of "modernity and nostalgia," see Sylviane Agacinski, *Time Passing: Modernity and Nostalgia* (New York, 2004); Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York, 2002); Peter Fritzsche, *Stranded in the Present:*

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but these have usually been characterized by scholars as a reaction against the scientific and secular trends of modernity, a "revolt against positivism" in historian H. Stuart Hughes's well-known phrase.[14] The revolt was characterized by a fascination with spiritualism and the occult, a vogue for non-Western religions and art, and a turn to aestheticism, neopaganism, and celebrations of the irrational will. Many participants in these movements seemed to accept the binary distinction between modernity and enchantment no less than their critics, as did their successors in the numerous counterculture movements of the twentieth century.[15]

Historians of the modern period were among those elites who tended to neglect the marvelous in their works, although the situation began to change as social history rose first to prominence, and then to preeminence, within the European and American historical profession during the second half of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, most historians who studied "modern" enchantments followed the binary formulation, turning to magic, mesmerism, the occult, the supernatural, and other manifestations of enchantment, much as neurologists scrutinize brain disease to infer the workings of the healthy mind. Their aim may have been to rescue such phenomena from the horrible condescension of posterity, but many continued to depict them as residual holdovers from the premodern world, distinct from the emergent rational attitudes that were to supersede them. Thus Keith Thomas opened his magisterial *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971) with a trenchant demarcation between past and present: "This book began as an attempt to make sense of some of the systems of belief which were current in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, but which no longer enjoy much recognition today. Astrology, witchcraft, magical healing, divination, ancient prophecies, ghosts and fairies, are now all rightly disdained by intelligent persons."[16] Three years earlier, Robert Darnton reassured the readers of *Mesmerism* that the eponymous practice, while perhaps bizarre to their eyes, nevertheless illuminated the *mentalité* of Enlightenment France and thus was worthy of scholarly attention: "Extravagant as it seems today, mesmerism has not warranted the neglect of historians, for it corresponded perfectly to the interests of

Modern Time and the Melancholy of History (Cambridge, Mass., 2004); Romy Golan, *Modernity and Nostalgia: Art and Politics in France between the Wars* (New Haven, Conn., 1995).

[14] H. Stuart Hughes, *Consciousness and Society: The Reorientation of Social Thought, 1890–1930* (New York, 1961). In addition to identifying thinkers who tended to express a binary view of modernity, Hughes does acknowledge the attempts by certain thinkers, such as Sigmund Freud and Max Weber, to hold opposing forces—especially reason and the irrational—in the tense harmony represented by the antinomial paradigm. A body of thought known as "Traditionalism" also developed in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which was avowedly "antimodernist" and in its more trenchant forms does fit this oppositional, "binary" model: see Mark J. Sedgwick, *Against the Modern World: Traditionalism and the Secret Intellectual History of the Twentieth Century* (New York, 2004).

[15] Thus, in an influential work, Morris Berman captured an outlook shared by many progressive movements in Europe and America during the 1960s and 1970s, when he recounted the by now familiar argument: "The view of nature which predominated in the West down to the eve of the Scientific Revolution was that of an enchanted world. Rocks, trees, rivers, and clouds were all seen as wondrous, alive, and human beings felt at home in this environment . . . The story of the modern epoch, at least on the level of the mind, is one of progressive disenchantment. From the sixteenth century on, mind has been progressively expunged from the phenomenal world." Berman, *The Reenchantment of the World* (1981; repr., New York, 1988), 2.

[16] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York, 1971), ix.

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literate Frenchmen in the 1780s."[17] Darnton's readers may have been even more reassured by his concession that this enchanted *mentalité* of the eighteenth century was eventually replaced by a more rational mindset, for eighteenth-century scientists "read facts where their descendents read fiction."[18] Recrudescences of the irrational among modern European elites were similarly hived off as "exceptions" to the normative modern paradigm, most notably in the *Sonderweg* or "special path" attributed to Germany's illiberal development in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, culminating in the deluding enchantments of the "psychopathic God," Adolf Hitler.[19]

Closely related to the binary opposition between modernity and enchantment is the "dialectical" approach. Whereas the binary approach depicts contemporary turns to the irrational and spiritual as atavistic and marginal reactions to the rational and secular tenets of modernity, the dialectical approach posits modernity itself as inherently irrational, a mythic construct no less enchanted than the myths it sought to overcome. In the binary approach, the disenchantment of modernity is often viewed ambivalently: Weber, for example, acknowledged the benefits entailed by rational procedures and bureaucratic organizations, but he also recognized the impoverishments of human experience that accompanied them. Indeed, he feared that modernity could elicit an irrational mode of existence, characterized by reification, on the one hand, or subservience to charismatic authority, on the other. In the dialectical approach, however, there is far less ambivalence: modernity is exposed as dangerously oppressive and inhumane, a condition exacerbated by the hypocritical identification of modernity with reason, progress, and freedom. In the binary approach, modernity is inherently disenchanted, a situation viewed with regret as well as hope; in the dialectical approach, modernity is explicitly enchanted, in the negative sense, its universal promises exposed as self-interested ideologies, false consciousness, and bad faith.

The dialectical approach is implicit in the thought of Karl Marx, whose writings on modernity abound with metaphors and similes of enchantment—specters, ghosts, fetishes, etc.—linking the modern world with the religious world it supposedly had surmounted.[20] Friedrich Nietzsche explicitly equated the Western "faith" in reason and science with an irrational belief, one whose self-reflexivity undermined itself so that by the late nineteenth century its adherents were left with a belief in nothing:

[17] Robert Darnton, *Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment in France* (1968; repr., New York, 1970), 10.

[18] Ibid., 12. As recently as 1998, Jay Winter described the growth of spiritualism in interwar Europe: "The Great War, the most 'modern' of wars, triggered an avalanche of the 'unmodern.' One salient aspect of this apparent contradiction is the wartime growth in spiritualism." Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1998), 54.

[19] For two works in the *Sonderweg* tradition, see George L. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich* (New York, 1964), and Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology* (Berkeley, Calif., 1974); for a critique, see David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford, 1984). The "irrationalist" title is that of Robert George Leeson Waite, *The Psychopathic God: Adolf Hitler* (New York, 1977).

[20] Derrida discusses Marx's recourse to ghost imagery in *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International* (New York, 1994).

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nihilism.[21] Weber's thought could be interpreted as straddling the binary and dialectical approaches, as could that of Sigmund Freud in such later works as *Civilization and Its Discontents* (1930), which warns that the repressive cultural forces of modernity, together with its advances in science and technology, could eventuate in humanity's self-destruction.[22]

It is thus not surprising that the most influential articulation of the dialectical approach was made by two philosophers who brought together the various insights of Marx, Nietzsche, Weber, and Freud in a single, coruscating work. Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno's *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1947) indicts Western modernity as a globalizing enchantment whose reliance on instrumental reason abolishes individuality, distorts human nature, and represses autonomy. Modernity becomes a self-legitimizing force that transcends its own properties of self-criticism: "For the scientific temper, any deviation of thought from the business of manipulating the actual . . . is no less senseless and self-destructive than it would be for the magician to step outside the magic circle drawn for his incantation; and in both cases violation of the taboo caries a heavy price for the offender. The mastery of nature draws the circle in which the critique of pure reason holds thought spellbound."[23]

Horkheimer and Adorno's dialectical approach, like the binary approach, also condemns mass culture as a dangerous vector of delusion rather than delight, although their model defines nearly all forms of culture as complicit with the "totalitarian" logic of Enlightenment, "high" as well as "low." The two gesture feebly toward a saving remnant of "genuine" artistic expressions that remain inassimilable to reductive reason and its attendant logic of capitalist commodification, but on the whole the rational and secular claims of modernity stand condemned as the ultimate expression of a beguiling enchantment: "The more completely the machinery of thought subjugates existence, the more blindly it is satisfied with reproducing it. Enlightenment thereby regresses to the mythology it has never been able to escape."[24]

The binary and dialectical approaches to the problem of modern enchantment continue to influence scholarship, but since the 1990s there has been a concerted attempt to rethink the discourse from a vantage point that rejects the "either/or" logic of both of these slants. This is because the concept of "modernity" itself has come under renewed scrutiny by postmodern and postcolonial scholarship, with corresponding effects on the discourse of modernity and enchantment. The postmodern critique of binary oppositions has led to a rethinking of modernity that moves away from many of the categorical distinctions that were so prominent in earlier discussions. Interrogations of the concept have been particularly fruitful within postcolonial studies: scholars have argued that the binary approach was more ideological than real, a useful conceptual tool for Western colonial purposes that obscured the tensions and contradictions within the modern world. The seeming "universal" dis-

[21] Friedrich Nietzsche, *"The Birth of Tragedy" and "The Genealogy of Morals,"* trans. Francis Golffing (New York, 1956), 299.

[22] Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, trans. James Strachey (1930; repr., New York, 1961), 104.

[23] Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, trans. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr and Edmund Jephcott (Stanford, Calif., 2002), 19.

[24] Ibid., 20.

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tinctions championed by the Western metropole between modernity and tradition, or secularism and superstition, often do not hold up when viewed from the "periphery" of non-Western cultures negotiating processes of modernization in complex ways.[25] Similarly, historians of science, religion, and mass culture have explored how multivalent and interdependent these phenomena have been, further eroding the simpler oppositions between science and religion, religion and rationality, rationality and mass culture.[26] These and related critiques have redirected the attention of historians from theoretical models to the competing conceptions of "modernity" propounded by historical subjects themselves, whose "alternative modernities" have legitimate claims to our attention.[27]

Indeed, the binary and dialectical approaches are in the process of being replaced by the recognition that modernity is characterized by fruitful tensions between seemingly irreconcilable forces and ideas. Modernity is defined less by binaries arranged in an implicit hierarchy, or by the dialectical transformation of one term into its opposite, than by unresolved contradictions and oppositions, or antinomies: modernity is Janus-faced. This is reflected in new similes and metaphors that scholars have used to capture the complexities of a modernity made messy. Lynda Nead suggests that "modernity . . . can be imagined as pleated or crumpled time, drawing together past, present, and future into constant and unexpected relations," and Dipesh Chakrabarty characterizes modernity's "problem of entangled times" with the equally evocative image of a "timeknot."[28]

As a result of this reconceptualization, the long-accepted discourses of modernity and enchantment have also been interrogated. Scholars have criticized various aspects of the binary and dialectical formulations, but not until the past decade has the discourse as a whole been subject to searching critique. In 2001, James Cook expressed surprise that his fellow historians had not looked at the efflorescence of magic and magicians in the nineteenth-century United States, and suggested that they had ignored this rich vein of cultural history because they were mesmerized by

[25] Among an expanding literature, see Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*; Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, eds., *Modernity and Its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa* (Chicago, 1993); Fernando Coronil, *The Magical State: Nature, Money, and Modernity in Venezuela* (Chicago, 1997); Saurabh Dube, ed., *Enduring Enchantments*, special issue of the *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101, no. 4 (October 2002); Dube, "Introduction: Colonialism, Modernity, Colonial Modernities," *Nepantla: Views from South* 3, no. 2 (2002): 197–219; James Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life in the Zambian Copperbelt* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999); Peter Geschiere, *The Modernity of Witchcraft: Politics and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa*, trans. Janet Roitman (Charlottesville, Va., 1997); Sanjay Joshi, *Fractured Modernity: Making of a Middle Class in Colonial North India* (New York, 2001); Henrietta L. Moore and Todd Sanders, eds., *Magical Interpretations, Material Realities: Modernity, Witchcraft, and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa* (London, 2001); Gyan Prakash, *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India* (Princeton, N.J., 1999); Sumathi Ramaswamy, *The Lost Land of Lemuria: Fabulous Geographies, Catastrophic Histories* (Berkeley, Calif., 2004); Michael Taussig, *The Magic of the State* (New York, 1997).

[26] As Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park observed, "the last twenty years have seen a deep questioning of ideals of order, rationality, and good taste—'traditional hierarchies of the important and the essential'—that had seemed self-evident to intellectuals since the origins of the modern Republic of Letters in the late seventeenth century." Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature* (New York, 1998), 10.

[27] Kevin Repp, *Reformers, Critics, and the Paths of German Modernity: Anti-Politics and the Search for Alternatives, 1890–1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000). For a defense of the concept of "multiple modernities," see Charles Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries* (Durham, N.C., 2004).

[28] Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (2000; repr., New Haven, Conn., 2005), 8; Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 243.

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the prevailing discourses: "It's almost as if academic historians have taken Max Weber's classic theory about the 'disenchantment of the world' as a guide for assessing the social significance of the magician during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries."[29] Alex Owen echoed this sentiment when she observed in 2004 that "[historians] have been slow to take up the challenge of modern enchantment."[30]

Medieval and early modern historians no longer have a monopoly on wonders and marvels, just as many modern historians no longer subscribe to the binary and dialectical approaches, finding the antinomial approach more true to the lived experience of their subjects.[31] The differing approaches by contemporary historians to

[29] James W. Cook, *The Arts of Deception: Playing with Fraud in the Age of Barnum* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001).

[30] Alex Owen, *The Place of Enchantment: British Occultism and the Culture of the Modern* (Chicago, 2004), 6. T. J. Jackson Lears was one early exception to this rule, and his own views on the topic have continued to develop since 1981, when he published *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920* (New York, 1981). The subtitle suggests that Lears accepted the binary distinction between the rationalizing and secularizing processes of modernity, and the corresponding reactions by intellectuals and artists who sought to restore enchantment to *fin-de-siècle* America through more traditional means. This binary thread does run through the book, as does the related dialectical approach. For example, Lears argues that fundamental aspects of the antimodern reaction, such as the quest for "authentic" experience, actually eased America's transition to modernity: "The shift from a Protestant to a therapeutic world view, which antimodern sentiment reinforced, marked a key transformation in the cultural hegemony of the dominant classes in America . . . [promoting] new modes of accommodation to routinized work and bureaucratic 'rationality' " (xviii). So far, so standard. But Lears also acknowledges that the antimodern tradition he charts was complex and unstable, containing progressive elements that resisted incorporation into the new status quo (xiv, 6). If this was not a full-fledged embrace of the antinomial understanding, his next two works, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York, 1994) and *Something for Nothing: Luck in America* (New York, 2003), moved more decisively in this direction. In them, Lears offers a more complex understanding of the Protestant ethic than that advanced by Max Weber, who identified Protestantism as an important factor in the emergence of modern instrumental rationality. In *Fables of Abundance*, Lears highlights the antinomial aspects of Protestantism that have helped shape Western modernity. In addition to its stress on rational calculation, which Weber considered central to the disenchantment of the world, Lears points to a countervailing aspect of Protestantism, stemming from its Pietist branch: an emphasis on subjectivity, which is capable of imbuing the material world with significance. *Fables of Abundance* argues against a notion of modern disenchantment, for animistic tendencies continue to exist in the modern world—not only in certain works of elite culture, but also in some manifestations of mass culture, including modern advertising. Modernity thus consists of both the "rational, managerial ethos" and an animistic countertendency: "Throughout the twentieth century, people have imagined alternatives to the disembodied corporate vision of abundance; many fastened on the detritus of commodity civilization itself as they seek another way of being in the world. Bricolage, verbal or artifactual, has been a strategy for reanimating matter" (10, 133). And in his history of the concept of "luck" in American culture, Lears demonstrates a similar tension in modern American culture between the antinomies of a Protestant "culture of control" and the more pagan (as well as pietistic and scientific) celebrations of the "culture of chance." Lears's work has been implicitly concerned with exploring the different forms of specifically modern enchantments, anticipating the spate of recent works that address the topic directly.

[31] Another sign of the changing reception to the concept of modern enchantment can be found in works on the poet and occultist William Butler Yeats. Early biographies and literary studies tended to minimize Yeats's profound and lifelong interest in the occult, but the two-volume biography by historian Roy Foster unabashedly depicts occultism as central to his life and work—indeed, worthy of a subtitle: Roy Foster, *W. B. Yeats: A Life*, vol. 1: *The Apprentice Mage, 1865–1914* (New York, 1997), vol. 2: *The Arch-Poet, 1915–1939* (New York, 2003). Among the many recent works discussing the concept of modern enchantment, not restricted to history and not explicitly acknowledged elsewhere in this essay, are Arun Agrawal and C. C. Gibson, "Enchantment and Disenchantment: The Role of Community in Natural Resource Conservation," *World Development* 27, no. 4 (April 1999): 629–649; Kelly Besecke, "Speaking of Meaning in Modernity: Reflexive Spirituality as a Cultural Resource," *Sociology of Religion* 62 (2001): 365–381; Anthony Cascardi, "The Critique of Subjectivity and the Re-enchantment of the World," *Revue Internationale de Philosophie* 50, no. 196 (1996): 243–263; Terry Castle, *The Female Thermometer: Eighteenth-Century Culture and the Invention of the Uncanny* (New York, 1995); Saurabh Dube,

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the varieties of modern enchantment will be our central focus. There are forms of enchantment compatible with, and even dependent upon, those tenets of modernity usually seen as disenchanting the world, such as rationality and self-reflexivity. Modern enchantment often depends upon its antinomial other, modern disenchantment, and a specifically modern enchantment might be defined as one that enchants and disenchants simultaneously: one that delights but does not delude.

"ENCHANTMENT," AS WE HAVE SEEN, IS AN AMBIGUOUS TERM. For historians of science Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park, it encompasses "wonder," which they explore both as an intellectual concept and as an emotional response in *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750*. A brief coda takes their story from the mid-eighteenth century to the present, and in a fundamental respect their discussion of elites and enchantment corresponds to the traditional binary approach. Wonders, as well as marvels and miracles, were central to the medieval and early modern world views, but since the late eighteenth century they have been subordinated to Enlightenment reason: "To be a member of a modern elite is to regard wonder and wonders with studied indifference; enlightenment is still defined in part as the anti-marvelous."[32] This point of view, though, may say more about Daston and Park's generation of scholars than it does about current attitudes among the "modern elite." As graduate students in the late 1970s, the two were pioneers in the historical exploration of "monsters," but at the time, "our enthusiasm was not infectious."[33] A new generation of scholars is more comfortable embracing modern wonders and marvels, notably those purveyed by mass culture. This has something to do with their being trained

"Introduction: Enchantment and Modernity," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101, no. 4 (Fall 2002): 729–755; Michael Gilsenan, "Signs of Truth: Enchantment, Modernity, and the Dreams of Peasant Women," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 6, no. 4 (December 2000): 597–615; Richard Jenkins, "Disenchantment, Enchantment, and Re-enchantment: Max Weber at the Millennium," *Max Weber Studies* 1, no. 1 (November 2000): 11–32; Michael Lowy, "Walter Benjamin and Surrealism: A Story of Revolutionary Enchantment," *Europe-Revue Littéraire Mensuelle* 74, no. 804 (April 1996): 79–90; Walter Mignolo, "The Enduring Enchantment (Or the Epistemic Privilege of Modernity and Where to Go from Here)," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101, no. 4 (Fall 2002): 927–954; David Morgan, "The Enchantment of Art: Abstraction and Empathy from German Romanticism to Expressionism," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 57, no. 2 (April 1996): 317–341; Victoria Nelson, *The Secret Life of Puppets* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002); Christopher H. Partridge, *The Re-enchantment of the West: Alternative Spiritualities, Sacralization, Popular Culture, and Occulture* (Edinburgh, 2005); Paul A. Passavant, "Enchantment, Aesthetics, and the Superficial Powers of Modern Law," *Law & Society Review* 35, no. 3 (2001): 709–729; Michael Saler, "Clap If You Believe in Sherlock Holmes: Mass Culture and the Re-enchantment of Modernity, c.1890–c.1940," *The Historical Journal* 46, no. 3 (2003): 599–622; Mark Sussman, "Performing the Intelligent Machine: Deception and Enchantment in the Life of the Automaton Chess Player," *The Drama Review—A Journal of Performance Studies* 43, no. 3 (Fall 1999): 81–96; Stanley J. Tambiah, *Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990); Edward A. Tiryakian, "Dialectics of Modernity: Reenchantment and Dedifferentiation as Counterprocesses," in Hans Haferkamp and Neil J. Smelser, eds., *Social Change and Modernity* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 78–83; Yi Fu Tuan, *Escapism* (Baltimore, Md., 1998); Joel Whitebook, "Slow Magic: Psychoanalysis and 'the Disenchantment of the World,'" *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 50, no. 4 (Winter 2002): 1197–1217; Jennifer Wicke, "Enchantment, Disenchantment, Re-enchantment: Joyce and the Cult of the Absolutely Fabulous," *Novel—A Forum on Fiction* 29, no. 1 (Fall 1995): 128–137; Avihu Zakai, "Jonathan Edwards and the Language of Nature: The Re-enchantment of the World in the Age of Scientific Reasoning," *Journal of Religious History* 26, no. 1 (February, 2002): 15–41.

[32] Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, 368.

[33] Ibid., 9.

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in an academic culture permeated with a postmodern skepticism toward binary distinctions, including those between "elite" and "mass" cultures, "enlightenment" and "marvels." But the new generation of scholars is also beholden to Daston and Park's pioneering work in making the study of marvels and other enchantments respectable. The current generation stands on their shoulders to see giants, and every other type of wonder imaginable.

Daston and Park's apparent conformity to the binary approach can also be attributed to their own disciplinary focus on the medieval and early modern fields: although they do touch very briefly on the modern period, theirs is not a history of modern enchantment. Indeed, their analysis of the many facets of "wonder" between the twelfth and the late seventeenth centuries is so nuanced that had they attempted an equally sustained examination of the modern period, one suspects they would have qualified or rejected the binary approach altogether. Their account provides astute contextual analyses of terms that, to modern eyes, might seem so closely related as to be indistinguishable. The reader learns much about the specific meanings at particular times of marvels, wonders, prodigies, miracles, monstrosities, the supernatural, and the preternatural. The profusion of examples and illustrations are themselves marvelous; if ever an academic monograph called for a luxurious leather-bound edition, this would be it. (As it is, the book's design intentionally evokes the sumptuously illustrated folios of Renaissance virtuosi.)

But within this exuberant excursus on the social and cultural meanings of griffin claws, unicorn horns, magical devices, mechanical automata, monsters, *Wunderkammern*, and peculiar emanations celestial and terrestrial, there are three innovative arguments that are important for histories of modern enchantment, no less than for the medieval and early modern periods. For their chosen period of emphasis, Daston and Park challenge the traditional, linear historical narrative concerning the gradual naturalization of wonders, arguing instead that elite attitudes toward them were undulatory and sometimes cyclic.[34] Specific fractions among the elite had distinct attitudes toward wonders at different times, and it was not until the late seventeenth century that they united to promote the idea of disenchantment. Prior to this, seemingly unique, "marvelous" objects and events had a numinous aura that many elites hoped to appropriate for more worldly aims. Princes and courtiers collected marvelous items and categorized wonderful events to further their political, military, and cultural goals; for similar reasons, physicians and naturalists had recourse to wonders in their respective practices. Natural philosophers, on the other hand, were more ambivalent about wonders between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries, as extraordinary objects and atypical occurrences challenged the habitual workings of nature upheld by scholasticism. By the seventeenth century, however, the development of the scientific method and the new understanding of empirical "facts" led natural philosophers to be more enthusiastic about investigating wonderful objects and events. In this respect, enchantment waxed rather than waned by the time of the Enlightenment, countering more linear narratives of progressive disenchantment.

The second innovatory element of this history is its examination of wonder as a "cognitive passion" as well as an object or event.[35] Plato, Aristotle, and Descartes

[34] Ibid., 17.

[35] Ibid., 14–15. Other histories of emotions include Hans Medick and David W. Sabean, eds., *Interest*

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emphasized the importance of wonder in generating philosophical questions, but what did they mean when they used the term? Daston and Park argue that historicizing the emotion of wonder will prevent anachronistic accounts, and that attending to the fluctuating emotional valences attached to objects and events defined as "wonders" will help us understand the specific functions that the category is meant to perform at different times and places. Wonder in all its forms is always historically contingent: "The passion and the object mutually defined each other, a process in which neither remained static."[36]

Daston and Park do not claim that wonder has been expunged from the modern world. But they do argue that elites have defined it as a disreputable passion and consigned it to the realm of the vulgar, where it continues to flourish within mass culture. This argument constitutes their third innovatory stance: the West became disenchanted in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries because of social factors, rather than the intellectual factors—the rise of science, the spread of instrumental reason, and the growth of secularism—underscored in previous accounts. Until this period, elites had maintained a monopoly on wonders, utilizing them for their own political, intellectual, and aesthetic purposes. But with the sixteenth-century Reformation and its attendant religious conflicts through the seventeenth century, the masses were using marvels and wonders for their own purposes. Elites responded to the threat of anarchy by regularizing nature, thereby marginalizing wonders as a religious and political rallying cry; they replaced the passion of wonder, now associated with the enthusiastic and gullible crowd, with the more respectable attitude of "curiosity." There thus "emerged a new cultural opposition between the enlightened and the vulgar, which turned on contrasting valuations of wonder and wonders. Central to the new, secular meaning of enlightenment as a state of mind and a way of life was the rejection of the marvelous."[37] When it came to the issue of enchantment, the late seventeenth century witnessed a transvaluation of values—but rather than Nietzsche's triumph of a "slave morality," we have the ascendancy of a snob mentality.

This final point is an important complement to earlier accounts highlighting the role of Enlightenment rationality in exorcising enchantment from the modern world. From the eighteenth through the twenty-first centuries, elites have tended to associate wonders with the disreputable no less than the irrational, and during this period the self-conscious celebration of wonders and marvels has gravitated from elite to "popular" and then "mass" culture. Nevertheless, the conclusion that Daston and Park reach is also too neat. It provides their otherwise rich and complex history with a rapid narrative closure that undermines their earlier emphasis on the undulating, nonlinear history of wonders. It assumes too great a unanimity among Western elites in regard to modern disenchantment; it underplays the continued passion for wonder, and the ways in which modern developments in science and technology might

and Emotion: Essays in the Study of Family and Kinship (Cambridge, 1984), and Barbara H. Rosenwein, ed., *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998).

[36] Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, 17. The issue of wonder as a cognitive passion is also addressed in Fisher, *Wonder, the Rainbow, and the Aesthetics of Rare Experiences*.

[37] Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, 331.

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incite rather than dampen that passion among all classes.[38] It fails to acknowledge the intricate interfaces between elite and mass cultures, reason and the imagination, empirical science and the unquantifiable, all of which were to be central to nineteenth- and twentieth-century understandings of "modern enchantment." Their history ends with binaries rather than antinomies. Fortunately, Daston and Park's history is not really about the modern period. Their brief conclusions about modern disenchantment should be understood as the last gasp of the tenacious binary approach, whereas the remainder of their brilliant study stands as an authoritative account of premodern enchantment. Scholars interested in modern enchantment would do well to consult it not only for necessary background material, but as a model of how the subject can be pursued.

The histories of modern enchantment to which we now turn might be considered inadvertent sequels to *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750*, as they provide answers to two critical questions that this work raises about enchantment in the West since the eighteenth century. The first has to do with the ways modern elites negotiated the issue of science and enchantment, and the second has to do with how modern elites construed the relationship between mass culture and enchantment. In both instances, contrary to Daston and Park's claims, Western elites were not unified in their opposition to wonders and enchantments between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. Some feared that the world was irrevocably disenchanted, others worried that modernity fostered an irrational form of enchantment, and others rejoiced that enchantment was compatible with such tenets of modernity as rationality, secularism, individualism, and consumerism. Binary, dialectical, and antinomial approaches coexisted among elites at the time, just as they do among historians of the period today.

Two studies of mesmerism in Great Britain during the nineteenth century demonstrate how the concept of enchantment flourished in the modern period, and draw attention to the important role it played in struggles over the professionalization of science. In *Mesmerized: Powers of Mind in Victorian Britain*, historian Alison Winter details the centrality of debates about mesmerism to nineteenth-century definitions of gender, class, spirituality, and especially science and medicine.[39] She reveals that during the first half of the century, mesmerism was seen by many not as a disreputable

[38] Walter Benjamin, Sigfried Kracauer, Humphrey Jennings, and certain French surrealists were among the early-twentieth-century intellectuals in Europe who tried to reconcile the processes of modernity with the idea of enchantment, although until recently their project tended to be overshadowed by the greater attention given to the "cultural pessimists"; see Michael Saler, "Whigs and Surrealists: The 'Subtle Links' of Humphrey Jennings' *Pandaemonium*," in George Behlmer and Fred Leventhal, eds., *Singular Continuities: Tradition, Nostalgia, and Identity in Modern British Culture* (Stanford, Calif., 2000), 123–142. Other works that have addressed perceptions by contemporaries of the "wonders" of modernity include Christoph Asendorf, *Batteries of Life: On the History of Things and Their Perception in Modernity*, trans. Don Reneau (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); Erik Davis, *TechGnosis: Myth, Magic, and Mysticism in the Age of Information* (New York, 1998); Erik Larson, *The Devil in the White City: Murder, Magic, and Madness at the Fair That Changed America* (New York, 2003); David Nye, *Electrifying America: Social Meanings of New Technology, 1880–1940* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992); Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York, 1967); Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999); Barbara Maria Stafford and Frances Terpak, *Devices of Wonder: From the World in a Box to Images on a Screen* (Los Angeles, 2001); and Robin Walz, *Pulp Surrealism: Insolent Popular Culture in Twentieth-Century France* (Berkeley, Calif., 2000).

[39] Alison Winter, *Mesmerized: Powers of Mind in Victorian Britain* (Chicago, 1998).

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relic from an earlier period, but rather as a viable medical practice that was contested for reasons of power and prestige rather than efficacy. Established medical doctors from London tended to be dismissive toward it, whereas many itinerant medical lecturers from the provinces embraced it. This had more to do with the contest for legitimacy between the two groups than with the empirical validity of mesmerism versus other forms of medical practice. Nor was mesmerism a "fringe" science at this time: popular lecturers extolling the virtues of mesmeric trances and "animal magnetism" were everywhere, and their claims were given attentive hearings, particularly in debates concerning the use of anesthesia in operations.[40]

Winter does not address the specific issue of modernity and enchantment in so many words, but her richly researched study shows that at least until mid-century, many among the Victorian upper classes did not disdain wonders. Indeed, they frequently found enchantment and science compatible. They discussed science in terms of magical influences and vital correspondences, and when vitalism began to be superseded by more mechanistic explanations in the 1830s, magic still remained part of the discourse—now called "natural magic," to be sure, but no less "marvelous" for being the result of determinate and predictable natural processes.[41]

If the antinomial approach predominates in Winter's account of the first half of the nineteenth century, with elites and marvels, medicine and enchantment coinciding, she gives us more of a binary account for the second half, with a sharper separation between science and wonder, elites and mass culture. Professional scientists distanced themselves from the "wonders" purveyed within popular culture, such as mesmerism, or those to be found in less "civilized" cultures, such as India.[42] They sought to distinguish their profession from the apparent pseudoscience of itinerant practitioners by defining mesmeric effects as unconscious responses to suggestion, capable of being examined in the laboratory and analyzed through specialized discourses closed to non-initiates. Public science of the first half of the century was thus replaced by professionalized science in the second, which developed its own consensus as to what constituted proper areas of scientific investigation. Mesmerism became naturalized in different ways: as hypnotism, for example, it operated on the patient's suggestibility rather than through mysterious "animal spirits"; it also survived as a conceptual tool to help critics explain social cohesion and crowd psychology. In Winter's narrative, the borders between science and "pseudoscience," reason and enchantment, were more porous at the beginning of the century than at its close.

This culminating aspect of her wide-ranging, stimulating book is belied by Daniel Pick's study of mesmerism in Britain during the *fin-de-siècle*, *Svengali's Web: The Alien Enchanter in Modern Culture*.[43] Proving the cogency of Daston and Park's observation that Western attitudes toward wonders tend to be less linear than undulatory, Pick demonstrates that elite and popular interest in mesmerism was intense at the end of the century, and that scientific opinions concerning mesmerism were by no means settled. Indeed, Pick's book is specifically concerned with the topic of

[40] Ibid., 125, 184.
[41] Ibid., 38.
[42] Ibid., 211.
[43] Daniel Pick, *Svengali's Web: The Alien Enchanter in Modern Culture* (New Haven, Conn., 2000).

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modern enchantment, and he surveys contemporary discussions about mesmerism in popular fiction, sociology, psychology, and science in order to challenge the traditional binary association of modernity with disenchantment.

Pick's narrative focuses on the widespread fad for George du Maurier's novel *Trilby* (1894), in which a Jewish musician, the mesmerizing Svengali, transforms the eponymous heroine into a great singer through his hypnotic powers. The *Trilby* mania, Pick argues, reflected a widespread anxiety about "imperceptible" or "unconscious" forces affecting individuals and groups, which contemporaries believed to be an outcome of the diffuse processes of modernity. Despite the pretensions of materialist science and the challenges of secularist critics, invisible forces remained almost palpable presences in modern life. These forces were made manifest in the powers of demagogues to captivate mass audiences in newly democratized societies; in the strangely autonomous life of the "crowd"; in the beguiling effects of mass culture; in the hyperstimulating effects on the psyche of rapid social and technological changes. Pick demonstrates that racism and antisemitism were closely associated with this fear of external manipulation through appeals to the unconscious. Jews in particular were depicted as masters of psychological manipulation, and the contemporary vogue for *Trilby* was beholden to the ways the leering, hook-nosed character Svengali tapped into these fears. (In fact, his name continues to be associated with "alien" thought control, long after Trilby, or the hat she inspired, has faded from popular memory.)

While Pick begins and ends with an account of the cultural meanings of *Trilby*, much of his book is a wider excursus on the varieties of specifically "modern" enchantments to be found in the West in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He explicitly rejects the binary approach, noting that while "traditional" political and religious practices persisted during this period more vigorously than linear accounts of modernity have been willing to acknowledge, even these were novel amalgams of the old and the new. At times, Pick appears to embrace the antinomial approach to modernity and enchantment. Citing studies by Ruth Harris and David Blackbourn of religious enthusiasms in France and Germany in the nineteenth century, as well as the continued enthusiasm for Marianite cults after World War I, he suggests that these manifestations were "arguably the signs of a contradictorily *modern* faith rather than the mere survival of an older 'tradition.' "[44] He observes that secular culture also became a locus for innovative forms of spiritual enchantments in the modern age, among them Richard Wagner's aim of reviving the spirit of the communal religious spectacles of ancient Greece through his "music-dramas" at Bayreuth. Science and reason were not arrayed against wonders and enchantments either. Many scientists of the *fin-de-siècle* "remained poised between adherence to and repudiation of Victorian natural science," including those involved in psychical research and psychology.[45] Mesmerism, in its more "scientific" guise of hypnotism, represented the tense equilibrium of antinomies characteristic of modernity: "Victorian hypnotism con-

[44] Ibid., 86. He quotes with approval David Blackbourn's assertion that Marpingen "did not represent a clash between tradition and modernity, but fed off many conflicts of an uneven, uneasy world." Blackbourn, *Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Bismarckian Germany* (Oxford, 1995), 407; Ruth Harris, *Lourdes: Body and Spirit in a Secular Age* (New York, 1999). See also Peter Bowler, *Reconciling Science and Religion: The Debate in Early-Twentieth-Century Britain* (Chicago, 2001).

[45] Pick, *Svengali's Web*, 20. Pamela Thurschwell pursues the connections among new communications

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tinued to exist on the border between the medically sober and the erotically intoxicated, science and theatre, work and abandon, treatment and amusement."[46]

These aspects of Pick's account represent a step forward in our understanding of the complexities of modernity, particularly in its ability to conjoin reason and enchantment. But Pick does not pursue this line very thoroughly, and ultimately retreats to the dialectical approach, showing how the "enlightened" emphases of modernity have resulted in an increased awareness of, and capitulation to, the irrational. The logic of his subject matter dictates this approach. He is dealing, after all, with a practice that is predicated on the manipulations of the unconscious, and the fears that this practice elicited; a crucial aspect of modernity is its exploration of human subjectivity, which in turn has led to a greater appreciation of the "psychopathology of everyday life." But the cumulative effect of his narrative, despite its many subtleties and qualifications, is to reaffirm the picture of modern reason being transformed ineluctably into its opposite that was expressed so vividly by Horkheimer and Adorno in *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. Thus the vogue for fictional characters at the turn of the century, represented by the marketing of *Trilby* memorabilia and the creation of advertising characters, is adduced by Pick as an irrational phantasmagoria, a world of beguiling and negative enchantments: "quasi-religious and magical beliefs [reemerged] within this changing world: wondrous beliefs and beliefs in the power of wonder [were] arguably as apparent at the end of the nineteenth century as ever before. Capitalism, so it is now recognized, did not demystify social relations nearly as much as Marx and others had sometimes hoped. Industrial modernization and psychological enchantment turned out to be deeply compatible."[47]

Horkheimer and Adorno would recognize this picture, which is certainly part of the story—but is it the whole story? One remains tantalized by the other tangents of Pick's argument, those that point to a reconciliation of modern disenchantment and a form of enchantment that delights but does not delude, a disenchanted enchantment. The potential for this type of specifically modern enchantment is suggested by Pick, but not fully excavated in his otherwise innovatory and persuasive account.

It is possible to interpret *fin-de-siècle* occultism as an instance of a distinctly modern form of enchantment, as Corinna Treitel demonstrates in *A Science for the Soul: Occultism and the Genesis of the German Modern*.[48] In part, Treitel is able to make a convincing case because she argues that there were multiple or "alternative modernities" at play in German culture, and that the occult movements contributed most notably to one of these strands, that of "psychological modernism."[49] By eschewing a single definition of modernity, Treitel has more flexibility in exploring what the different forms of occult practices reveal about the condition of modernity

technologies, scientific thought, and the vogue for the occult and supernatural during the *fin-de-siècle* in *Literature, Technology and Magical Thinking, 1880–1920* (Cambridge, 2001).

[46] Pick, *Svengali's Web*, 100.

[47] Ibid..

[48] Alex Owen makes a similar argument for the occultist movement of *fin-de-siècle* Britain in *The Place of Enchantment*. I have already considered it in these pages; see *AHR* 110, no. 3 (June 2005): 871–872.

[49] Corinna Treitel, *A Science for the Soul: Occultism and the Genesis of the German Modern* (Baltimore, Md., 2004), 51.

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and about German culture as a whole during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[50] She presents statistical data and analytic overviews of the size, geographic diffusion, and social and political composition of the occult movement, and deftly connects the occult to other facets of modernity, such as mass consumerism, aesthetic modernism, social reformism, and the policing powers effected by church and state. Her study uses occultism to highlight the Janus-faced, "ambivalent" nature of modernity.[51] German occultists sought to redress scientific positivism by exploring the ethical and spiritual dimensions of the psyche; they sought to ameliorate modern social conditions by creating therapeutic techniques based on traditional practices; they sought to justify their own commitments to an intuitive form of knowledge by citing contemporary claims for the provisionality of all knowledge. Modern occultism thus exemplifies the antinomial, rather than binary or dialectical, nature of modernity: "Germans turned to occult beliefs and practices . . . not just to challenge but also to utilize the forces of modernity shaping their mental universe and very experience of life."[52]

Treitel examines the interface between modern science and the modern occult's pretensions to be scientific. The German scientific tradition in the nineteenth century consisted of a mix of empiricism and idealism that was hospitable to the metaphysical preoccupations of modern occultists. Treitel notes that by the late nineteenth century, German psychology had largely rejected its idealist origins and proclaimed itself a positivist science. Nevertheless, the metaphysical preoccupations of the earlier tradition of *naturphilosophie* had not completely disappeared. Indeed, at the turn of the century, the idealist currents were revived in various forms of *lebensphilosophie*, rendering the occultists' preoccupation with a "scientific" exploration of the "soul" a more intellectually coherent enterprise in Germany than it was in Britain, which had a more empirical and inductive tradition for most of the nineteenth century.[53] But Treitel does not claim that the German occultists were always scientific when they were not, or that they were committed to formal rationality when they were more interested in other epistemologies. By the early twentieth century, many of the German occultists acknowledged that their interest in transcendental states of consciousness was not always compatible with claims to scientific objectivity, and focused instead on the pragmatic applications of their own explorations of the self.[54] It was this flexible focus on self-knowledge and self-realization, the creation of a "transcendental lifestyle" through occult practices, that constituted their contribution to psychological modernism.[55] Occultism in Germany became less avowedly scientific, but more populist, as much a part of mass culture as of elite culture. This too constituted occultism's modernity: its "emphasis on achieving satisfaction in this world

[50] Ibid., 24.
[51] Ibid., 19.
[52] Ibid., 245.
[53] Ibid. She refers to this mixture of the traditional and the new as "the heterogeneous presence of scientific modernity." This aspect of German intellectual history is also addressed in Anne Harrington, *Reenchanted Science: Holism in German Culture from Wilhelm II to Hitler* (Princeton, N.J., 1996).
[54] Treitel, *A Science for the Soul*, 53–55.
[55] Ibid., 52. For an incisive exploration of "psychological modernism," see Jan Goldstein, "The Advent of Psychological Modernism in France: An Alternate Narrative," in Ross, *Modernist Impulses in the Human Sciences*, 190–209.

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rather than the next was well suited to the offerings of the modern marketplace and its ability to cater to the ethic of 'personal satisfaction.'"[56]

Such direct associations of occultism with consumerism, mass culture, and personal satisfaction would have been seized by those advocating the "dialectical" model of modernity as proof that modernity fosters irrationalism. Indeed, many earlier histories of occultism in modern Germany identify it as one of the foundational strands within National Socialist ideology, which itself has been understood to epitomize the "dialectic of Enlightenment." Treitel is well aware of this, and will have none of it. In addition to rejecting the dialectical account of modernity that this argument represents, she also demonstrates that the links between the Nazis and occult groups were limited. There were occultists with *volkisch* sympathies, but many more embraced individualism and internationalism, which in turn led the National Socialists to ban occultism in 1937. The German occult movement was part of the "cosmopolitan modernity" that the Nazis claimed to reject. (And even National Socialism exemplified the antinomial rather than the dialectical approach, given its support of progressive public health policies and its embrace of modern technology.)[57]

Treitel's study thus relates how occultism was engaged in a dialogue with nearly all facets of modern German culture, including science, social reform, aesthetics, and mass culture. It appealed across class and gender divisions, providing many with a genuinely modern source of enchantment that did not deny the validity of reason or scientific practices. Instead, it complemented these with an emphasis on equally valid subjective forms of knowledge concurrently being explored by psychologists and philosophers, "psychological modernism." By focusing on the many ways that occultist practices intersected with modern processes, Treitel makes a convincing case that occultism in Germany did not represent a strictly reactionary impulse. It embodied the ambivalences of modernity that were expressed at the time in a host of alternative modernities.

IN ALL OF THE WORKS WE HAVE EXAMINED SO FAR, the relation between science and enchantment has been paramount. Treitel's study foregrounds another important dimension to the question of modern enchantment, that of mass culture. She observes that the occultists' emphasis on human potential and spiritual growth was admirably suited to the marketing imperatives of the new mass culture, and that occultism flourished rather than diminished in the modern period partly because mass culture was able to bring it to the attention of a wide audience. But this fact has been used by those upholding either the binary or the dialectical approach to the issue of modernity and enchantment, in support of their belief that mass culture fosters an escapist or irrationalist outlook opposed to the dictates of Enlightenment reason. Daston and Park demonstrated that seventeenth-century elites consigned wonder to the "irrational" domain of popular culture, and many Western critics continue to identify the new mass culture of the nineteenth century as a locus of

[56] Treitel, *A Science for the Soul*, 75.

[57] Ibid., 212; see also Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (New York, 1984); Robert Proctor, *The Nazi War on Cancer* (Princeton, N.J., 1999).

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beguiling enchantment, delighting the masses while also deluding them.[58] Treitel's study does not overturn this negative picture of mass culture entirely, although she does show that elites no less than the masses found mass culture to be an important domain that gratified their yearnings for modern wonders, and facilitated their negotiation of the conflicting meanings of modernity. However, other revisionist accounts of modernity and enchantment have gone further, arguing that mass culture itself has become the purveyor of specifically rational and secular forms of enchantment.

James W. Cook's *The Arts of Deception: Playing with Fraud in the Age of Barnum*, for example, suggests that urban mass culture in America during the antebellum period was often self-reflexive, rational, ironical, and skeptical—in other words, disenchanted. But this form of disenchantment also yielded enchantment: showmen such as P. T. Barnum or modern magicians challenged their audiences to spot their "artful deceptions," which generated much of the entertainment value of the shows. Barnum himself stated in the mid-nineteenth century, "the public appears to be disposed to be amused even when they are conscious of being deceived."[59] Jean Robert-Houdin, who revolutionized the practice of magic in Europe and America at this time, similarly construed magic as a self-reflexive form of entertainment by defining the magician as an actor who is playing a magician.[60] American audiences were challenged by such wonders as the "Feejee Mermaid" or the "automaton chess player" to determine whether they were real, and if not, how such lifelike illusions were created. In this way, mass culture elicited the cognitive passion of wonder discussed by Daston and Park, in which novelties stimulate curiosity, the satisfaction of which is endlessly deferred by the production of new wonders. Cook demonstrates how showmen expertly manipulated the new mass media, such as newspapers, to promote debates about the authenticity of their exhibits, yielding "a new, media-driven form of curiosity—perpetually excited, yet never fully satisfied."[61] Further, he argues that these enchantments inculcated in their audiences an ironic and skeptical outlook. Mass culture promoted Enlightenment rationality rather than eclipsed it, involving "enchantment and disenchantment, energetic public exposé and momentary suspension of disbelief."[62] According to Cook, the artful deceptions of Barnum and other showmen "suggested in principle (if not always in practice) that the older Enlightenment ideals of reasoned analysis, exposé, and perceptual mastery were still possible."[63] But such perceptual mastery itself proved to be an illusion, given the ceaseless proliferation of representations and consequent undermining of truth as a stable category. The showmen's illusions and the discussions they engendered served to wean middle-class audiences away from the Victorian cult of truth and "sincerity" to what we would label a "postmodern" awareness of contingency and perspectivalism. Cook repudiates the dialectical view of modernity and enchantment of Horkheimer and Adorno, concluding that "long before the late twentieth-century

[58] Patrick Brantlinger, *Bread and Circuses: Theories of Mass Culture as Social Decay* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993); Andrew Ross, *No Respect: Intellectuals and Popular Culture* (New York, 1989).
[59] Cook, *The Arts of Deception*, 16.
[60] Ibid., 15, 169.
[61] Ibid., 68.
[62] Ibid., 17.
[63] Ibid., 28.

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insights of critical theory and postmodernism . . . many American consumers thought about, discussed, and resisted the ways that they were manipulated by the culture industry."[64]

In addition to showing the rational aspects of the enchantments of mass culture, Cook (like Treitel) demonstrates how mass culture was useful in helping its middle-class consumers negotiate the manifold meanings of modernity. He connects contemporary discussions about artful deceptions to emerging perspectives about modernity generated from the changing nature of the economy, contested accounts of race, class, and gender, and novel findings by scientists and philosophers about the connections between perception and reality. He makes a persuasive case for the centrality of "illusionism" to modern life, given the ubiquity of representations generated by the mass market that blurred the distinctions between artifice and reality. By the end of the nineteenth century, many among the middle classes were conversant and even comfortable with the notion that subjective truths had an epistemological value equal to, and perhaps more valid than, the earlier positivist faith in objectivity. Antebellum artful deceptions contributed to the emergence of the psychological modernism that Treitel examined through the prism of modern occultism, but in Cook's narrative the rational elements of this strand of modernity are highlighted. In overturning earlier views of mass culture as "deluding"—enchanting in the negative sense—and emphasizing a distinctly modern enchantment compatible with reason, secularism, democracy, and consumerism, Cook may present too rosy a picture. He does minimize many of the negative aspects of mass culture and consumerism, which remain an important aspect of any narrative of modernity and enchantment. But because these have been central to the binary and dialectical accounts, one can understand why Cook chose to emphasize the more positive facets that these earlier accounts have tended to deny or ignore.

In *Modern Enchantments: The Cultural Power of Secular Magic*, Simon During approaches the issue of artful deceptions and "modern magic" from the disciplinary conventions of cultural studies, arriving at conclusions similar to those of James Cook. For During, modern, "secular" magic defines itself as creating illusions and tricks rather than accessing the supernatural, a concept that was broached initially in the seventeenth century but emerged in its characteristic form only in the nineteenth, when figures such as Robert-Houdin made magic a respectable middle-class entertainment. During emphasizes the antinomial qualities of modernity, in which disenchantment and enchantment, reason and wonder come into play, and critiques the binary and dialectical models. He rejects the dialectical account, maintaining that Adorno's sweeping argument for the irrational, "negative" form of modern enchantment misses "the spread of pleasures, competencies, and experiences that flourish within the modern cultures of secular magic, and . . . of the capacity of modernized individuals to fall almost simultaneously into enchantment and disenchantment . . .

[64] Ibid., 308 n.11. Cook acknowledges his debt to Neil Harris's concept of an "operational aesthetic," which Harris defined in his cultural history of P. T. Barnum as "an approach to experience that equated beauty with information and technique, accepting guile because it was more complicated than candor." Harris also observes that Barnum's exhibits and hoaxes "trained Americans to absorb knowledge. This was an aesthetic of the operational, a delight in observing process and examining for literal truth. In place of intensive spiritual absorption, Barnum's exhibitions concentrated on information and then problems of deception." Harris, *Humbug: The Art of P.T. Barnum* (Boston, 1973), 57, 79.

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at their own leisure and pleasure."[65] Audiences were encouraged by mid-nineteenth-century illusionists to ask questions and reason through the tricks on display, a rational process that stimulated the sense of wonder while honing cognitive skills that could prevent beguilement.[66]

During provides a rich history of magic and magicians in the West from the seventeenth century, but his account is about a much larger cultural phenomenon. The self-conscious and reflexive illusions of modern magic are but one expression of the centrality of illusions in modern mass culture. While Cook associated such "artful deceptions" with the growth of a capitalist market economy and middle-class anxieties concerning the status of truth, During places more emphasis on how the discourse of disenchantment itself fostered secular and rational enchantments aimed at the imagination—and at how the imagination itself has become a central source of modern enchantment. The early romantics turned to the imagination for this purpose, and During utilizes Samuel Taylor Coleridge's notion of experiencing fictional wonders through the "willing suspension of disbelief." In a compelling analysis, During contends that a specifically modern enchantment is to be found via the prevalence of fictions in the modern world, and the ways in which these fictions become interiorized within the modern imagination.[67]

Modern magic is a part of this turn to self-reflexive fictions, but so too are works of avant-garde art, literature, the cinema, and "show business" in general, all of which receive some analysis in this work. During defines all of these as "magical assemblages" that delight one's reason and imagination without deluding them.[68] His understanding of the modern efflorescence of representations departs in interesting ways from the more disenchanted views of certain postmodernists. While figures such as Jean Baudrillard maintain that representations and reality have become virtually indistinguishable, rendering modernity almost impervious to critical analysis, During contends that the prevalence of illusions in modern culture has trained its audiences to distinguish the "real" from the "fictional." Modern magic affirms the concept of the real in the process of appealing to the imagination, for "consumers of modern culture learn to accept one set of propositions in relation to the domain of fiction, and another in relation to the everyday world."[69]

The Victorian emphasis on authenticity and sincerity prevented many early-nineteenth-century commentators from acknowledging that fictions need not threaten the rational apprehension of the real. This prejudice contributed to the critical disparagement by elites of mass culture, and the modern enchantments of the imagination more generally. As During notes, "modern culture was slow to develop a lexicon for describing or affirming the power and attractions of fictions as illusions. Hence recognition of the cultural centrality of fictions and illusions was delayed."[70] But now we are able to acknowledge that mass culture is not simply an irrational form of escapism from the rational responsibilities of adulthood, as the binary approach

[65] Simon During, *Modern Enchantments: The Cultural Power of Secular Magic* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002), 65–66.
[66] Ibid., 102–103.
[67] Ibid., 49–50.
[68] Ibid., 66–71.
[69] Ibid., 50.
[70] Ibid.

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suggested, nor a dangerous threat to critical thought, as the dialectical approach maintained. In the antinomial approach that During presents, disenchanted reason coexists with an enchanted imagination; wonders have become interiorized and are enjoyed with a certain ironic distance. Like several of the other authors we have examined, During makes a persuasive case that there are distinctly modern forms of enchantment compatible with modern rationality, secularism, psychologism, and commercial culture.

Perhaps there is some poetic justice in the fact that many of these imaginative forms of modern enchantment have been summoned forth by the discourse of disenchantment. It is reminiscent of the famous segment of Walt Disney's *Fantasia* in which the sorcerer's apprentice sets out to contain water, but unleashes a flood instead.

OUR SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE has shown that a variety of elites in the West began to characterize the modern world as disenchanted in the seventeenth century, but it nevertheless remained enchanted in historically contingent ways. The gradual professionalization of science made magic, marvels, and wonders contested categories, but it was not until the mid- to late nineteenth century that "natural magic" (including mesmerism and other vitalist currents of thought) began to be clearly demarcated from a narrowly construed concept of science as positivistic. Even so, many rejected this definition of science as too limiting and offered alternative definitions that accommodated nonmaterial agents and transcendental explanations. And as science itself moved away from the materialistic and determinist perspectives at the turn of the century to entertain more probabilistic and counterintuitive explanations of the physical world, the wonders described by occultists were rivaled by those proposed by "mature science" itself. Rather than disenchanting the world, modern science has become a central locus of modern enchantment. It may not provide the transcendent meanings and purposes of a religious world view, but that does not mean that the modern world is bereft of wonders, enchantment defined as "delight."

Max Weber's pessimistic concept of disenchantment focused on the absence of overarching meanings in the modern world, leaving its inhabitants vulnerable to the more irrational enchantments of charismatic authorities promising to restore spiritual significance to existence. It would be foolish to deny the acuity of this analysis in the light of modern history. But not enough emphasis has been given to the ways in which many in the West have gradually acclimated themselves to the lack of shared meaning by embracing the enchanting possibilities inherent within contingent and provisional meanings. The corollary to the alleged predominance of instrumental reason in the modern world is a greater acceptance of the imagination as a source of multiple yet finite meanings that enchant in their own way. These meanings are often enjoyed with a certain ironic detachment—they delight but do not delude—and this acceptance of contingent meanings, provisional wonders, only expands the possible sources of enchantment in the modern world.

Fictions become one importance source, and mass culture, as the dominant purveyor of fictions, has become a locus of enchantment equal to that of modern science.

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(The emergence of "science fiction" as a distinct genre in the twentieth century is emblematic of the importance of these two areas for modern enchantment.) Western elites long defined mass culture and its enchantments as inherently irrational, fit only for the childlike hoi polloi, but historians have demonstrated that elites themselves participated in mass culture because it offered enchantments that appealed to their reason as well as their imagination. "Artful deceptions" and "magic assemblages" provided modern wonders for a disenchanted age, and these self-reflexive enchantments continue to provide delight as well as meaning, challenging the more pessimistic pronouncements of the binary and dialectical views of modernity and enchantment. Elites disparaged mass culture, less because it fostered irrationality than because it represented a challenge to their own authority—just as they disparaged wonders in the seventeenth century when those no longer fell under their exclusive control. But this conflict has been settled in favor of mass culture, and elites have had to come to terms with it. The discourse of modernity as disenchanted, and enchantment itself as infantile, could be maintained only so long as mass culture was marginalized as an inferior and less rational arena than that of so-called "high" or "elite" culture. But for all the real and potential flaws of mass culture, this categorical dismissal is no longer tenable. To be sure, the modern enchantments of mass culture are not without their superficialities, irrationalities, prejudices, and problems. One can accept this, and still concede that mass culture is a vital source of contingent and rational enchantments as well.

Historians have started to recognize the contours of this new landscape of modernity, and thus they probably would not be surprised to find their own discipline described as "enchanted" by Mark A. Schneider. In *Culture and Enchantment*, Schneider argues that enchantment stems from the feeling of wonder that arises when we cannot fully explain an occurrence; once a satisfactory explanation is presented, disenchantment sets in. The mature sciences tend to be disenchanted, because they are able to provide empirically supportable answers to their queries that, if not fully complete, nonetheless yield "intelligibility and practical competence."[71] The interpretive disciplines, including the humanities and social sciences, are less able to produce such neat explanations, and often resort to invisible or mysterious agents to account for the phenomena they investigate. While their investigations and conclusions are usually conducted in the naturalistic register of the sciences, the "occult" aspects remain to intrigue, mystify, and enchant. Clifford Geertz's ambiguous account of "culture as text," Michel Foucault's reliance on the mysterious matrix of "power/knowledge," the New Historicists' invocation of "circulating energies": these explanations, while logically argued and supported by evidence, nevertheless differ little from the explanations offered by seventeenth-century natural philosophers, "whose investigations sought more to preserve than to dispel enchantment."[72]

Schneider suggests that the interpretive disciplines have promulgated the discourse of modern disenchantment because they want to be considered scientific: "Disenchanting the world, as a social process, involves sorting its behavior into mundane and magical categories—and stigmatizing the latter, making it a disreputable

[71] Mark A. Schneider, *Culture and Enchantment* (Chicago, 1993), 4.
[72] Ibid., 73–81, 4.

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object of inquiry. We become disenchanted only when this invidious distinction is developed, and remain so only while it lasts: in its absence, by contrast, the magical and the mundane appear to us as largely indistinguishable."[73] (Once again, we see the discourse of disenchantment as the contingent creation of elites for purposes of prestige.) Within these self-imposed distinctions of enchantment/disenchantment, the interpretive disciplines might approximate the disenchanted nature of the mature sciences if they investigated phenomena that could be controlled and explained. But the interpretive disciplines are distinguished precisely from the scientific disciplines by their concern with phenomena that usually do not meet such criteria. Thus, Schneider concludes, these disciplines ought not to pretend that they, or the world, are disenchanted. "Enchantment . . . is part of our normal condition, and far from having fled with the rise of science, it continues to exist (though often unrecognized) wherever our capacity to explain the world's behavior is slim, that is, where neither science nor practical knowledge seem of much utility."[74]

"Modernity" itself is just such an enchanted category that we have created. So too is the discourse of "modern disenchantment," a haunting presence that will not cease to disturb our thoughts until it is reunited with its antinomial partner, "modern enchantment."

[73] Ibid., ix.
[74] Ibid., x.

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AHR Forum

Oceans of History

Introduction

KÄREN WIGEN

CHANCES ARE, READERS of the *AHR* have found the ocean catching their eye of late. Maritime scholarship seems to have burst its bounds; across the discipline, the sea is swinging into view. Historians of science have documented the discovery of longitude and the plumbing of underwater depths;[1] historians of ideas have mapped the conceptual geographies of beaches, oceans, and islands;[2] historians of labor and radical politics have drawn arresting new portraits of maritime workers and pirates;[3] historians of business have tracked maritime commerce;[4] historians of the environment have probed marine and island ecologies;[5] and historians of colonial regimes and anticolonial movements alike have asserted the importance of maritime arenas of interaction.[6] No longer outside time, the sea is being given a history, even as the history of the world is being retold from the perspective of the sea.[7]

[1] Dava Sobel, *Longitude: The True Story of a Lone Genius Who Solved the Greatest Scientific Problem of His Time* (New York, 1996); Helen M. Rozwadowski, *Fathoming the Ocean: The Discovery and Exploration of the Deep Sea* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005).

[2] Arif Dirlik, ed., *What Is in a Rim? Critical Perspectives on the Pacific Region Idea* (Boulder, Colo., 1993); Alain Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea: The Discovery of the Seaside in the Western World, 1750–1840* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994); Philip Steinberg, *The Social Construction of the Ocean* (Cambridge, 2001); John Gillis, *Islands of the Mind: How the Human Imagination Created the Atlantic World* (New York, 2004).

[3] Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700–1750* (Cambridge, 1989); Greg Dening, *Mr. Bligh's Bad Language: Passion, Power and Theatre on the Bounty* (Cambridge, 1992); Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: The Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston, 2001).

[4] Mike Kurlansky, *Cod: A Biography of the Fish That Changed the World* (New York, 1998); John Steele Gordon, *A Thread across the Ocean: The Heroic Story of the Transatlantic Cable* (New York, 2003).

[5] Richard H. Grove, *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600–1868* (Cambridge, 1996); Richard Ellis, *The Empty Ocean* (Washington, D.C., 2003); Helen M. Rozwadowski, David K. Van Keuren, and Maury Conference on the History of the Ocean, eds., *The Machine in Neptune's Garden: Historical Perspectives on Technology and the Marine Environment* (Sagamore Beach, Mass., 2004).

[6] Lauren Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400–1900* (Cambridge, 2001); Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, eds., *The Creation of the British Atlantic World* (Baltimore, Md., 2005); Elija Gould and Peter S. Onuf, eds., *Empire and Nation: The American Revolution in the Atlantic World* (Baltimore, Md., 2004); Sugata Bose, *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006).

[7] Bernard Klein and Gesa Mackenthune, eds., *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean* (New York, 2004); Daniel Finamore, ed., *Maritime History as World History* (Gainesville, Fla., 2004). Nor are historians the only group drawn to oceanic focuses and frameworks. Ethnomusicologists have taken up the study of circum-Atlantic performance, English departments host conferences on the maritime novel, and

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This *AHR* Forum looks at one branch of this burgeoning scholarship: namely, studies that adopt a single, more or less bounded body of water as their focus or frame. Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell open the forum with a review of work on the Mediterranean, the *ur*-sea for what has been called "the new thalassology"; Alison Games surveys the self-consciously younger field of Atlantic basin studies; and Matt Matsuda introduces an ethnographically inflected literature based in the Pacific.[8] The resulting essays capture three emergent communities of scholarship, at once dramatically different and dynamically interrelated.

One telling relationship is suggested by the order in which the essays are presented. The Mediterranean, first in this forum, was also the first to be colonized by networks of routine, round-trip exchange. Aided by the basin's closure as well as by its relatively intimate dimensions, the Phoenicians and Greeks managed to turn circum-Mediterranean voyaging into a reasonable risk—and a regular practice—by the seventh century B.C.E. Two thousand years would pass before Iberian, English, and Dutch sailors mastered the larger and stormier Atlantic for routine crossings, while the Pacific would be sutured by only the slenderest of ties for at least two centuries after that. The Polynesians who managed the astonishing feat of peopling Oceania's far-flung archipelagos did not habitually circumnavigate its vast expanse; conversely, the seafaring communities of coastal Asia and America established vigorous but largely separated spheres of connectivity, a ring of coastal seas. Only with the incursion of whaling vessels and steamships in the 1800s did the Pacific become a place of dense, crisscrossing connections on the Mediterranean model.

But this raises a second sense in which the sequencing of these essays is significant. For the Mediterranean, the first sea to be colonized, was also the original maritime region in the Euro-American imagination. Established early on as a space of historical inquiry—initially among scholars of antiquity, later among admirers of Fernand Braudel—the Mediterranean remains the model to which other maritime regions are inevitably compared. Tellingly, Horden and Purcell celebrate the Mediterranean in this forum not only as a prototype of seaborne connectivity, but indeed as the *only* sea boasting transmarine interactions of sufficient density to shape patterns of primary production and staple trade around its shores. Summarizing the argument of an earlier co-authored book, they sketch here the distinctive regime of risk, logic of production, topographical fragmentation, and internal connectivity that, taken together, can be said to have stamped the Mediterranean as a coherent region over three millennia.

Games picks up on the theme of unity through connection, albeit in a backhanded form. Her essay emphasizes the extent to which the Atlantic *lacks* the kind of coherence that scholars have found in the Mediterranean. Given the magnitude of its scope, as well as the ecological and demographic diversity around its rim (a diversity that, as she reminds us, is still only dimly grasped), historians have conceived the Atlantic primarily as an "intercontinental highway," a space of transit for people,

students of public policy and international law are turning out important studies of maritime regulatory regimes.

[8] Regrettably, the equally rich historiography of the Indian Ocean is not covered in this forum. For entrées into Indian Ocean literature, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Introduction," in Kenneth McPherson, ed., *Maritime India* (Oxford, 2004); and Bose, *A Hundred Horizons*.

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ideas, germs, and goods. In the early modern period, the most important flows facilitated by this waterway were those of population—above all, the unprecedented forced migration of some 12 million enslaved Africans. The scope and violence of the slave trade have rightly riveted Atlantic historians' attention from the start. But massive demographic movements have also compelled careful attention to transoceanic cultural exchange and "creolization," a concept that Games thoughtfully interrogates here. Most striking, however, is Games's implication that Braudel's paradigm remains the salient standard for Atlantic studies. In a memorable metaphor, she likens her field to "a surly middle sibling," less established than the Mediterranean, and "in the throes of an adolescent identity crisis." In lamenting the "impediments" to the implementation of a Braudelian vision for Atlantic history, Games confirms the continuing hegemony of the Mediterranean model.

The author who closes the forum, by contrast, pointedly distances himself from that model. To make sense of the Pacific as a region, Matt Matsuda fastens on a different kind of unity: one forged not in environmental and economic interdependencies, but in cultural imaginings. Typically, he tells us, the Pacific has been narrated from colonial and continental perspectives, creating a storyline that runs "from an ancient Polynesian and early modern Magellanic space of transit, to an Enlightenment theater of sensual paradise, to a strategic grid of labor movements and military 'island-hopping,' to a capitalist basin." Against this externally imposed Pacific, Matsuda posits a different imaginary generated from within: one where Oceania is "Our Sea of Islands," an archipelagic world permeated by prehistoric kinship and cultural ties. Marked by tales of cargo cults, vestiges of female authority, and a shared legacy of navigational know-how, this Pacific is imagined as a space less of discovery than of ancestral return. Moreover, the registers in which its histories are transmitted are predominantly those of ethnography, autobiography, and performance; notes insistently point the reader toward memoirs, poetry, paintings, songs, and films. In Matsuda's portrait, the field of Pacific-*cum*-Oceania studies comes across as a lively conjuncture of art, activism, and academic enterprise. It also emerges as a self-consciously subversive domain, challenging the methodologies of an emerging ocean studies establishment whose poles of power lie on the opposite side of the globe.

If each essay thus offers a glimpse of a distinctive geography and history, however, disparity is not the only message this forum conveys. Difference is not even necessarily its dominant chord. For despite their striking contrasts of scale and development, these basins have generated similar historical dynamics, and prompted similar scholarly concerns. As a result, a number of shared themes run through the literatures on the Mediterranean, Atlantic, and Pacific. Collectively, I would submit, these essays reveal some striking consistencies in contemporary ocean-oriented scholarship. Building on Horden and Purcell's claims for the new thalassology, we might identify five common properties of the ocean-oriented histories surveyed here.

First, across the globe, *maritime regions are demonstrated to be modern cultural constructs*. It is worth noting that each essayist who has participated in this forum embraces a metageographical project—sustained inquiry into the cultural construction of the region in question—as an indispensable component of oceanic historiographies. Horden and Purcell go so far as to identify this kind of inquiry as a hallmark of the new regionalism: in their view, scholars cannot take for granted, but must

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discover and argue about, the basis on and extent to which a given stretch of water can serve as a meaningful field of inquiry. The spatial framework, rather than being an unselfconscious analytic tool, becomes an object of research in oceanic history.

One potentially troubling corollary is that for historians of premodern eras, oceanic labels are fundamentally anachronistic. As Games points out, what we call the Atlantic was typically perceived by our ancestors as several distinct seas.[9] Perhaps more troubling is the imperial context in which these concepts were originally forged. Not surprisingly, the idea of an "Atlantic basin," as well as the corresponding "Pacific," turns out to have its origins in modern colonial and scientific enterprise. But Horden and Purcell insist that even the Mediterranean *as a region* (and not simply as a sea) was a post-Enlightenment conceit, invented in the course of the nineteenth century. On the evidence of these essays, one can only conclude that basin thinking is a product of high imperialism.

If this raises the question of whether a unit such as the Atlantic is inescapably an imperialist category, *investigations into emic conceptions of the sea*—whether articulated by littoral peoples, sailors, merchants, or islanders—form an important counterweight, constituting a second commonality among the literatures surveyed here. Indeed, a good part of the drama of oceanic history lies in the clash between indigenous and outsider discourses. As Matsuda observes, "Oceanic histories are particularly rich and contested where Islander stories are matched against other global histories of seaborne empires emanating from European states and kingdoms, creating theaters of encounter and contact." Pacific scholars have worked with particular success to reconstruct the early phase of these encounters as "situations of appropriation, indeed collaboration and mutual engagement," effectively recovering "middle grounds" from a landscape that would be flattened over the long run by "the organized and unequal power relations of guns, germs, and steel."

Third, *maritime regions everywhere are understood to be fractured, fragmented worlds*, unified more by contact among contrasting places than by any purported similarity across their shores. Explicitly theorized by Horden and Purcell under the rubric of "seaborne connectivity," this emphasis on integration over homogeneity plays out in the other essays as well. Games writes that Atlantic history is effectively "a style of inquiry" that emphasizes "commonalities and convergences, seeking larger patterns derived from the new interactions of people around, within, and across the Atlantic"; Matsuda likewise characterizes oceanic histories as the study of "movements and interconnections." Indeed, both take this insight further, with Matsuda stressing that "such work resituates 'discoveries' as already diverse encounters."

Fourth, *maritime regions are understood to be intrinsically unstable*, in multiple senses. On the one hand, sea space from the Mediterranean to the Pacific is characterized here as "essentially contested" (Horden and Purcell); on the other hand, ocean-oriented communities are repeatedly described as civilizations "without a center" (Matsuda). That oceanic histories invert scholarly convention by turning political peripheries into regional cores is a recurrent theme. Likewise, all of the reviewers wrestle with the fact that the resulting regions have fuzzy and fluctuating

[9] Martin Lewis, "Dividing the Ocean Sea," *Geographical Review* 89, no. 2 (April 1999): 188–214.

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borders; more than one refers to Braudel's image of the Mediterranean as "pulsing" over time to convey the pervasive dynamic by which sea-oriented communities have historically expanded and contracted to embrace adjacent zones (Horden and Purcell).

Finally, all of these authors evince a recognition that *oceans connect at a global as well as at a regional level*. The networks to which these waterways gave rise not only have linked their own shores, but ultimately have joined the fortunes of one sea to another. As Horden and Purcell put it, the seas that are the objects of the new thalassology "join up to constitute a changing global history." Precisely because each piece has such distinctive contours, they conclude, "it is in the study of long-distance interaction even more than in comparison that the greatest advantage of the new regional history lies."

This brief overview points to an ambitious agenda, in some ways a remarkably comprehensive vision. Yet one concern remains largely unaddressed. For all its vibrant variety, the research surveyed in this forum rarely peers beneath the waves; sea space within the basin-centered genre comes across as essentially a two-dimensional (and practically friction-free) surface for the coming and going of ships. Yet as headlines remind us daily, whole ecosystems lie beneath that surface. A fuller engagement with marine biology may one day allow the whales and otters and cod that lured ships out onto the seas in the first place to take their rightful place in maritime historical studies.

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AHR Forum
The Mediterranean and "the New Thalassology"

PEREGRINE HORDEN AND NICHOLAS PURCELL

SEA AND OCEAN HISTORY IS MORE NOVEL than it sounds. It admirably exemplifies a new historiography of large areas. In one sense, the inquiry revisits a traditional historical geography. At the same time, both its scope and its methods are so distinctive as to make it an exciting—and quite unpredictable—area of reflection and research.

A decade or so ago, such histories were hardly encouraged. In postmodern historiography, subjects of every kind, but especially identities and power relationships, became inflections of discourse. And because it made its own world, discourse could not be anchored to a particular place, even if, for practical reasons, its historians had to use texts from a particular region and period. Preset frontiers were taboo.[1] The context, whether for an exercise in microhistory, in new historicism, or in postcolonialism, was, ideally, global.

Area studies, in many ways the creation of cultural anthropology and long suspect in that discipline, now flourish again.[2] But they are invigorated by what has been learned from the linguistic turn: there is no turning back. Even area studies, in their revived form, are therefore in some sense global, too. They may, for instance, be directly or indirectly influenced by debates on the nature and impact of economic and cultural globalization. The new interest in regional history derives, fundamentally, from the task of finding a different approach to world history—not through formulating generalizations about everything, but through the analysis of the whole by way of its components, and, consequently, of how those components fit together.[3] The regions of the new regional history tend to have one obvious characteristic: they are big—inevitably, since they are implicitly or explicitly elements in a larger and potentially all-embracing historical project. For the same reason, their historians share a sophisticated consciousness of the problems of delimitation.[4]

[1] J. J. Cohen, "Introduction," in Cohen, ed., *The Postcolonial Middle Ages* (Basingstoke, 2000), 7: "a postcolonial Middle Ages has no frontiers, only heterogeneous borderlands with multiple centers." See also W. D. Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (Princeton, N.J., 2000).

[2] Rena Lederman, "Globalization and the Future of Culture Areas," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27 (1998): 427–449.

[3] To be distinguished from the older world-systems theory: e.g., P. N. Kardulias, *World-Systems Theory in Practice: Leadership, Production, and Exchange* (Lanham, Md., 1999); T. D. Hall, *A World-Systems Reader* (Lanham, Md., 2000).

[4] R. Bin Wong, "Entre monde et nation: Les régions braudéliennes en Asie," *Annales* 56, no. 1 (2001): 5–41; Maurice Aymard, "De la Méditerranée à l'Asie: Une comparaison nécessaire (commentaire)," *Annales* 56, no. 1 (2001): 43–50.

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The new regional history also (hardly surprisingly) retains the taste of late-twentieth-century scholarship for the erasure of established disciplinary and historical frontiers. Some existing categories seem reinvigorated; others are new. But a further common feature is that they cut across the political divisions that have shaped traditional history: the study of the lakes of the East African Rift Valley, for example, or the Silk Road.

History of seas appeals to this project because the layout of sea and land makes the oceans and their embayments a way of approaching most parts of the world. By a simple metaphorical extension, "virtual seas" can be included, too, spaces of danger and variable communications—mountain ranges, forests, or arid wildernesses such as the Sahara. Some of these will resemble oceanic expanses; others, in being more densely surrounded by populated zones and dotted with island oases, will be inland "seas" like the Mediterranean. The systematic comparison of real and metaphorical seas can suggest a new configuration of history, and one that might attain a global scale.[5] So promising, indeed, does the notion of a sea or an ocean appear for this task that the term "the new thalassology" has seemed an appropriate coinage to denote it.[6]

The choice of sea sometimes follows traditional geographical classifications, as with the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian oceans; but it is more enticing in many ways to propose less familiar, and sometimes smaller, maritime spaces, such as the Philippine island world.[7] Novel species of juxtaposition and comparison become possible. They reveal unexpected coherences, such as the recurrent features of the northeast shores of the Atlantic in the premodern archaeological record.[8] Peripheries become cores, and it is arguably one of the main attractions of the newly created or identified areas that they tend to be politically neutral. Apart from ignoring national boundaries, they subvert imperial hierarchies that privilege some powers' involvement in the areas in question. Thus, for instance, in the "new" Atlantic historiography, a "white," a "black," a "green" (Irish), and even a "red" (Marxist) Atlantic may coexist in equilibrium.[9] Sea history also helps to expose the "myth of continents" and the precedence that historians have given to land over water as the support of social life.[10] "East Asia" may be preferable to "the Far East," but the investigation of the continuum of the China Sea is more liberating still. Last, and

[5] David Abulafia, "Mediterraneans," in William V. Harris, ed., *Rethinking the Mediterranean* (Oxford, 2005), 64–93. On the Sahara, see also *Méditerranée* 99, no. 3–4 (2002), "Le Sahara, cette 'autre Méditerranée.' "

[6] From the ancient Greek *thalassa*, "sea." Edward Peters, "*Quid nobis cum pelago?* The New Thalassology and the Economic History of Europe," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 34 (2003): 49–61; Brent Shaw, "A Peculiar Island: Maghrib and Mediterranean," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18 (2003): 93–125.

[7] Frederick L. Wernstedt and J. E. Spencer, *The Philippine Island World: A Physical, Cultural, and Regional Geography* (Berkeley, Calif., 1967), is still the starting point.

[8] Barry Cunliffe, *Facing the Ocean: The Atlantic and Its Peoples* (Oxford, 2001). See also Rupert A. Housley and Geraint Coles, eds., *Atlantic Connections and Adaptations: Economies, Environments and Subsistence in Lands Bordering the North Atlantic* (Oxford, 2001).

[9] David Armitage, "Three Concepts of Atlantic History," in David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, eds., *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (Basingstoke, 2002), 14–15.

[10] Martin W. Lewis and Kären E. Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); Daniel Finamore, ed., *Maritime History as World History* (Gainesville, Fla., 2004).

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not least, we might guess from our own experience, sea history allows sedentary landlubber historians to indulge a taste for the romance or the frisson of seafaring.[11]

The Mediterranean has some claim to be the great original of seas as the subject of history. Sea-based political hegemony was identified as an object of historiographical inquiry in the fifth century B.C. by the first historians in the Western tradition, Herodotus and Thucydides, who invented for it the label "thalassocracy" (sea rule). From still earlier, in the *Odyssey*, seafaring occupied a central place in the first Greek literary imagination.[12] Even more influential in the twentieth century has naturally been the prototype sea history, Fernand Braudel's *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*.[13] Braudel elaborated a unitary theory of time and causation, and applied it, on the grandest scale, in that characteristic product of the *Annales* school, the regional monograph in which all the social sciences are synthesized into "total history." "When I think of the individual," he wrote in the concluding paragraph of the second edition of *The Mediterranean*,

> I am always inclined to see him imprisoned within a destiny in which he himself has little hand, fixed in a landscape in which the infinite perspectives of the long term stretch into the distance both behind him and before. In historical analysis as I see it, rightly or wrongly, the long run always wins in the end . . . I am by temperament a "structuralist," little tempted by the event, or even by the short-term conjuncture which is after all merely a grouping of events in the same area.[14]

Yet, in that "long run" that always wins, Braudel's legacy has lain less in philosophy than in geography, through which the Mediterranean is upheld as a distinctive unity:

> None of my critics has reproached me for including in this historical work the very extended geographical section which opens it, my homage to those timeless realities whose images recur throughout the whole book . . . The Mediterranean as a unit, with its creative space, the amazing freedom of its sea-routes . . . with its many regions, so different yet so alike, its cities born of movement, its complementary populations, its congenital enmities, is the unceasing work of human hands; but those hands have had to build with unpromising material, a natural environment far from fertile and often cruel, one that has imposed its own long lasting limitations and obstacles. All civilization can be defined as a struggle, a creative battle against the odds; the civilizations of the Mediterranean basin have wrestled with many often visible obstacles, using sometimes inadequate human resources, they have fought endlessly and blindly against the continental masses which hold the inland sea in its grip . . . I have therefore sought out, within the framework of a geographical study, those local, permanent, unchanging and much repeated features which are the "constants" of Mediterranean history.[15]

For all its emphasis on the constraining force of a "timeless" landscape, Braudel's vividly peopled geography is maritime as well as terrestrial. It allows as much con-

[11] Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford, 2000), 38 on Braudel. Contrast Felipe Fernández-Armesto, "Maritime History and World History," in Finamore, *Maritime History*, 8.

[12] Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 24–25.

[13] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (New York, 1976). For Braudel's intellectual biography and his influence on sea and ocean history, see references in Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 542–543. Add now John A. Marino, ed., *Early Modern History and the Social Sciences: Testing the Limits of Braudel's Mediterranean* (Kirksville, Mich., 2002).

[14] Braudel, *Mediterranean*, 1244.

[15] Ibid., 1239.

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ceptual space to freedom of movement and communication across and around the sea as to the local hold of the environment. Above all, it places the Mediterranean region within a larger frame, a "greater Mediterranean" that can include Antwerp and places still more remote.[16]

This distinguished genealogy has helped make the Mediterranean a standard *point de repère* for maritime historians. The Baltic/North Sea region is "the Mediterranean of the North." The world created by later medieval Iberian navigators around the islands of the eastern Atlantic, in the period preceding that for which a "full" Atlantic history is conceivable, is the "Atlantic Mediterranean" or "Mediterranean Atlantic."[17] David Abulafia has even generalized the concept of the Mediterranean, in its strict meaning of "inland sea," to a range of areas over which trade and communication has been comparatively intense. He applies the term not only to the "sub-Mediterraneans" of the Adriatic,[18] Aegean, and Black seas,[19] and the quasi-Mediterranean of the Caribbean, but also to the "Japanese Mediterranean."[20] The Mediterranean proper appears to have an unassailable position in the mainstream of historiography, and to lend itself to the comparativism of modern regional study. So it is reasonable to expect that the Mediterranean will also have much to offer the new thalassology.

But does it? In what follows, we address that question in four parts: first, by reviewing the serious criticisms that have been leveled at "Mediterranean" as a category; second, by looking at how other Mediterranean historians have responded to the challenge; third, by outlining our own suggestions for doing Mediterranean history; and finally, by debating the place of the Mediterranean thus configured in a wider scholarly world of comparative sea history and global history.

THE "ORIGINAL" MEDITERRANEAN is in fact more problematic as a component in the new regional history than its illustrious forebears might suggest. First, when historians elsewhere are robustly constructing regions out of unexpected seaboards, so as to ponder *recherché* networks of communication and patterns of cultural resemblance, those studying the Mediterranean find that their subject is frequently dismissed precisely on the grounds that it is no more than a construction. Second, when the new regional vision helps to emancipate scholars from insidious political focalization, the Mediterranean stands accused of being an essentially oppressive concept, born of imperialism and deployed in the service of politically undesirable master narratives. Third, even apart from the specific ideological undesirability of links with European imperialism, the Mediterranean carries so much baggage of a more general kind that its usefulness in comparative history can seem very limited. Its problems as a historiographical subject are those of success.

Such problems tend to accentuate its uniqueness. No other sea has been the focus of a cultural history in which a unified stretch of water gives its name to a supposedly

[16] Ibid., 170, 394–396.

[17] Robert S. Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950–1350* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1971), 20, 23; Abulafia, "Mediterraneans," 66, 81.

[18] See also Pierre Cabens, ed., *Histoire de l'Adriatique* (Paris, 2001).

[19] Charles King, *The Black Sea: A History* (Oxford, 2004).

[20] Abulafia, "Mediterraneans," 85–90.

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distinctive surrounding landscape and culture, and even to presumed personality traits.[21] The relative seniority and sophistication of Mediterranean studies as a discipline is also significant, even if we date it back no further than the 1930s, when Braudel conceived his major work.[22] A greater challenge for the historian is that the Mediterranean is culturally freighted in so many ways. This freighting is of course a far larger phenomenon than could be conjured up from the history of geography.[23] It hardly needs stating that the Mediterranean, as an area seldom clearly defined but often subconsciously reduced to Italy and Greece, has been the perceived center of European civilization since the Renaissance, and in many respects since classical antiquity. "The Baltic of the South": the absurdity of the inversion makes the point.

The cultural stature so often ascribed to the Mediterranean renders it unpalatable for many. It is unpalatable for anyone who sees in the conception and study of Greco-Roman antiquity simply another manifestation of imperialist ideology. (Perhaps we should avoid the Greek-derived term "thalassology" for that very reason.) It is unpalatable for those who are vigilant against all that a classical education contributed to the self-perception of the elites who invented and tried to rule the Mediterranean from the eighteenth century to World War II. The fame of the Mediterranean also lost nothing from the culture of international tourism that developed in the second half of the twentieth century, even if this culture is one from which historians may find it relatively easy to distance themselves.[24] These mixed reputations distinguish the Mediterranean—for now—from most other seas and oceans. Moreover, they raise serious questions about what sort of subject it might be.

Such questions underlie the most extreme attack on the whole notion of Mediterranean studies. The cultural anthropologist Michael Herzfeld has reinvigorated his critique of what he calls "Practical Mediterraneanism." His essay of that title is subtitled "Excuses for Everything, from Epistemology to Eating."[25] At the beginning of a new century, he finds it astonishing that people are still talking about the utility of "the" Mediterranean as a construct when almost all comparable categories (he gives no examples) have been deconstructed or reconstructed—or have self-destructed.[26] This conceptual durability is, however, a matter not just for astonishment or regret but for investigation. The Mediterranean is indeed "out there," and not only in the limited sense that it is a stretch of water. It exists as something "we say," as a subject of various "discourses." (The argument can be summed up, not altogether unfairly, with an analogy: theology exists, therefore God exists.[27]) For Herz-

[21] Paul Sant Cassia, "Authors in Search of a Character: Personhood, Agency and Identity in the Mediterranean," *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 1 (1991): 1–17.

[22] Braudel, *Mediterranean*, 15.

[23] For some bibliography, see Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 26–29, 538–540.

[24] Bertram C. Gordon, "The Mediterranean as a Tourist Destination from Classical Antiquity to Club Med," *Mediterranean Studies* 12 (2003): 203–226.

[25] In Harris, *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, 45–63. See also Herzfeld, "Performing Comparisons: Ethnography, Globetrotting, and the Spaces of Social Knowledge," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 57 (2001): 265–267.

[26] For Victoria A. Goddard, Josep R. Llobera, and Cris Shore, the Mediterranean was invented in the 1960s and passed its sell-by date in the 1980s. "Introduction: The Anthropology of Europe," in Goddard, Llobera, and Shore, eds., *The Anthropology of Europe: Identity and Boundaries in Conflict* (Oxford, 1994), 4, 20–23.

[27] By Roger Bagnall, at the conference held at the Center for the Ancient Mediterranean, Columbia University, September 21–22, 2001, at which Herzfeld's paper originated.

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feld, "we" are all kinds of people: inhabitants of circum-Mediterranean lands, for instance, who are fully aware of the stereotypical traits attributed to us in a massive literature, historical, literary, anthropological, and touristic. Inhabitants' excuse for misbehavior can be "the Mediterranean temperament" (hot-blooded, selfish); their excuse for political incompetence can be a culture of *mañana*.[28] "We" are also academics. As Mediterranean specialists, we insert ourselves into a global hierarchy of value, a hierarchy in which "Mediterranean" falls somewhere between "modern" and "primitive," the cozily familiar and the wholly exotic. To sustain such academic alignments, we fall back on a circular argument, from "the Mediterranean" as a distinctive and homogeneous region or culture to its particular exemplifications—and back again. Mediterraneanists always end by validating what they had presupposed.

Herzfeld's target is the strongest and most complex version of the sin of "Mediterraneanism."[29] It is a telling index of the methodological zeal that the Mediterranean elicits that, besides being an excuse, Mediterraneanism exists in (at least) two other forms: exclusivism and exceptionalism. The first is relatively simple—things Mediterranean are a tired subject, and their students tend to be introverted, it is suggested, when they could be interested instead, or at least also, in more stimulating and less well-trodden fields. The term "Mediterraneanism" has also been used to identify a claim that, especially in the more distant past, served to justify Mediterranean exclusivism—a claim that this area and some of its cultures have a special status among historical subjects, and that comparisons further afield are scarcely needed.[30] And there is a clear link between some of the forms that exceptionalism has taken and the world of the Herzfeldian excuses, which is a Mediterranean of subaltern status, explicitly modeled on the late Edward Said's "orientalism."[31]

Herzfeld reasonably requires those who use the Mediterranean category to see themselves as subjects of ethnographic investigation. They should put "the Mediterranean" within the frame rather than assume it as the frame itself. It becomes an object of research rather than an analytic tool. Historians must also put themselves within the frame: Why do they want to use this term? What (self-)interest does it serve? There can be no doubt that Braudel—for instance—fails any such reflexivity test. It is clearly no longer permissible for the answer to the Herzfeldian question

[28] For the political dimension of "the Mediterranean" in Israeli "public discourse," see Yaacov Shavit, "Mediterranean History and the History of the Mediterranean: Further Reflections," *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 4 (1994): 313–329.

[29] Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 486–487, 522–523; Herzfeld, *Anthropology through the Looking-Glass: Critical Ethnography on the Margins of Europe* (Cambridge, 1987); J. de Pina-Cabral, "The Mediterranean as a Category of Regional Comparison: A Critical View," *Current Anthropology* 30 (1989): 399–406. See also Yaacov Shavit, "The Mediterranean World and 'Mediterraneanism': The Origins, Meaning, and Application of a Geo-Cultural Notion in Israel," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 3 (1988): 96–117. It is worth attempting to plead for consistent use of labels. In both Ian Morris, "Mediterraneanization," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18 (2003): 30–55, and Greg Woolf, "A Sea of Faith," ibid., 126–143, "Mediterraneanism" is used to mean Mediterranean exceptionalism, rather than the subtler object of Herzfeld's critique; or even more baldly, "great interest in the Mediterranean as a historical object" (Morris, 35–37).

[30] Cf. Woolf, "Sea of Faith," 140: "the most useful units of study . . . are either larger or smaller than the Mediterranean world."

[31] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978); also James G. Carrier, ed., *Occidentalism: Images of the West* (Oxford, 1995). For further bibliography, see U. Freitag, "The Critique of Orientalism," in Michael Bentley, ed., *Companion to Historiography* (London, 1997), 620–638.

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"What is your *excuse* for doing this?" to be simply, as in the preface to Braudel's first edition, "I have loved the Mediterranean with passion."[32]

To study this area without problematizing it almost out of existence is thus, for Herzfeld, to collude in a "disdainful cultural imperialism"—and not only cultural. For, as Said is taken to have shown, cultural and political imperialisms are always intimately linked.[33] Herzfeld has been criticizing cultural anthropologists of the last few decades.[34] But his critique clearly has a larger historical dimension. It relates to the history of politics and culture within the circum-Mediterranean area.[35] And it applies above all to the history of geography.

The region as it is usually defined today was delineated in the nineteenth century, not earlier. A Mediterranean world was, for example, elaborated in the early systematic anthropogeography of Germany. It emerged as a by-product of the general conceptualization of space under a heading with a terrible future, *Lebensraum*.[36] By the early 1900s, the geographer Theobald Fischer could explicitly connect geographical knowledge in Germany, as a world power and a force in world trade, with the unexploited potential of "slumbering" Mediterranean lands.[37] The connection between scientific knowledge and imperialism in the Mediterranean is, however, clearest in the French case.[38] The Mediterranean was represented as a European sea—the characterization of the Mediterranean as a region with distinctive relief or flora came more slowly, and in more specialized and not always geographical works. Striking comparisons were drawn: Kabylia as a sort of Provence, the Atlas Mountains as an analogue of the Alps.[39] Yet comparisons could work the other way, too—between a village in the Var and one in Morocco, or the stony plain of the fossil delta of the Durance and the Sahara. Braudel's remote intellectual ancestry comes into focus.

Although not straightforward, the nineteenth-century "invention" of the Mediterranean, as a region and not just a sea, is thus certain.[40] Only then did it become, like Bismarck's Europe, a full-fledged geographical expression. The environmental characteristics forming the "givens" of twentieth-century Mediterranean geography had not been systematically identified earlier. It is hardly surprising that no other region has inspired such hand-wringing among intellectuals over the question of

[32] Braudel, *Mediterranean*, 17. Braudel's experience in Algeria may be more relevant than his passion. See Pierre Daix, *Braudel* (Paris, 1995).

[33] See also his *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, 1993).

[34] We attempt an anthropological rejoinder in Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 487–523.

[35] See, e.g., Jane Schneider, ed., *Italy's "Southern Question": Orientalism in One Country* (Oxford, 1998); Nelson Moe, *The View from Vesuvius: Italian Culture and the Southern Question* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002); Thomas W. Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion: Culture, Identity, and Power in the British Mediterranean* (Notre Dame, Ind., 2002), esp. 35–36, on the "Mediterranean Irish" of the Ionian Islands; Ussama Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism," *AHR* 107, no. 3 (June 2002): 768–796.

[36] R. Peet, "The Social Origins of Environmental Determinism," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 75 (1985): 309–333.

[37] Theobald Fischer, *Mittelmeerbilder: Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Kunde der Mittelmeerländer* (1906; repr., Leipzig, 1913), v. See also Lucien Febvre, *A Geographical Introduction to History* (London, 1932), 41; W. Stroch and G. Meiring, *La méditerranée allemande* (Paris, 2000).

[38] Daniel Nordman, "La Méditerranée dans la pensée geographique française (vers 1800–vers 1950)," in Claude Guillot, Denys Lombard, and Roderich Ptak, eds., *From the Mediterranean to the China Sea: Miscellaneous Notes* (Wiesbaden, 1998), 1–20. For the background, see Christopher Drew Armstrong, "Travel and Experience in the Mediterranean of Louis XV," in Harris, *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, 235–237.

[39] Nordman, "Méditerranée," 18.

[40] See also Shavit, "The Mediterranean World and 'Mediterraneanism.'"

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whether it is an imperialist category. There is, to our knowledge, no comparable debate over the propriety of "Atlanticism" or "Pacificism." (The former is, rather, a term of art in strategic thought and refers—positively—to the Atlantic alliance between the U.S. and Western European powers; the latter has to do with peace, not water.)[41] This despite the fact that "Atlantic," unlike "Mediterranean," is a name charged with classical mythology and, like all other ocean names, a European creation.[42] Specialists in the Atlantic and the Pacific may, as elsewhere in this forum, debate the propriety of their disciplinary labels. But these are not, or not yet, seen as so politically tainted as to demand some alternative.

How have Mediterranean historians responded to Mediterraneanism, now that its insidious variety has been so loudly proclaimed? Few seem to have taken up the approach advocated by Herzfeld, which would confine their studies to politically attuned discourse analysis. We have no comprehensive historical and ethnographic study of "the idea of the Mediterranean."

More frequently, the whole problem of characterizing the region has been ignored or sidestepped. Braudelian human geography—on which differences of period (ancient/medieval), and even differences of culture and religion (Christian/Muslim), press only lightly—may continue to fascinate, and to provide useful illustration for "history from below." And yet such a geography is precisely what has been missing from many of the most significant contributions to historical writing on the Mediterranean published around the turn of the millennium. Perhaps it has seemed reasonable to suppose that there is no need for further environmental study, at least on any scale, because everything that needs to be done has been done already, and excellently—by Braudel. In 2000, we argued, with deliberate provocation, that Braudel's *Mediterranean* book marked "the end of the Mediterranean."[43] We had many reasons for doing so. During the preceding decade, history and the various relevant social sciences all seemed to have moved away from grand regional studies. In any case, what more was there to write about? Braudel had done the job of studying the relations of people and environments—on plains, mountains, islands, and coastlands; along routes and in towns; and on the open sea. He had seemingly done this not just for the age of Philip II, but for all time—or certainly for premodern historical time. None of his subsequent writings on the Mediterranean added anything of substance.[44] More than twenty years after his death, who now reads Braudel on Philip II? Yet for any student of Mediterranean human geography, his book is still an invaluable resource.

Evading the problem of geographical characterization allows "the Mediterranean" to flourish as a flag of convenience (if not an excuse). To show how, we can draw a distinction between "history in" and "history of" the region.[45] It is, admittedly,

[41] An impression derived from "googling."
[42] Armitage, "Three Concepts," 12.
[43] Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 39–43.
[44] Braudel, *The Mediterranean in the Ancient World*, trans. Siân Reynolds (1998; repr., London, 2001). See also Braudel, "Fernand Braudel, l'antiquité et l'histoire ancienne" [interview with J. Andreau, M. Aymard, and R. Etienne, April 29, 1985], *Quaderni di Storia* 12, no. 24 (1986): 5–21.
[45] Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 2, 9. See also Shavit, "Mediterranean History and the

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not a wholly satisfactory distinction. "History of" suggests the all-encompassing, although it is meant to refer to history of the whole in a particular geographical sense, not to history of all conceivable Mediterranean subjects. Braudel's *Mediterranean* is of course the great exemplar of "history of." On the other hand, "history in" the region is hardly the ideal way of conveying what "history of" might sometimes leave out. "History in" the Mediterranean is only contingently or indirectly Mediterranean. That is, reference to the environment would need to come in the extreme background of analysis or explanation. It would, for example, be the point (which we shall not try to identify here) at which the historian finds the ineluctable Spanishness of the Spanish Civil War—Spanishness in a geographical sense, rather than the cultural or psychological essentialism beloved of an older national historiography. No "history in" the region is utterly detachable from its Mediterranean setting. Still, the "in/of" dichotomy is a useful one.

It is useful first of all when we confront the fact that despite—or because of—reports of the death of the Mediterranean, it is multiplying as a keyword in scholarly journal titles.[46] There are more and more of these publications, and many thousands of people must receive the electronic information service "H-Mediterranean" or visit Mediterranean history sites on the web. But much of what passes for Mediterranean history here is a recycling of old "Mediterraneanist" positions. Some of it is a cover: specialists in antiquity, for example, may have recourse to "Mediterranean" as a label that, unlike "Greek," "Roman," or "classical," avoids the stigma of intellectual collusion with the dominant culture in a socially diverse world. The majority of scholarly writing is conventional, relatively local, political, social, or economic "history in" some Mediterranean country—of no immediate wider significance, and with little attention to geography or environment.

Among books of the last decade or so, "history in" receives its consummate expression in *Histoire de la Méditerranée*, edited by Jean Carpentier and François Lebrun.[47] Here there is no prior definition of the subject of Mediterranean history and no obvious underlying conception to justify choices of topic beyond that of conventional geography. We find, rather, a full and helpful chronological synthesis of the political, economic, religious, and cultural history of Mediterranean lands—especially the northern Mediterranean. The siege of Toulon is included, a subject on which Braudel lectured;[48] and so is the Second Vatican Council. The latter illustrates nicely how a major event, and all the larger trends and structures it encapsulates, can be part of "history in" the Mediterranean, without in any important way requiring attention to geography. Of course, it is not geographically contingent that the council was held in a Mediterranean city—or Rome in particular. But the location of the papacy would hardly be at the forefront of any explanation of when and

History of the Mediterranean," for a third category, "Mediterranean history," which presupposes cultural uniformity as well as unity.

[46] Susan E. Alcock, "Alphabet Soup in the Mediterranean Basin: The Emergence of the Mediterranean Serial," in Harris, *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, 314–338; Morris, "Mediterraneanization," 34–35.

[47] Jean Carpentier and François Lebrun, eds., *Histoire de la Méditerranée* (Paris, 1998).

[48] *Une leçon d'histoire de Fernand Braudel: Châteauvallon, Journées Fernand Braudel, 18, 19 et 20 Octobre, 1985* (Paris, 1986), pls. 19–20, facing 161.

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how the council came to be called; and the council is, very obviously, an event of much more than Mediterranean significance.[49]

Even environmental histories can be read as taking it for granted that there is no need either to return to or in major ways to go beyond Braudel's human geography. With only a few exceptions, the environmental history of the Mediterranean has not attracted much attention lately.[50] And the exceptions are of a somewhat traditional kind. For example, in A. T. Grove and Oliver Rackham's excellent book *The Nature of Mediterranean Europe*, the Mediterranean is defined once and for all at the outset in the usual climatic terms as one of six "mediterraneoid" parts of the world. The authors can then get on with the business of showing that it is no lost Eden, subject to progressive degradation by humanity. Here is an ecological narrative that is certainly history "of" its subject. It brings the relationship between humankind and the environment back to the center of the picture, and shows the diversity of Mediterranean ecologies and the simplifications of so many earlier accounts of human intervention. But it is a history of climate, geology, and flora and fauna in which the effects of humanity—although seen as all-pervasive—are directly addressed in only one and a half chapters.

A third type of Mediterranean history sidesteps the anti-Mediterraneanist critique by confining itself primarily to the less controversial unity of the sea. This can be labeled "the maritime turn." In "Mediterranean Breviary" (to translate its original title), Predrag Matvejević keeps his subject manageable by restricting it to the sea and fifty kilometers inland.[51] The book is unclassifiable: part historical *mélange*, part contemporary evocation. Here we read of the "nobility" of studying Mediterranean geology. Many Mediterranean people, we learn, "go in for horoscopes"; "theft is a Mediterranean art form"; lighthouses are an important Mediterranean institution; and "a ship that sinks does so in silence or in bedlam." Above all, there is the romance of the ports, the ships, and the seafarers: "I have listened to people living on both north and south coasts of the Mediterranean speak of sea smells. I have taken careful notes."[52] This is Braudel as rewritten by Walt Whitman. Everything is surface, and a frictionless one at that. Generalizations meet no resistance. The book is—for the most part—a study really "of" the Mediterranean. Yet it is scarcely history.

Another fresh synopsis of Mediterranean history again virtually omits the environment altogether. It does this not because Braudel has dealt with it, but in deliberate rejection of his approach as leaving too little space for individual human initiative. In David Abulafia's edited volume *The Mediterranean in History*,[53] that subject is reduced to the sea and its immediate coastlands. It might have been entitled *History in (or on) the Mediterranean*. There is an opening chapter in which Oliver Rackham rehearses his arguments against progressive long-term degradation,

[49] See Carpentier and Lebrun, *Histoire de la Méditerranée*, 231, 502–503, for Vatican II (also, e.g., 167 on Gregorian Reform).

[50] Ted Steinberg, "Down to Earth: Nature, Agency, and Power in History," *AHR* 107, no. 3 (June 2002): 798–820. The Mediterranean gets little attention in John F. Richards, *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World* (Berkeley, Calif., 2003).

[51] Predrag Matvejević, *Mediterranean: A Cultural Landscape*, trans. Michael Henry Heim (1987; repr., Berkeley, Calif., 1999).

[52] Ibid., 30, 43, 32, 63, 38.

[53] David Abulafia, ed., *The Mediterranean in History* (London, 2003).

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but on this occasion he does not define the environment in question at all. After Rackham's chapter, the theme is the conflict or mutual influence of states and economies across the sea. The regional setting disappears from view. Along the same lines, Abulafia now promises what will undoubtedly be a magnificent narrative history of the Mediterranean Sea, its islands and coastlands, in which full weight is given to the decisions of named individuals. Perhaps it will be Herzfeld-proof, but the immunity may have been bought at some cost.

CONFLICT AND INFLUENCE ACROSS THE SEA are indeed central to any historical writing about the Mediterranean. Yet the coherence and distinctiveness of the region as a subject is not, we think, to be sought in the relatively clear-cut facts of Norman states, linked by sea, or the trade that enriched Lusignan kings. Norman seafaring and Cypriot sugar plantations need to be set within a much wider panorama. They need to be seen within a time frame that is not only long, but also unconstrained by the dictates of narrative. If the new regional history we have been describing is to avoid being a patchwork of ill-assorted discursive constructs, the arresting qualities of its objects should be described in ways that facilitate comparison and contrast. Common denominators need to be found. For all the accumulated conceptual and cultural freight of the Mediterranean, a different type of criticism of Mediterranean history has been that in practice it lacks cohesion across time and space. There is no interesting basis, it might be said, for comparing Corsica and the Nile delta, or the age of the Sea Peoples with that of the Corsairs. Braudel, of course, thought differently. And his assertion of comparability across very wide gaps of period and place within the Mediterranean impels us to try, against the skeptics, to make a case for the value and coherence of a Mediterranean regional approach to ancient, medieval, and early modern history.[54] The following account of one possible view of the Mediterranean past offers some hope of meeting the provocations of "Mediterraneanism." It does so, moreover, by exploring characteristics of the Mediterranean that include the ways in which it related to other regions around it. It therefore supports the larger "thalassological experiment" on two fronts. First, the Mediterranean need not be a political embarrassment, a dangerously flawed foundation stone in the edifice of global comparativism. Second, the study of coherent structures in Mediterranean history throws up questions and models that may help the global historian to understand how the new constituent regions of world history have actually interacted.

At the most basic level, we have attempted in earlier work to develop a framework for interpreting certain aspects of Mediterranean history. These are aspects that shed light on the big questions of unity, distinctiveness, and continuity in the region before "modernity," however defined. The framework rests on a fourfold description of primary production, derived to an important extent from the social anthropology and archaeology of the last third of the twentieth century. The first stage is to identify

[54] Vol. 1 of our *Study of Mediterranean History* was *The Corrupting Sea*, its title explained in the opening epigraphs. Vol. 2, *Liquid Continents*, which concentrates on the boundaries of the Mediterranean, is in progress. What follows also draws on Purcell, "The Boundless Sea of Unlikeness? On Defining the Mediterranean," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18 (December 2003): 9–29, and on Horden and Purcell, "Four Years of Corruption: A Response to Critics," in Harris, *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, 348–376.

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a distinctive regime of risk, in which bad years of many different kinds have been common enough to make it essential to find remedies for them, but not so common as to outnumber good ones. The second stage is to identify a distinctive "logic" of production organized around coping with this risk regime. It rests on the triple strategy of (in ascending order of historical importance) diversification of productive enterprise to cope with the different kinds of bad years; storage of the surplus normally accumulated as insurance against future bad years; and redistribution of the stored as well as the fresh, using different rhythms for the different products of diversification.

These two main aspects, risk and production, are further patterned by two other crucial elements. One of them is an extreme topographical fragmentation, deriving ultimately from the tectonics of the Mediterranean region. This fragmentation can be expressed through the vocabulary of the "microecology," a deliberately loose concept. Microecologies are as much in the perceptions of primary producers as in any topographical particularity. They are interactive, both locally between people and environment, and more broadly between different microecologies, which very great distances sometimes separate. Microecologies resist mapping. They are fluid, mutable creations. This mutability bears on both of the first two stages of the argument. It vastly increases the capriciousness and unpredictability of the normal risk regime. Therefore it also promotes and rewards a certain approach to production: the three imperatives of diversification, storage, and redistribution.

Finally, there is the distinctive regime of communications made possible by the geography of the sea, with its complex coastlines and numerous islands, interlocking coastal lowlands, and frequently navigable lagoons and rivers. The effect of such a regime is primarily on the character and significance of redistribution, and through that it feeds back into the whole system. It could thus be claimed that the key variable in assessing the social and economic character of any Mediterranean microecology at a given historical moment is its "connectivity," a term borrowed, ultimately, from graph theory.

This rapid summary is inevitably abstract. But the fourfold model—of risk regime, logic of production, topographical fragmentation, and internal connectivity—is deliberately so: it is intended to embrace the characteristic variability of Mediterranean human ecology. And one advantage of it may be that it can withstand accusations of "Mediterraneanism." First, against the charge of exclusivism, it raises a number of issues that are germane to many other historical contexts. It gets away from the environmental typology of Braudel's *Mediterranean*, in which a residual determinism is detectable (mountain societies, for example), and brings out the two-way interaction of humanity and the environment. It allows conceptual space for the perceptions and decisions of both small producers and those who control them. It takes in the whole environment, both land and sea, and although it stresses the rural, it is meant to be applicable to the full range of human settlement, from the hermitage to the metropolis. Because it is "micro" in scale, it avoids the near-insuperable problems set by the pursuit of a single historical ecology of the Mediterranean region as a whole. For this would seem to require estimates of "global" population size and density, and carrying capacity, arrived at in the light of a not less than complete inventory of human and animal food sources.

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A second "Mediterraneanist" accusation is exceptionalism. But because the ecological metaphor is structural or systemic in character—purposefully abstracted from specific environmental features—it also removes the need to define the Mediterranean environment in the standard terms that have underpinned claims about its superiority. The Mediterranean of conventional (nineteenth- and twentieth-century) human geography has been variously conceived. But three interrelated types have achieved notable prominence. First, there are the climatically based definitions, in which, for instance, certain isohyets (rainfall contours) are selected to demarcate the regions characterized by low summer precipitation. Second, there are the environmentally determined versions of these, in which it is the distribution of certain flora, and especially economically important crops, that maps the Mediterranean. (The zone of cultivation of olive and vine has been the most popular.) Finally come the cultural derivatives of the first two types, such as the supposed distinction between the lands of the oil-eaters and those of the butter-eaters.[55] The principal cavil with analyses of this kind is that none of the botanical, climatological, or environmental definitions can fully and satisfactorily map the Mediterranean region with which the historian wants to operate.[56] To mention only one serious and underestimated difficulty, climatically, as Braudel himself acknowledged, every mountaintop is outside the Mediterranean.[57]

The unity and distinctiveness of the Mediterranean should be differently conceived. The unity is not that of ecological or cultural types so much as of connectivity between structurally similar (similarly mutable) microecologies. The distinctiveness, on the other hand, becomes harder to pin down. None of the four elements in the schema outlined above is in any obvious way essentially or distinctively Mediterranean. The regime of bad years is configured by the specifics of the type of climate we conventionally know as Mediterranean; but there is no reason why local climates in quite different climatic zones should not display equally complex regimes of risk. The logic of risk buffering, the intensity of fragmentation, and the possibility of connectivity can each be readily paralleled elsewhere (for example, in Southeast Asia).[58] The only way in which the Mediterranean is differentiated both from its neighbors and from comparable areas much farther away is by the sheer intensity and complexity of the ingredients. That can, for instance, be seen in the notable differences in historical character between islands in the Mediterranean and those in the oceans. The former are (sometimes) rich and populous, tightly engaged in networks of which they are often the principal nodes, and sometimes even the centers of large hegemonies, the most high-pitched individual cases of the characteristic

[55] Braudel, *Mediterranean*, 168–170, 234–238.

[56] Braudel, ibid., 234–235, recognized that the Mediterranean was actually the overlap of other climatic zones, and that it was climatically diverse itself; but he maintained its impressionistic coherence in the face of this realization. See also Henk Driessen, "Pre- and Post-Braudelian Conceptions of the Mediterranean Area: The Puzzle of Boundaries," *Narodna umjetnost: Croatian Journal of Ethnology and Folklore Research* 36, no. 1 (1999): 53–63.

[57] Braudel, *Mediterranean*, 26–27.

[58] To cite only one instance: C. Higham, *The Archaeology of Mainland Southeast Asia from 10,000 B.C. to the Fall of Angkor* (Cambridge, 1989), 1–14, for ecological diversity in this region. See also D. Ludden, *An Agrarian History of South Asia* (London, 1999).

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productive and redistributive regimes. The latter, the oceanic islands, are, by contrast, known for poverty, dependence, marginality, and a subaltern status.[59]

Unexpectedly, the Mediterranean therefore turns out to be identified by the unique concentration of factors that are not themselves peculiar to the region. That concentration should, at least in principle, be susceptible of calibration and mapping. Here Braudel's metaphor of the Mediterranean as an electromagnetic field, or a source of light, is helpful;[60] and still more so is his image of the Mediterranean in this sense as "pulsing," expanding and contracting to embrace adjacent zones. The shape and extent of the "paroxysm" of Mediterranean diversity has sometimes been determined only loosely by the sea's physical geography.

The microecological approach also gives us a way of delimiting the Mediterranean—or rather, of avoiding delimiting it in any fixed, "timeless" way. The region has only shifting and "fuzzy" boundaries. As one moves away from the sea, microecologies cease or radically change character, although in differing ways and at differing rates in the many kinds of frontier zones that the region presents to its neighbors. The Mediterranean may also be conceived as a large zone of net introversion or involution. It is an area within which internal contacts are, overall—if we could ever arrive at some supreme reckoning—more numerous, dense, or durable than external ones, even though the Mediterranean's "external relations" (Braudel's greater Mediterranean) have reached right across the globe.

Arguments of the microecological kind also reassure on the question of whether the Mediterranean is a proper subject for any sort of history (except possibly the history of imperialist learning), let alone the new regional variety. The many-sidedness of the model helps the historian avoid reification. Weaving together the ecological conditions of Mediterranean coastlands with the nature of seaborne connectivity produces an approach to Mediterranean distinctiveness that may be less vulnerable to the political and heuristic difficulties associated with imperial geography than are other, simpler accounts.

Our model is also to a surprising extent compatible with the history of Mediterranean self-perception. The awareness of living in a fragmented world, nonetheless united by the connectivity that overcomes that fragmentation, has a long history in Mediterranean societies. Although the semantic extension of "the Mediterranean" from sea to region first occurred in the nineteenth century, the sea itself had first been perceived as a unity more than two thousand years earlier. For at least some Greeks, the sea we now call the Mediterranean was intuited as something more than an ensemble of linked smaller seas.[61] It was the Great Sea, the "sea in our part of the world," the sea around which "we" (never explicitly identified) "live like ants and frogs around a wetland," as Socrates puts it in Plato's *Phaedo* (109b). This sea was one term of a dual classification of the world's surface water. The "mediterranean" (without the capital letter—a geographical term, not a name) was the only one of its kind, the sea in the middle of the land, as distinct from the lands in the middle of the sea, that is, the continents surrounded by outer ocean. It happens that

[59] Stephen A. Royle, *A Geography of Islands: Small Island Insularity* (London, 2001).

[60] Braudel, *Mediterranean*, 168.

[61] For what follows, see Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 10–13, 530–533; Purcell, "Boundless Sea of Unlikeness?" 13–16.

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the precise phrase *mediterraneum mare* is not attested until after the Roman Empire had ended in the West.[62] The concept to which it refers, however, is far older.

Because it was part of a reflection on the layout of the whole globe, the ancient invention of the Mediterranean was essentially maritime. It was only very indirectly a contribution to regional thought. (Its counterpart, the invention of the continents, was quite different: continental land was indeed already in the fifth century B.C. split three ways, into Asia, Africa, and Europe, to each of which was attributed a genuine regional identity.) Something similar to the ancient conception of the Mediterranean Sea is revealed in the cosmological "Book of Curiosities" from eleventh-century Cairo, the unique manuscript of which, now in Oxford, was rediscovered in 2000.[63] Here, on a striking map, the Mediterranean is a unity containing and clearly characterized by 120 islands and 121 mainland anchorages. Once again it is a remarkable type of sea, rather than a larger area.

The definition of the Mediterranean as a region was not, therefore, a by-product or concomitant of ancient imperialism.[64] Nor did it appear in medieval or early modern European thought, even that of the Ottomans, whose mastery of the sea in the earlier sixteenth century was almost as extensive as Rome's. Thus it is not, despite the fears and scruples of some contemporary writers, part of the master narrative of the aggressive elites of premodern empires. It is true that in ancient diplomatic negotiations—a central vehicle of hegemonic thought—the unity of the Mediterranean lands did sometimes find expression. Most famously, in a settlement between Athens and Persia attributed to the middle of the fifth century B.C., one clause was held to have forbidden Persian messengers to come within fifty miles or a day's ride of the sea (even called the Greek sea in one version of events).[65] In a still more imperialist context, the command of Pompey the Great against piracy, and his later control of the redistribution of cereal staples, were defined as running all over the Mediterranean and inland for the equivalent of fifty miles.

In this way of thinking, however, something rather different from Mediterranean empire is to be seen. Once again, we encounter a conception of how the maritime world worked, and what it meant to the land. It was the domain of naval war, but also of redistribution, especially of staples. And it was the place where the rhythms of redistribution were threatened by endemic piracy. Such thinking is identical to Plato's opinion about the incompatibility of good government with the sea and its activities. His ideal city was to be ten miles inland, well away from mercantile vice.[66] When the Romans wanted an excuse to destroy the great entrepôt of Carthage in 149 B.C., the deliberately preposterous condition they laid down was that Carthage

[62] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, 13.16.1, in Isidore, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, ed. Wallace Martin Lindsay, 2 vols. (1911; repr., Oxford, 1985), 2: 98. There are likely to have been earlier such works, now lost.

[63] Bodley, MS Arab. c. 90, fols. 30b–31a. The MS is due to be published in summer 2006 at www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/bookofcuriosities.

[64] Purcell, "Boundless Sea," 15–16. The Romans, for instance, did not incorporate any "Mediterraneanness" into their self-definition as empire builders, but they gave full symbolic play to the contrast between communicable littoral and the impenetrable forests, mountains, and deserts of the continental interiors.

[65] Plutarch, *Life of Kimon*, 13, 19.

[66] *Laws*, 704–705.

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should be uprooted and moved inland, away from its great ports. The distance they appointed was ten miles.[67]

Ancient thought about the Mediterranean thus concerned itself not with the creation of a geographical expression to denote a region that might be subdued, but with an analysis of the society (in a very loose sense) to which the sea was central. It was a characterization of the world around the sea, not a labeling of a world that the sea happened to adjoin. It reflected, although obliquely, the distinctive interaction of Mediterranean connectivity and terrestrial ecology that can be discerned in many other periods of Mediterranean history. Such a Mediterranean, far from being a relatively simple political construction, will be extremely hard to define, and will map onto the concerns of human communities, value systems, economic ambitions, and interregional allegiances in an intrinsically unstable way. This Mediterranean should indeed be an "essentially contested" category.[68] The legacy of ancient and nineteenth-century geography and other elements in the "meta-subject" of discourse about the Mediterranean, the area's long-accumulated cultural baggage, are reflections of such contestation. They form an aspect of the subject that we have to work with, and through. But they do not invalidate it. On the contrary, in a history of perceptions of the Mediterranean that goes beyond the detection of evil empires, what we catch is an intrinsic part of a microecological world.

OUR AIM HERE IS EMPHATICALLY not to impose a new paradigm on Mediterranean historians, forestalling discussion of alternatives. It is, rather, to discover on what basis we can treat ancient and medieval—or, more widely, premodern—Mediterranean history as a single field of inquiry, and how far an approach derived ultimately from Braudel enables us to cross the boundaries that scholarship seems to have erected. This involves "decentering" the Mediterranean,[69] as well as adopting an extremely long time frame. The goal is comparable with the ways in which some of the other new regional historians have striven to break traditional molds and escape older disciplinary constraints. It is encouraging that others have found in maritime history a satisfying route to this destination.

It is a further happy consequence of developing new models for the interpretation of regional history that there is common ground between Mediterranean history and the most outspoken anti-Mediterraneanist of all, Michael Herzfeld. To think in terms of Mediterranean history is indeed an "excuse"—an excuse for (as he generously puts it in response to our ideas) "defining new alliances and agglomerations capable of generating novel and interesting heuristic options."[70] This convergence with Herzfeld may reflect the extent to which "our" Mediterranean is no longer Mediterraneanist. But unlike the other authors mentioned above, such as David Abulafia, we may have thrown the baby of global comparability out with the bathwater of traditional Mediterranean analysis. Although the Mediterranean appears to be a conspicuous example of the type of network through which other new regions

[67] Appian, *Libyca*, 73.
[68] Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 523.
[69] Morris, "Mediterraneanization," 37.
[70] Herzfeld, "Practical Mediterraneanism," 50.

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tend to be defined, its distinctive historical regimes of connectivity actually turn out to be very unusual, and notably hard to parallel in other parts of the world.

Take the example of the movement of people and goods. In traditional Mediterranean history, what was visible was high commerce, the glamorous movement of high-value cargoes. This is also what was most prominent in the evidence from antiquity, and it was regularly marginalized as "only" luxury trade, small-scale and of interest primarily to the elite. Even for the early modern period, Braudel had to insist that high-value cargoes mattered economically, too. In oceanic spaces, such networks were traced in antiquity, as in the extraordinary first-century survey of the coasts of the Indian Ocean, the *Periplous of the Erythraean Sea*. With Braudel, we acknowledge the importance of high-value, low-bulk cargoes. But the interdependence of the Mediterranean is based on a different kind of process entirely: a redistribution that is an extension of primary production induced by the need to buffer risks.

This basic engagement of the primary producer with maritime connectivity, already visible in the landscape of Hesiod's *Works and Days* at the end of the eighth century B.C., underlay the familiar ancient notion of "our sea." Such possessiveness was not, to repeat, a cultural assent to the aggressive proprietorship of ancient imperial states. On the contrary, it represented, however self-consciously, a rural, "peasant," microregional view. Similarly, in the late fifth to early fourth century B.C., the author of the Hippocratic *Regimen* claims to be writing for the majority of men. He is addressing those who use ordinary, accessible food and drink; who exert themselves as much as is essential—and who undertake both overland journeys and sea voyages to collect their livelihood.[71] This again nicely reflects the way in which the outlet to the medium of redistribution is part of every microregion's ideal portfolio of resources, and is labeled accordingly: "our mountain pasture," "our wetland," "our irrigable meadows," "our scrublands"—"our sea." The Mediterranean of the ancient Greeks was a microregion writ large.

So when we come to scrutinize what this Mediterranean has to offer the systematic comparison of sea histories, there is, as far as we can tell at this stage, little alternative to "agreeing to differ"—both with other Mediterranean scholars and with those at work on other seas. The terrestrial environment is of *relatively* little importance in sea historiography elsewhere, just as it has often been marginal to Mediterranean historical writing since Braudel. "Oceans Connect" is the great theme, as reflected in the title of an ongoing Ford Foundation project at Duke University. It is not "Environments Unite."[72] To study the Baltic Sea may require a good deal of environmental knowledge, and invites a broad climatic and geological backdrop, but on nothing like the scale that has been evinced, rightly or wrongly, either by Braudel or in the microecological model offered above.[73] The Atlantic and Pacific oceans are too large and their coastlands too diverse for any ecological, cultural, or psychological (stereo)types to have been widely associated with them.[74] On the contrary,

[71] *Regimen* [*Peri diaites*], 68.

[72] http://www.duke.edu/web/oceans/project.html.

[73] Nils Blomkvist, *The Discovery of the Baltic: The Reception of a Catholic World-System in the European North (AD 1075–1225)* (Leiden, 2005).

[74] For the possible counterexample of the Indian Ocean, see Kurti N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge, 1985), and Chaudhuri, *Asia*

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what matters—what makes these seas new and exciting historiographical categories—is the density and variety of human connections across them. Thus David Armitage's typology of Atlantic history writing is all about contacts, and the polities, economies, and cultures that are making them; it is not about the ecology of the Atlantic's various European, African, and American littorals. "Circum-," "trans-," and "cis-Atlantic" studies do not even presuppose common environmental or climatic features, let alone an Atlantic personality.[75] The Atlantic, the Indian Ocean, Pacific archipelagoes, and even the Sahara are spaces negotiated by high-profile trade and through the movements, migrations, and diasporas connected with it or with the concerns of states. Similar movements have of course had a long history in the Mediterranean, but they are not the secret of its identity. We wait to be told that there are maritime spaces—perhaps in the Japanese archipelago, or in the early modern Caribbean—in which it is an ecologically driven interdependence that weaves the fabric of the region. Until that point, the Mediterranean remains striking for its otherness.

THE AGENDA FOR FOLDING THE MEDITERRANEAN into long-range comparative regional history cannot, then, rely wholly on typologies of harbors or routes, on densities of port cities or maritime confederations, on the penetration of economic networks by valuable seaborne goods, on patterns in the recruitment of seafarers, or on technological innovations in transport. What of the other theme implicit in the new thalassology—how the seas that are its objects join up to constitute a changing global history?

Plato was too sanguine in thinking that at ten miles inland, even in mountainous Crete, his ideal city would escape the "corruption" engendered by the complex ecology of the sea. The question is how to model the ways in which the networks of movement that characterize Mediterranean space reach out into the surrounding zones, zones in which the conditions that promoted the movements fall off or are altogether absent. Ian Morris has coined the notion of "Mediterraneanization" to capture the degree to which connectivity may intensify or abate within the traditional Mediterranean—and in the zones, sometimes even quite distant ones, with which it has contact. Many transitional zones around the Mediterranean exhibit what Brent Shaw has called recursiveness, reversing polarity so that the land exerts a more potent influence on the coastlands than does the world of the sea.[76] There is the additional possibility that the integrated, involuted Mediterranean milieu has at certain times had a repellent effect on the economies and social systems of nearby regions. These turn their backs on the world of the sea, and establish lines of communication

before Europe: Economy and Civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750 (Cambridge, 1990), 70. But the "unities of material life" are identified in only very abstract terms. Cf. Alain Bresson, "Ecology and Beyond: The Mediterranean Paradigm," in Harris, *Rethinking*, 111–112, citing André Wink, "From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean: Medieval History in Geographic Perspective," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44 (2002): 416–445, on the very un-Mediterranean ecological milieus surrounding the Indian Ocean. Note also the avowedly maritime perspective of Michael Pearson, *The Indian Ocean* (London, 2003), 5.

[75] Armitage, "Three Concepts," 15–25.

[76] Morris, "Mediterraneanization," 43–46; Shaw, "Peculiar Island."

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bypassing the Mediterranean interior. Two examples would be the corridor from the Black Sea to the Rhine, and the routes that cross the highlands of eastern Anatolia from the Caucasus and reach the Red Sea without impinging on the inner Mediterranean zone. They respond to Plato's corrupting sea, but not through being directly engaged with it—rather the opposite. Equally, there are the "hemorrhage" points at which—again at particular moments in millennial history—different gateways open. Through these gateways, the distinctive Mediterranean world interacts, sometimes very intensively, with, for instance, the zones to which the rivers of the Ukrainian steppe or the coastal trade routes of the Red Sea or Persian Gulf give access.

The part played by our Mediterranean in the wider assemblage of regional pieces that makes up world history seems likely to prove an unusual one. Of course the Mediterranean fits in. But it is probably the only piece of its kind, and not, despite the reach of Braudel's greater Mediterranean, actually very like the other sea-centered components. Although it obviously belongs in this gallery of maritime portraits, its interest will be in how different it is from the rest of the show.

We are not, on the other hand, attracted by "Mediterranean exceptionalism." And that is why we think that it is in the study of long-distance interaction even more than in comparison that the greatest advantage of the new regional history lies. Our hope is that specialists in one of the oceans, the Central Asian steppe, or the Sahara will join with students of the Mediterranean in dialectic. Its ultimate objective will be to refine the ways in which we frame a global history—a history of which the Mediterranean has been such a peculiar and important segment.

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AHR Forum
Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities

ALISON GAMES

> A historical study centered on a stretch of water has all the charms but undoubtedly all the dangers of a new departure.
>
> Fernand Braudel[1]

FERNAND BRAUDEL LAUNCHED his massive history of the Mediterranean with an epigraph by the sixteenth-century priest José de Acosta. "To this day," wrote Acosta in his own equally massive *Natural and Moral History of the East and West Indies*, "they have not discovered at the Indies any mediterranian sea as in Europe, Asia and Affrike."[2] The irony is delicious in hindsight. While Europeans never found their own Mediterranean in the Americas, historians have since discovered the Atlantic as a unit of historical analysis. The very ocean that Acosta crossed to undertake missionary work in America has become an organizing principle through which scholars investigate the histories of the four landmasses it links. Yet the Atlantic does not have the coherence that Acosta first identified for the Mediterranean, nor that Braudel proposed and delineated centuries later; nor, indeed, is it possible to speak with confidence of an Atlantic system or a uniform region. Attempts to write a Braudelian Atlantic history—one that includes and connects the entire region—remain elusive, driven in part by methodological impediments, by the real disjunctions that characterized the Atlantic's historical and geographic components, by the disciplinary divisions that discourage historians from speaking to and writing for each other, and by the challenge of finding a vantage that is not rooted in any single place. But if a broad vision of the Atlantic such as the one Braudel sought for the Mediterranean is elusive, it nonetheless remains desirable. Scholars working in the field of Atlantic history have demonstrated the explanatory power of this geographic region as a unit of analysis: Atlantic perspectives deepen our understanding of trans-

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[1] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds, 2 vols. (New York, 1973), 1: 19.

[2] This precise phrasing is from José de Acosta, *The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies* (London, 1604), 151. Braudel cited the 1558 edition, p. 94.

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formations over a period of several centuries, cast old problems in an entirely new light, and illuminate connections hitherto obscured.

Braudel remarked in 1972 that he believed that two "truths" of his analysis remained "unchallenged." His first truth was what he characterized as the "unity and coherence of the Mediterranean region." The Mediterranean itself was, as Braudel put it, a "complex of seas," but nonetheless the self-contained nature of the sea and the common features of the kingdoms and empires that it linked enabled Braudel and those who followed him to insist on the value of writing about the region in its entirety, privileging commonalities and connections over discrete and local features.[3] As Acosta recognized, the unit had long historical precedent, made visible on maps of ancient empires whose holdings circled the sea and whose dominion provided political unity to much of the region.

Here we confront the first crucial divergence between the Atlantic and the spatial perspective that animated Braudel's Mediterranean. The path of hurricanes on their western trek from Africa to the Caribbean and up the North American coast reminds us annually of the environmental connections of the Atlantic, but the landmasses surrounding the Atlantic are characterized by their enormous variety, with hundreds of microclimates, from the swath of the Sahara Desert to the tropical rainforests of equatorial regions to the tundra of Nunavut. The people who lived around the ocean inhabited different disease environments, and those who lived in the Americas had long enjoyed a geographic isolation that had catastrophic consequences in their lack of immunity to Eurasian diseases. Such coherence as Atlantic history might offer will not come from its environmental features. These differences were echoed in political and social practices. The challenges that Braudel identified in his history of the Mediterranean resonate deeply with historians of the Atlantic. His great regret (or so he avowed in his preface) was his uneven treatment of the states of the region. He deplored specifically his inability to come to terms with the Ottoman Empire. Magnify this challenge a thousandfold, and it is possible to begin to appreciate the difficulties of making sense of the individual pieces of the Atlantic and the ways in which these parts ultimately converged or interacted. The kingdoms, states, and empires that became involved in Atlantic exchanges together contained thousands of different languages (two thousand in the Americas alone, with considerably less variation in those European and African states oriented toward the Atlantic). The most fundamental features of many of the people of the Atlantic remain dimly understood. Historians debate population sizes in the Americas, and must estimate where, exactly, people lived. John Thornton's meticulous efforts to map the political boundaries of Atlantic Africa remind us of the absence of some of the crucial building blocks for an ocean-based history: for three of the four landmasses surrounding the ocean, we do not know with the certainty that historians like who lived where, under what jurisdiction, and with how many other people.[4]

If the Atlantic is a less obvious and coherent unit than the Mediterranean, it is also an anachronistic one. Historians have first had to invent the region: the emer-

[3] Braudel, *Mediterranean*, 1: 14, 17. My thanks to Markus Vink for sharing with me an early version of his "From Port City to World System: Spatial Constructs of Dutch Indian Ocean Studies, 1500–1800," *Itinerario* 28, no. 2 (2004): 45–116.

[4] John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1800* (New York, 1992; 2nd ed., 1998), x–xxxvi.

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gence of the Atlantic as a single unit of analysis reflects trends in historical geography. What we call the Atlantic Ocean, our ancestors perceived as several distinct seas. The regions we have since labeled the North and South American continents are similarly modern creations.[5] Well into the nineteenth century, no one had an accurate idea of what these landmasses looked like or whether they were even connected to the Eurasian landmass. The components of Atlantic history—two of the four continents and even the ocean itself—are modern impositions.

And yet this unit of analysis, however artificially constructed it might be from the perspective of historical geography, has become sufficiently compelling to drive historical scholarship. Who are these scholars, and what is their impetus toward an Atlantic perspective? In one of the first efforts to articulate the history of this emerging field and to explain the origins of the current interest in the region, Bernard Bailyn argued that Atlantic history was a product of twentieth-century political developments.[6] But it is also possible to identify other converging strands of historical inquiry. Indeed, this North Atlantic diplomatic *longue durée* cannot alone explain the passion that has developed for all things Atlantic. Three converging strands have delineated different and sometimes incompatible Atlantics. First and foremost, historians of the transatlantic slave trade have been especially insistent about putting an Atlantic perspective at the center of their work, starting with Philip D. Curtin's painstaking efforts to calculate the size of the trade, and continuing with the innovative and extensive research on the African diaspora.[7] This vital field has opened up the ocean as a coherent unit of study by following the captives who moved across it, fanning out to Europe, to the islands of the Caribbean and the Atlantic, and to the American landmasses, especially Brazil. This approach, unfettered by state borders, pursues the logical lines of the trade, and puts people at the center, tracking the transmission of all elements of culture, from political identity to material goods to language to religion, all around the Atlantic basin. No other field has been so aggressively engaged for so many decades in pursuing an Atlantic vision and in framing the field as a whole. One of the most important conceptualizations of the Atlantic emerged from this vantage in 1993, when Paul Gilroy published *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*.[8]

A second source of energy toward Atlantic perspectives comes from historians of colonial societies in the Americas. Three factors have prodded their geographic expansion into and across the ocean. First, colonial historians are often trained in early modern European history, in addition to the history of the region of their research, and thus an Atlantic perspective can be a natural outgrowth of graduate training and reading. Second, historians of colonial societies often take comparative approaches to their subject, reading, for example, about colonization in other European empires in addition to their own, thus opening up possibilities of at least

[5] Martin W. Lewis and Kären E. Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997).

[6] Bernard Bailyn, "The Idea of Atlantic History," *Itinerario* 20, no. 1 (1996): 19–44. William O'Reilly shares Bailyn's emphasis on the link between twentieth-century politics and diplomacy and the emergence of Atlantic history. See O'Reilly, "Genealogies of Atlantic History," *Atlantic Studies* 1 (2004): 66–84.

[7] Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, Wis., 1969).

[8] Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993).

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hemispheric connections. A third impetus comes from the frustration of trying to write a colonial history within historiographic traditions centered around modern nation-states. In this respect, the Atlantic potentially shares what Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, in their essay on the Mediterranean in this forum, describe as the political neutrality of these new regions. It is precisely this political neutrality that encouraged scholars seeking to escape the restrictions of the nation-state to move toward the borderless world of the Atlantic. For them, the Atlantic offers the liberation of the promised land.

Finally, historians of empires have long encompassed the Atlantic (among other ocean basins) within their purview.[9] The main constraint these approaches impose on the Atlantic is their tendency to see the region primarily from the perspective of Europe and to look mainly within a single imperial geography, an approach that can divvy up the world in strange ways—most apparent, perhaps, in studies of the islands of the Caribbean, each of which existed within its own imperial trajectory even while sometimes sharing space with a rival power and participating in common regional transformations. These two approaches (colonial and imperial) have converged most vigorously among historians of the British Atlantic. Both British historians and historians of colonial British America work within national paradigms characterized by exceptionalism: Britain's relationship to the European continent and the mythical exceptionalism of the United States traditionally set these two nations apart from their neighbors. Atlantic history offers scholars in both fields intellectual solutions to the burden of exceptionalism by privileging interactions and comparisons and by rejecting nationalism altogether for new analytic categories. It is no accident that the sole recent volume that exists for any single empire's Atlantic is David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick's edited collection *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800*, which offers a thematic analysis of subjects ranging from the economy to politics to race, all investigated deliberately within an Atlantic framework.[10]

Although the existence of explicit Atlantic orientations dates from the middle of the twentieth century, it was not until the 1970s that a cadre of scholars emerged who self-consciously embraced Atlantic projects. In that decade, the Johns Hopkins University Press launched a series, the Johns Hopkins Studies in Atlantic History and Culture. But it was the 1990s that saw the greatest explosion of Atlantic scholarship. Greatly bolstered by the support of Harvard University's International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World under the direction of Bernard Bailyn,[11] historians who are engaged in different aspects of Atlantic history—particularly those at the beginning of their career, for whom the seminar is intended—find regular opportunities to present research at seminars, colloquiums, and workshops. International conferences, particularly in North America and Europe, bring together scholars who investigate different aspects of the subject.[12] A new interdisciplinary e-journal, *At-*

[9] The classic and seminal works include Charles Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History* (New Haven, Conn., 1934–1938), and Clarence Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (New York, 1947).

[10] David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, eds., *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (London, 2002). Benjamin Schmidt's *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570–1670* (New York, 2001) is a rare and exemplary study from the vantage of the European mainland.

[11] http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~atlantic/index.html.

[12] The University of Leiden hosted one of the earliest such conferences in 1999, at which participants

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lantic Studies, published its first issue in 2004. Colleges and universities advertise for positions in Atlantic history. Atlantic history is taught at the college level in both introductory and advanced classes. Graduate students at some institutions, including New York University, Michigan State University, Florida International University, and the University of Texas at Arlington, can pursue degrees in Atlantic history, and elsewhere students can cobble together informal fields in Atlantic history. Atlantic history has arrived with a vengeance, making a rapid transition between 1995 and 2005 from novelty to establishment. In January 2000, the AHA hosted a session whose title reflected the tentative nature of this new endeavor, "Atlantic History: Emerging Themes in a New Teaching Field." Only five years later, the AHA featured a "critical reassessment" of the field in Seattle. These trends together reflect the emergence of Atlantic history as a field in which people give papers and organize panel sessions for professional meetings, in which departments offer employment, in which publishers offer book series (such as Routledge's new series, "New World in the Atlantic World"), and in which the AHA now awards a prize, first offered in 1999.[13]

All this activity is a surprisingly recent phenomenon, given how long ago historians such as Curtin delineated some of the potential for a transoceanic history. These indicators may suggest that Atlantic history is hale and hearty. But there continue to exist a range of impediments to an oceanic history. Atlantic history means different things to different people, and it is for the most part appropriate that this breadth of opinion and perspective exists. But the Atlantic history that many historians produce is rarely centered around the ocean, and the ocean is rarely relevant to the project. Horden and Purcell point to the difference between history *in* and history *of* the Mediterranean. For Atlantic history, the relevant distinction is between a history of places *around* the Atlantic versus a history *of* the Atlantic. Of the former, there is an abundance. Of the latter, there are far fewer examples.[14] In fact, a survey of work that professes to be Atlantic reveals a lot of exclusively land-based (and sometimes landlocked) history, material that looks, as James Williams has said, like old wine in new bottles, or in this case the old colonial history repackaged as Atlantic history.

were invited to summarize different aspects of Atlantic history. The papers were published as "Round Table Conference: The Nature of Atlantic History," *Itinerario* 23, no. 2 (1999): 48–173.

[13] James H. Williams has tabulated the appearance of "Atlantic" panels or papers at the annual (or biennial) conferences of four different professional organizations—the AHA, the OAH, the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture (OIEAHC), and the Forum on European Expansion and Global Interaction (FEEGI)—between 1990 and 2002. His statistics reveal a modest presence of Atlantic history at the AHA, but in 2000, for the first time, "Atlantic World" was listed as a topic in the program index. "Atlantic" made its first appearance at FEEGI in 2000. The biggest growth industry was the OIEAHC, which in 2001 offered no fewer than thirteen Atlantic panels or papers. Williams, "The Atlantic World: An Idea in Need of Conceptualization," paper presented at the FEEGI biennial conference, San Marino, Calif., February 2002. The OAH has been less engaged in Atlantic history, which perhaps reflects that professional organization's greater emphasis on the national, not colonial, period in North America, but trends in the first years of the twenty-first century suggest a shift. The OAH *Magazine of History* (designed for history teachers) devoted a topical issue to the Atlantic world in 2004 (18, no. 3 [April]), and the OAH has featured "state of the field sessions" on Atlantic history at the regional and national conferences.

[14] For exemplary studies of Atlantic history, see David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735–1785* (New York, 1995), and David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (New York, 2000).

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In a forum on oceans-based history, the Atlantic lurks on the sidelines like a surly middle sibling, tagging along behind the Mediterranean and the Pacific (for each of which there are now a range of journals specifically devoted to the study of the region and its various subfields; and, as Matt Matsuda tells us in his essay, the first chair in Pacific history was established at the Australian National University in 1954), and in the throes of an adolescent identity crisis. Atlantic history is all the rage, yet very few works exist that have attempted to capture the entire Atlantic across imperial, regional, and national boundaries.[15] It is time to restore the ocean to Atlantic history: if circulation around and across the ocean—not simply north-south hemispheric connections between Africa and Europe or within the Americas, but transatlantic connections—is not a fundamental part of historical analysis and does not in itself provide explanatory power to the subject under discussion, then we would do well to define these projects by some other name. To be sure, a history that requires attention to the Atlantic ends up privileging certain kinds of interactions (the migration of people and commodities, for example), but many historians have also effectively traced the circulation of ideas, tastes, preferences, and other less easily calculated and quantified aspects of exchange.

Assessing the different ways in which historians approach the Atlantic, David Armitage has identified three types of Atlantic history: "circum-Atlantic history," which takes the Atlantic unit as a whole; "trans-Atlantic history," which emphasizes a comparative approach; and "cis-Atlantic history," which looks at a particular place within an Atlantic context.[16] Cis-Atlantic history is the most accessible way for historians, particularly graduate students eager to research and write a manageable dissertation, to get into an Atlantic perspective, since it is less likely to require archival research in multiple languages and countries. There are numerous good examples of local histories oriented toward the Atlantic. April Lee Hatfield's *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century* privileges English, Dutch, and indigenous economic and cultural interactions, depicting a Virginia vastly different from the one that has emerged over the past three decades from a historiography addicted to tobacco.[17] Hatfield argues that we cannot understand the development of one place, in this instance colonial Virginia, without looking well beyond that place, across the Atlantic, to the complex variables and interactions that converged to produce a particular set of local conditions. Armitage's "trans-Atlantic history" focuses on comparisons, and there is certainly a distinguished history of such approaches, long predating the current self-conscious passion for Atlantic history, and especially focused on some of the common processes and developments of societies in the Western Hemisphere.[18] These works have tended to focus on the western Atlantic, comparing labor systems and colonial societies, and fall into an es-

[15] The few works that profess to describe the entire Atlantic tend to have perspectives very firmly rooted in one place. Paul Butel's *The Atlantic*, trans. Iain Hamilton Grant (London and New York, 1999), for example, neglected to engage the relevant and abundant literature on Africa.

[16] David Armitage, "Three Concepts of Atlantic History," in Armitage and Braddick, *The British Atlantic World*, 11–27.

[17] April Lee Hatfield, *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia, Pa., 2004).

[18] Slavery and labor systems are among the most typical points of comparison. For early examples of scholarly interest in these approaches, see, for example, Carl N. Degler, *Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (New York, 1971), or Richard R. Beeman, "Labor Forces and Race

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tablished tradition of a history of the Americas, something Herbert Bolton identified back in 1933 as "The Epic of Greater America."[19]

It is circum-Atlantic history that remains the most challenging enterprise for Atlantic historians. From a circum-Atlantic perspective, Atlantic history is most literally the study of a large geographic region: the four continents that surround the Atlantic Ocean and the people contained therein. It especially focuses on those people whose societies were transformed by the intersection (or what Alfred W. Crosby referred to so memorably as the Columbian exchange) of the four landmasses after Christopher Columbus's momentous voyage in 1492.[20] These societies are not necessarily places along the Atlantic Ocean itself: one thinks immediately, for example, of Peru, or of the western coast of North America, or of the region surrounding the North American Great Lakes, or of the river deltas and valleys reaching deep into Africa and South America. Places and people on the Pacific coast of the Americas were engaged in processes originating from the Atlantic, regardless of their actual geographic location. Africans who lived hundreds of miles from the Atlantic coast were nonetheless ensnared in the slave trade and its varied economic, social, demographic, and political repercussions, while diets everywhere were altered by the new products of the Americas. Many Native Americans found their world transformed by pathogens, animals, and plants well before they laid eyes on a European. Nor is Atlantic history only about the literal points of contact (ports, traders, or migrants, for example), but rather about explaining transformations, experiences, and events in one place in terms of conditions deriving from that place's location in a large, multifaceted, interconnected world.

If the beginning point of Atlantic history is relatively fixed, with European and African trade interactions in the mid-fifteenth century and especially Columbus's 1492 voyage generally providing a good starting point for an exploration of the emergence of an Atlantic world, its terminus is more fluid and contested, shaped largely by one's perspective on the Atlantic. The so-called age of revolution and independence (through 1825) marks one possible ending, and the abolition of slavery (by 1888 in the Western Hemisphere, but not until the middle of the twentieth century in parts of Atlantic Africa) provides another: from a circum-Atlantic perspective, neither is entirely satisfactory, since both reflect developments of only local or hemispheric significance.[21]

This single region enjoyed a coherence for almost four hundred years, creating a viable unit of analysis within which we can understand the destruction and emergence of empires, the movement of people, the evolution of new cultural forms, and

Relations: A Comparative View of the Colonization of Brazil and Virginia," *Political Science Quarterly* 86 (1971): 609–636.

[19] Herbert Bolton, "The Epic of Greater America," *AHR* 38, no. 3 (April 1933): 448–474. See also Silvio Zavala, "A General View of the Colonial History of the New World," *AHR* 66, no. 4 (July 1961): 913–929.

[20] Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Conn., 1972).

[21] For a plea for an Atlantic history that moves into the modern era, see Donna Gabaccio, "A Long Atlantic in a Wider World," *Atlantic Studies* 1 (2004): 1–27. One of the rare books oriented toward the classroom that takes Atlantic history through the late nineteenth century is Alan L. Karras and J. R. McNeill, eds., *Atlantic American Societies: From Columbus through Abolition, 1492–1888* (London, 1992).

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the circulation of ideas. This coherence, however, has a specific chronology, and by the middle of the nineteenth century, the region was being drawn more fully into a world system even as patterns specific to the intellectual currents and political dynamics of the region (such as abolition) continued. The Columbian exchange illustrated this balance between the regional and the global from the first return trips across the ocean. The unique American commodities that crossed the ocean transformed diets not only in Europe and Africa, but in Asia as well. Silver from American mines traveled to Europe, but it moved in equal amounts west across the Pacific, into Asian economies.[22] Europeans who occupied and profited from territory in the Americas were similarly, and often more fully, engaged in commercial and extractive enterprises around the globe. These global ties intensified in the nineteenth century. The nineteenth-century post-emancipation labor crisis illustrates three core features of these new webs of connection: sugar production and marketing in a world economy, a world labor market and transoceanic labor migrations, and global imperialism. The expanded need for labor derived from the continued global migration of sugar. The plant's journey out of the Mediterranean and into the Atlantic continued into the Indian and Pacific oceans, and the deployment of Indian indentured migration was linked to efforts by British sugar planters to expand production to new regions, including some in the Atlantic (Guiana and Trinidad) and others around the globe (Mauritius, Natal, and Fiji). The continuity and intensification of migration across the Atlantic continued to reinforce the region's ties, always numerically eclipsing the newcomers from Asia; yet these new laborers from outside the Atlantic indicated the global economic and imperial forces that would ultimately reposition the region within a world system.

Atlantic history, then, is a *slice* of world history. It is a way of looking at global *and* regional processes within a contained unit, although that region was not, of course, hermetically sealed off from the rest of the world, and thus was simultaneously involved in transformations unique to the Atlantic and those derived from global processes. The Atlantic, moreover, is a geographic space that has a limited chronology as a logical unit of historical analysis: it is not a timeless unit; nor can this space fully explain all changes within it. Nonetheless, like other maritime regions, the Atlantic can offer a useful laboratory within which to examine regional and global transformations.[23]

This lengthy exploration of the region's geography and chronology, and of the shifting balance within the Atlantic between global and regional catalysts for change, points to the importance of flexibility in understanding and interpreting changes within the region. Some pointed critiques of Atlantic history have originated from scholars who insist on the superiority of world history perspectives, most notably Peter A. Coclanis.[24] But historians should work on geographic units that make sense for the questions they ask; the Atlantic is obviously not an appropriate laboratory for exploring all types of historical change. April Lee Hatfield has vigorously made

[22] Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, "Cycles of Silver: Global Economic Unity through the Mid-Eighteenth Century," *Journal of World History* 13, no. 2 (2002): 391–427.

[23] Jerry Bentley, "Seas and Ocean Basins as Frameworks of Historical Analysis," *Geographical Review* 89, no. 2 (April 1999): 215–224.

[24] Peter A. Coclanis, "*Drang Nach Osten*: Bernard Bailyn, the World-Island, and the Idea of Atlantic History," *Journal of World History* 13, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 169–182.

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the case for the necessity of multiple perspectives for Virginia in the seventeenth century. "Each of these constructions—Atlantic world, Virginia, local region, international colonial America, North America, and English Atlantic—functioned in slightly different ways, and each was relevant under different circumstances. They coexisted and intersected. All are necessary for understanding the reality of life in seventeenth-century Virginia that was connected to different parts of its wider world in very different ways."[25] Her refreshingly sensible and expansive methodology offers a model worth emulating.

By any number of measures, this Atlantic world was interconnected, and indeed historians have relied on the metaphor of the bridge to make sense of these links.[26] We know that the diseases that ravaged American populations came from thousands of miles away in Europe and Africa; we know that the political opportunities that indigenous people in strategic locations enjoyed derived from imperial rivalries elsewhere; we know that demographic transformations in Africa that led to the practice of polygyny were consequences of the transatlantic slave trade and its gender imbalances; we know that new staple crops in Africa (the peanut or the yam) and in Europe (the potato) were species unique to the Americas that traveled across the ocean on European vessels. The Atlantic, in short, was linked in ways that disregard the modern political boundaries that have defined departmental field structures and specializations. Atlantic history ultimately privileges and requires history without borders. In this respect, it joins other challenges to conventional geographic regions as units of analysis. Martin W. Lewis and Kären E. Wigen have argued this point most forcefully in *The Myth of Continents*. They illustrate the intellectual histories (often self-serving to people with political power) of continents and the conflation of geography with politics and culture. While we might find ourselves moving someday toward a corollary "myth of oceans," we are not there yet, and a history centered on the region of the Atlantic offers a logically viable space of analysis for particular questions with a range of methodological and pedagogical benefits.[27]

Atlantic history is more than simply the study of a geographic unit; it is also a style of inquiry that reflects the impulse that drew historians in specific fields to Atlantic history in the first place.[28] Within the space of these four centuries and these four continents, historians who adopt an Atlantic perspective explore commonalities and convergences, seeking larger patterns derived from the new interactions of people around, within, and across the Atlantic. The large geographic unit requires a different approach, one that by necessity deemphasizes any single place, although obviously some regions within and around the Atlantic enjoyed disproportionate political power at different points in time. If this is history without borders, then it should also be history without an imperial perspective. It thus implements some of the arguments about the intellectual construction of geographic space that Lewis and Wigen make in *The Myth of Continents*: Atlantic history can offer a case study of the ways in which historians can break down not only old regional barriers and para-

[25] Hatfield, *Atlantic Virginia*, 227.

[26] Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, 8–9.

[27] On the creation of oceans, see Martin W. Lewis, "Dividing the Ocean Sea," *Geographical Review* 89, no. 2 (April 1999): 188–214.

[28] For a thought-provoking view of the Mediterranean as process, see David Abulafia, "Mediterraneans," in W. V. Harris, ed., *Rethinking the Mediterranean* (Oxford, 2005), 64–93.

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digms, but also modes of analysis based on modern cultural and political hierarchies. Atlantic history may deal with European dominion, but it should not be Eurocentric. It may cover a space dominated numerically by African migrants, but it need not be Afrocentric. The most dynamic changes of the period of contact may be most immediately evident in the Americas, but it should not be an expanded history of the colonial Americas. It requires a different kind of perspective, one ideally not fixed in any one location. Atlantic history poses paired challenges: linking several regions, in which no one historian can have the competence or expertise that scholars desire, and doing so through multiple perspectives.

This problem of perspective is only one of many impediments that hinder efforts to craft a genuine oceanic history of the Atlantic. A second challenge derives from the uneven interest in Atlantic history among scholars who work on the individual regions of the early modern Atlantic world. Some fields of history have been more aggressive than others in attempting to convey an Atlantic vision. The working papers presented at the Harvard Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World offer one rough indicator of this pattern and reveal a preponderance of scholars from the British Atlantic.[29] This measurement is merely suggestive, of course, since it reflects the availability and interests only of those who apply to the seminar and are accepted, not of the entire sample of all scholars working on the Atlantic. Historians of the African diaspora, for example, might find a more stimulating intellectual mix at the Harriet Tubman Resource Centre on the African Diaspora at York University, which hosts a similarly extensive series of seminars and workshops.[30]

A number of unintended consequences have resulted from the disproportionate intellectual energy expended by historians of the North Atlantic. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra has faulted these historians for merely creating what he calls a "new paradigm [which] in fact sanctions Eurocentric cultural geographies for North America." He also rejects an emphasis on transoceanic ties in favor of hemispheric connections and comparisons.[31] His complaint obliquely addresses an important issue: the Atlantic tends to look very different when viewed from different vantages and within different imperial or commercial frameworks. While it is clumsy and counterproductive to divide the Atlantic into imperial or linguistic units, these divisions reflect fundamental organizing schemes of graduate programs in history. One central point about Atlantic history is that its evolution has been directly affected, and indeed defined, by peculiarities of departmental structures and fields. Historians need to find jobs, and, thankfully, history departments train graduate students to that end. But the consequence of this imperative for employment is that graduate stu-

[29] My own rough calculations suggest that out of 268 papers presented between 1996 and 2004, 115 focused on the British Atlantic (including non-British subjects in British territories, such as Dutch- or German-speaking or African inhabitants of British colonies), 57 on the Spanish Atlantic, 18 on the French, 12 on the United States, 9 on Portugal or Portuguese Brazil, 8 on the Dutch Atlantic, 5 on Africa, and 1 on the Danish. Of the remaining 43 papers, a few are explicitly comparative across national and imperial borders, some are topical (demography and commodities), some are centered on Europe, and a still larger number take a single land-based region as their unit of analysis but investigate it over a period of multiple imperial invasions. In North America, Louisiana and the region of New Netherland/New York fall into this category, as does Panama in central America.

[30] www.yorku.ca/nhp/.

[31] Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, "Some Caveats about the 'Atlantic' Paradigm," *History Compass*, www.history-compass.com.

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dents are still trained within conventional fields because that is how most hiring takes place. Even positions advertised as Atlantic tend to contain other departmental agendas: an Atlantic historian often needs to be able to teach a regional or national field. So invariably historians initially approach the Atlantic from one vantage, from one national or imperial historiographic tradition, and within the context of limited language training.

It would be a mistake to assume that the ways in which people in one part of the Atlantic were transformed by their engagement with a larger unit would necessarily apply elsewhere: Africans and Americans had diametrically different experiences with European incursions. In Africa, Europeans traded at the largesse of African merchants and rulers, and secured political power in only a few places. In the Americas, Europeans occasionally replicated the culture of the trade factory, but they also pursued more bellicose styles of displacement and benefited from the demographic catastrophe visited on Americans. Some Europeans never pursued large-scale migration as part of their settlement strategy. The French and Dutch regions were characterized by tiny European minorities and large indigenous, African, subject, enslaved, or allied populations. Some European powers, especially the Dutch, were equally or more occupied by commercial activities elsewhere around the globe. If historians of the Anglophone world rarely doubt the existence of a British Atlantic, Pieter C. Emmer and Willem W. Klooster have argued that there was no Dutch Atlantic.[32] There was, moreover, no uniform style of cultural encounter or exchange around or within the ocean, even within a single imperial entity. The French along the St. Lawrence River valley and those in Saint-Domingue interacted differently with the non-French people around them. It is impossible to talk about an "Atlantic" style of interaction, or a single "Atlantic" culture, or even, as Pieter Emmer has argued, an Atlantic "system."[33] As these comments suggest, historians who work on the Atlantic have been sensitive to the complexity and variety within it, and this careful appreciation of diversity is essential.[34] Wim Klooster, building on Braudel's multiple "skeins of history," has proposed at least eight zones of Atlantic influence for the Americas alone.[35]

The Harvard sample notably demonstrates the special enthusiasm of colonial historians for Atlantic history. An inadvertent consequence of this admirable initiative is that "Atlantic" and "Americas" have become conflated. Thus Atlantic history may resemble or mirror the history of colonial societies writ large. We can see this tendency in a number of indicators, most vividly in the ways in which historians have tried to conceptualize the period from 1775 to the 1820s as the age of revolution and the end of empire. This characterization is certainly appropriate for several places in the Atlantic, but not for all. Many of the colonies on the American landmass

[32] Pieter C. Emmer and Willem W. Klooster, "The Dutch Atlantic, 1600–1800: Expansion without Empire," *Itinerario* 23, no. 2 (1999): 48–69. See the different Atlantics that emerge through approaches centered around imperial expansion in the accompanying essays by Silvia Marzagalli, Carla Rahn Phillips, and David Hancock, ibid., 70–126. In the same issue, Debra Gray White explores the Black Atlantic (127–140), and David Eltis sets the Atlantic in global perspective (141–161).

[33] Pieter Emmer, "The Myth of Early Globalization: The Atlantic Economy, 1500–1800," *European Review* 11, no. 1 (2003): 37–47.

[34] In *"Drang Nach Osten,"* Peter Coclanis has criticized those who work on the Atlantic for overemphasizing unity and integration.

[35] Wim Klooster, private communication with the author.

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had achieved their independence by 1830, but many colonies remained (including Canada and the colonies on the northern coast of South America). Brazil was a kingdom, not a colony, and with the exception of Haiti, every single island in the Caribbean remained subject to a European power. And that is only in the western Atlantic, where clearly fewer than half of all colonies achieved independence in this period. In the eastern Atlantic, Europeans increased their trade presence in parts of Africa; and in some regions, outside powers (the French in Senegal, the British in Sierra Leone, the United States in Liberia) enhanced their political dominance. But in the Eastern Hemisphere, this age was neither one of the end of empire nor distinguished by the emergence of independence. Viewed from an Atlantic perspective, the period evokes themes of political redefinition for some and of political subordination for many. Revolution and independence cannot do the period justice.

Closely linked to this tendency to let one small part of the Atlantic define the whole are barriers caused by terminology. Both problems derive from the challenge of perspective: How do we escape historiographic conventions to find a language and a framework that encapsulates the whole Atlantic? Words get in the way. Historians continue to invoke the Americas with the Eurocentric "New World," despite the logic they may apply as Atlantic historians that, in fact, if the entire region is a logical unit of analysis, it is so precisely because it was a new world for all involved in it. Historians who approach the region from colonial or imperial perspectives are similarly inclined to slip into the language of imperial dynamics, speaking, therefore, about centers, peripheries, and margins. It is difficult to identify processes shared by the entire Atlantic region, and this challenge speaks both to the *lack* of coherence of the region and to the continued difficulties of assimilating so many different fields of scholarship.

All of these geographic markers reflect perspectives rooted firmly in national, regional, and imperial, not Atlantic, historiographies. It is similarly difficult to find models that are easily portable from one historiographic tradition to another. Take Ira Berlin's concept of the "Atlantic creole," an imaginative and original formulation of the Atlantic and its inhabitants.[36] Berlin coined the term to describe those polyglot Africans who moved so adeptly among different societies in the early decades of the slave trade. Derived from linguistics and employed to highlight cultural mixture, fluidity, and innovation, "Atlantic creole" generates some confusion for historians of the Americas, who generally have employed "creole" to describe people of European or African descent who were born in the Americas. "Atlantic creole" poses a second challenge viewed in an Atlantic context: it replicates many of the cosmopolitan characteristics that historians of the Americas have come to attach to the term "cultural broker," those people in the Americas, indigenous, European, or of mixed race, who moved freely between cultures and who played important roles in mediating the moments when mutually incomprehensible societies conflicted or engaged in any number of ways. Just like "Atlantic creoles," "cultural brokers" were people who were culturally bi- or multilingual. They also looked like *lançados* or Eurafricans. Words to describe indigenous people, African or American, constitute another semantic stumbling block, including "tribe," "Indian," "First Nation," and

[36] Ira Berlin, "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series 53, no. 2 (April 1996): 251–288.

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"native," which can raise hackles in one place while being commonly used elsewhere. Atlantic historians need to think more self-consciously about the possibility of a common language.

The words that trip us up are reflections of a larger issue of reading broadly and deeply outside our customary fields, since few historians would knowingly use words that are so likely to grate on the ears and sensibilities of our readers and colleagues or to hinder their comprehension of our arguments. The Mediterranean, Braudel wrote, "speaks with many voices; it is a sum of individual histories."[37] So, too, is the Atlantic, but for Atlantic historians it is especially urgent to delve into historiographies of other regions and people in order to sketch the patterns contained in the Atlantic. Our failure to do so produces some peculiar disconnects, easily illuminated by thinking about migration in the Atlantic. This gap between fields that are so logically connected is readily illustrated by looking at the ways in which historians of English and early American social history engaged in a protracted dialogue of the deaf in the 1970s and 1980s, a period characterized by an explosion of scholarship in early modern British social history. This was the great age of demographic history. English historians, starting with Peter Laslett, delineated an early modern English world characterized by high rates of migration.[38] Laslett demonstrated that the world we have lost was one of high mobility. At the very time that historians uncovered this unexpected world of high migration within England, historians who investigated migration from England to North America emphasized the static nature of relocation. They turned these migrants into "settlers" or "colonists," as if this one transatlantic migration were an anomaly in otherwise sedentary lives. While historians of British parishes and towns employed local records to identify mobility, historians of British North America used town and church records to privilege stability and generated a score of town studies.[39] Far more troubling is another failure to communicate in the study of Atlantic migration. Some 12 million Africans and maybe 3 million Europeans in the same period migrated west across the Atlantic. Yet until the efforts of David Eltis to integrate multiple incompatible historiographies, these populations were treated separately, with "migrants" shaping one set of historiographic questions, and "slaves" another. Moreover, historians have been slow to pursue the implications of Eltis's arguments and evidence.[40]

IN LIGHT OF THESE MANY CHALLENGES, will the Atlantic find its own Braudel? If so, s/he is likely to approach the Atlantic from a few distinctive vantages, not necessarily geographic locations but rather methodological perspectives. Some of the most ex-

[37] Braudel, *Mediterranean*, 1: 13.

[38] Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* (London, 1965).

[39] Virginia DeJohn Anderson was one of the first scholars to break through this impasse by putting mobility at the center of her history of New England. See Anderson, *New England's Generation: The Great Migration and the Formation of Society and Culture in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1991).

[40] Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery*. See also James Horn and Philip D. Morgan, "Settlers and Slaves: European and African Migrations to Early Modern British America," in Carole Shammas and Elizabeth Mancke, eds., *The Creation of the British Atlantic World* (Baltimore, Md., 2005), 32–74. Wim Klooster and Alfred Padula, eds., *The Atlantic World: Essays on Slavery, Migration, and Imagination* (Upper Saddle River, N.J., 2005), is an excellent example of an essay collection that explicitly connects a range of historiographic problems often regarded separately.

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emplary works in Atlantic history have been written by historians whose topics have no necessary connection to or investment in a single nation or empire—environmental history, historical geography, the African diaspora, migration, economic history, the history of commodities. These fruitful approaches give us hints about what a Braudelian Atlantic might look like. It will be archival, not synthetic, because the most innovative work on the Atlantic continues to be anchored in original research. It will set the Atlantic more explicitly in the context of global transformations, thus emphatically embracing the cosmopolitanism that Peter Coclanis has called for, even if it does so within a single slice of the world, helping us to identify what exactly was particular to the Atlantic world and what this region shared with other ocean basins. It will be transnational, transregional, oceanic, and integrative.[41]

The most urgent and immediate challenge is to restore Africa to the Atlantic. Given the roots of Atlantic history, it is odd and disturbing that this needs to be said. Positions advertised as "Atlantic history" used to mean the *black* Atlantic; now those positions may encompass any field or subject.[42] The comparative absence of Africa in conceptualizations of the Atlantic is a consequence both of the dominance of Atlantic history by historians of the North Atlantic and of enduring Eurocentrism. The first ocean voyages from Europe inaugurated sustained contact between previously isolated landmasses and, far more important, their inhabitants. But these voyages west—initiated by Europeans—have had an unfortunate lingering impact on the intellectual construction of the Atlantic, and many scholars still see the region as a story of Europeans and Americans.[43] Despite all the books and articles that Africanists have published to enlighten nonspecialists, other historians have been stunningly slow to find ways to put Africa fully into Atlantic history, not simply as a place associated with slavery and the slave trade. Donald R. Wright and James H. Sweet, for example, have illustrated two very different and equally fruitful ways of thinking about Africa and Africans and their varied relationships with the Atlantic and, indeed, wider world.[44] If non-Africanists fail to assimilate such approaches, Atlantic history will begin to look like a new comparative imperial history set within the laboratory of the Atlantic basin. The English translation of Paul Butel's *The Atlantic* memorably referred to Africa as the "dark continent"—and this was as recently as 1999.[45] In 2005, Bernard Bailyn approached the Atlantic largely as the study of Europe and the Americas.[46]

The study of people and the study of products suggest how historians might capture the whole Atlantic in their research, thus sketching a region that is liberated from any single national, colonial, or imperial framework. . Both subjects open themselves to the full methodological richness that historians savor, leading scholars toward culture, environment, ideology, quantification, or whatever one might wish to pursue. They also, moreover, put the ocean at the center of the analysis, since people

[41] Coclanis, "*Drang Nach Osten*," 181.

[42] My thanks to Jennifer Morgan for stating this problem so clearly.

[43] Here I share Peter Coclanis's concern with the tendency among Atlantic historians to overemphasize Europe's importance within the region. Coclanis, "*Drang Nach Osten*," 180.

[44] Donald R. Wright, *The World and a Very Small Place in Africa: A History of Globalization in Niumi, the Gambia* (Armonk, N.Y., 1997; 2nd ed., 2004); James H. Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441–1770* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003).

[45] Butel, *The Atlantic*, 185.

[46] Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005), 59–111.

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moved around the Atlantic, and commodities did as well. The ocean was not only the vehicle of circulation, but also the unique space within which goods and people were created, defined, and transformed.

People, especially migrants (European, African, or American), offer useful ways to see tangible evidence of the utility of a history without borders. Studies of migration across the Atlantic (almost invariably from east to west) have for decades offered large-scale assessments of one of the important processes by which the Atlantic became a region of study. The generation of computer-aided databases such as the monumental slave trade database further refined these studies, with the result that historians of European and African migrations have been able to delineate specific patterns of migration and settlement and to trace the migration not simply of people, but of distinctive cultures and subcultures.[47] Studies of return and repeat migration demonstrate how individuals knit the Atlantic world together and illustrate the cultural impact that even a very small contingent of return migrants had on their former home cultures.[48]

There has also been an enhanced interest in the experiences of individuals who themselves lived in different parts of the Atlantic. These biographies help readers grasp the vitality and variety of the Atlantic. Some of these individuals circulated within single imperial systems. Such was the case for Ayuba Ben Suleiman, Little Ephraim Robin John, and Ancona Robin Robin John. All three men were ensnared in the slave trade in the eighteenth century; all three circulated in the British colonies; all three found their way first to England and then home again. Sir Walter Ralegh hosted several Native Americans at his home in England: some of these interpreters assisted English settlement efforts in the Americas, while others were more hostile to their erstwhile hosts.[49] Other individuals crossed imperial and national lines. Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua did just that. Enslaved in Africa, he was shipped to Brazil, escaped in New York, and lived in Cuba, the United States, and Canada before traveling (as far as his biographers can tell) across the Atlantic to Europe. These are, admittedly, picaresque tales.[50] Throughout their travels, these men, and others like them, had experiences that altered them. They learned new languages, they converted to new religions, and they made new friends and new enemies. The ocean was not just a place within which people circulated: it was itself the place within which they had transformative experiences.[51] And this oceanic movement also permitted the circulation of news with each newly arrived ship and each garrulous passenger. With enough such stories, we might piece the Atlantic

[47] David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein, *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge, 1999).

[48] Kristin Mann and Edna G. Bay, eds., *Rethinking the African Diaspora: The Making of a Black Atlantic World in the Bight of Benin and Brazil* (London, 2001); Alison Games, *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999).

[49] Alden T. Vaughan, "Sir Walter Ralegh's Indian Interpreters, 1584–1618," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series 59, no. 2 (April 2002): 341–376.

[50] "Ayuba Suleiman Diallo of Bondu," in Philip D. Curtin, ed., *Africa Remembered* (Madison, Wis., 1987), 18–59; Robin Law and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds., *The Biography of Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua* (Princeton, N.J., 2001); Randy J. Sparks, *The Two Princes of Calabar: An Eighteenth-Century Atlantic Odyssey* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004).

[51] On the unique maritime and class cultures of the Atlantic, see especially Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston, 2000).

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together in new, richly detailed, complex ways, putting people in the middle of a chaotic kaleidoscope of movement.

Like people, commodities link the Atlantic in distinctive ways, through production, consumption, and commerce. They reveal the movement of people to produce them, the emergence of new or revitalized commercial centers whose fortunes rose and fell with single commodities in all places of the Atlantic, and the evolution of tastes and fashion. They can help us reach deep into households (European, African, and American alike) and factories and plantations and ranches and mines far from the ocean itself. Commodities are not necessarily Atlantic in scope, but they can be; and several illustrative studies argue forcefully that the Atlantic is the most appropriate context within which to understand certain products in specific historical periods. We can, moreover, see distinctive aspects of Atlantic history in the different goods that circulated within the ocean. Chocolate, of course, like so many other delectable and addictive American plants and products, came to have a career well outside the Atlantic. But its initial introduction in Europe was shaped by the unique context within which some Europeans—particularly Spaniards—encountered cacao and the many beverages with which it was made. Marcy Norton argues that the Spanish had to learn to like chocolate, and that they did so within the specific context of Spanish occupation and settlement in the Indies. The asymmetries of conquest, the peculiar demography of early Spanish migration to central America, the reliance of Spanish men on indigenous women, the challenges of Atlantic transport: all shaped the ways in which Spaniards learned to like chocolate and what kind of chocolate they would consume in Europe.[52] Madeira offers a second example of a product that emerged in a uniquely Atlantic setting. David Hancock has set the wine's "product innovation" in the context of the eighteenth-century Atlantic: Madeira was invented as a result of conversation and exchange around and across the Atlantic between 1703 and 1807. Producers and consumers learned how to communicate tastes and preferences, and the result was a new drink.[53]

If chocolate emerged in a unique colonial dynamic, and if Madeira wine resulted from communication within the Atlantic, sugar created an entire world in the tropics, but it was one that affected places far from the site of production.[54] The study of sugar links plantations to coffee houses, and slave ports in Africa to the rum used in European-Indian diplomacy in North America. Commodities and plantation production also wrought unique changes. Sugar, of course, nestled in the Atlantic as only part of its protracted world tour. But within the Atlantic, it generated its own peculiar world. This world of sugar production, J. R. McNeill argues, required the transformation of the tropics to make them more conducive to sugar cultivation and processing. Sugar created an unprecedented demand for plantation labor, which was met almost exclusively through the transportation of African captives. The unique convergence of European and African immigrants and creoles and a new disease environment characterized by mosquito-borne illnesses transformed the tropics and

[52] Marcy Norton, "Conquests of Chocolate," *Magazine of History* 18, no. 3 (April 2004): 14–17. See also her article in this issue.

[53] David Hancock, "Commerce and Conversation in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic: The Invention of Madeira Wine," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29, no. 2 (1998): 197–219.

[54] Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York, 1985); Philip D. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex: Essays in Atlantic History* (New York, 1990).

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shaped the rise and fall of Atlantic empires.[55] Tracing products and people within the Atlantic introduces us to the rich and varied world that the region contained and suggests ways in which the region emerges as a logical unit of historical analysis, providing a geographic space, for a fixed period of time, within which we can understand processes and transformations that otherwise might remain inexplicable.[56]

Although there are numerous impediments to a Braudelian vision, more oceanic histories of the Atlantic are yet be written. They will be generated by historians who work deliberately to integrate their particular findings into a larger unit, who read broadly, who are open to interdisciplinary approaches, and who are committed to moving beyond parochial frameworks dictated by conventional historiographic divisions toward an Atlantic perspective. Writing Atlantic history requires considerable optimism, fearlessness, and the conviction that a leap into the ocean will not end tragically in a wrecked heap in the Bermuda triangle, but rather will land you safely in a new, unexpected, and stimulating place. Jump in. The water's *great*.

[55] J. R. McNeill, "Yellow Jack and Geopolitics: Environment, Epidemics, and the Struggles for Empire in the American Tropics, 1650–1825," *OAH Magazine of History* 18, no. 3 (April 2004): 9–13; McNeill, *Mosquito Coasts: Plantation Ecology, Disease, War and Revolution in the American Tropics, 1640–1920* (forthcoming).

[56] Studies of rice and corn suggest a new interest in studying commodities and the environment within the Atlantic. See, for example, James C. McCann, *Maize and Grace: Africa's Encounter with a New World Crop, 1500–2000* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005), and Judith A. Carney, *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001).

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AHR Forum
The Pacific

MATT K. MATSUDA

IN THINKING OF SEAS AND OCEANS, Fernand Braudel famously illuminated his Mediterranean by imagining multiple civilizations joined by trade and cultural exchange; his *Annales* approach of a *longue durée* built upon archaeological and ecological evidence shaped a brilliant chronicle of kingdoms and powers. Yet as he noted of his subject itself, the Mediterranean was not even a single sea, but rather "a complex of seas, and the seas are broken up by islands, a tempest of peninsulas ringed by insistent coastlines."[1] To establish the project, he knew, "the question of boundaries is the first to be encountered."

Defining the "Pacific" is an equally daunting challenge. As Robert Borofsky has posited, "We need to remember that the field's self-defined area of study—the 'Pacific'—is a constructed artifact of the discipline. Why, for example, should Pacific historians study large Pacific islands such as New Zealand and New Guinea but ignore the Philippines and Indonesia?" He also ponders the inclusion or exclusion of Australia in multiple accounts and points out the constructedness of Pacific designations: "For those living in Hawai'i, the 'Pacific' refers to the islands lying within 'Melanesia,' 'Polynesia,' and 'Micronesia' (constructed categories themselves). For others on the West Coast of the United States, the 'Pacific' usually includes the Pacific rim—China, Japan, and Korea."[2]

Such multiplicities evoke the question, *What, where,* and *when* is "Pacific history"? How can a subject be constituted? The what of the "Pacific" can first be reckoned through its cultural imaginary, for which there are multiple claims made upon its unique attributions: tales of "cargo cults," atoll-centered nuclear testing, hula, kava, taro; the Samoan tatau, the voyages of Cook and Bougainville, cannibals and natives, blue lagoons; trading and exchange networks: kula, sandalwood, copra, tea, *bêche-de-mer*, Toyotas; Japanese capital, California, Tahiti; the Maori haka; the Treaty of Waitangi; whaling and blackbirding; coral reefs. It is a multilocal space marked by nominatives of conflict: Guadalcanal, Iwo Jima, the Pali, Fatuaua, the mutiny on the *Bounty*, 1878 in New Caledonia, 1893 in Honolulu, nuclear testing in the Marshalls and Moruroa, Fiji coups, struggles in the Solomon Islands.[3]

[1] Ferdinand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds, 2 vols. (New York, 1972), 1: 224, 17.

[2] Robert Borofsky, ed., *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts: An Invitation to Remake History* (Honolulu, 2000), 25; see also his unpublished essay "Need the Pacific Always Be So Pacific?" (2003–2004). Note discussions of "Pacific as Concept and Fantasy," "The Political Economy of the Pacific," and "Pacific Social and Cultural Formations" in Arif Dirlik, ed., *What Is in a Rim? Critical Perspectives on the Pacific Region Idea* (Lanham, Md., 1998).

[3] For this approach, see Rob Wilson and Arif Dirlik, "Introduction," in Wilson and Dirlik, *Asia/*

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The where of these moments and lives in the Pacific is the enormous water world covering one-third of the Earth's surface, framed by continents, joined by islands. It is a geography distinguished by a famous fluid distinction between north and south. The south is the realm of Herman Melville's *Typee*, Paul Gauguin's paintings, Rodgers and Hammerstein's *South Pacific*; of writers Albert Wendt and Patricia Grace and stories of cultural collision, nationalist revolution, and coups. The north is the theater of East Asia, of labor migrations and capital flows to and from Japan and China and Hawai'i and the Philippines.[4]

To even begin to suggest history drawn from such a complex set of boundaries, nested temporalities, and geographies requires focus. The approach here is to underscore small islands, large seas, and multiple transits—not to concentrate on the continental and economic "Rim" powers of East and Southeast Asia and the Americas to define the Pacific, but to propose an oceanic history much more located in thinking outward from Islanders and local cultures. Such a "Pacific" has specific markers: it is heavily invested in anthropological methodologies and histories tightly linked to issues of political sovereignty and cultural preservation. Such histories explore "native knowledge," and confront Euro-American narratives of discovery, adventure, and romance, while grappling with real implications of trade, migration, and empire. Much of the work is about constitutions of historical knowledge that are not academic (although they are increasingly becoming so) and about the highlighting of interdisciplinary categories—archaeological reconstructions, oral tales and dance, studies of epidemic disease, research on leisure and tourism, and ecological and oceanographic modeling.[5]

THE PACIFIC IS NOT LACKING in grand conceptual vocabularies. As Braudel framed the Mediterranean as a complex of maritime civilizations and Paul Gilroy cogently articulated the diasporic logic of a Black Atlantic, so the "Pacific" has been historically reimagined many times: from an ancient Polynesian and early modern Magellanic space of transit, to an Enlightenment theater of sensual paradise, to a strategic grid of labor movements and military "island-hopping," to a capitalist basin, the key to

Pacific as Space of Cultural Production (Durham, N.C., 1995). Thanks to David Hanlon for suggestions on cultural imaginary; Paul Sharrad, "Imagining the Pacific," *Meanjin* 49, no. 4 (1990): 597–606; Stewart Firth, "Future Directions for Pacific Studies," *The Contemporary Pacific* 15, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 139–148; also Rod Edmond and Vanessa Smith, eds., *Island, Histories and Representations* (New York, 2003).

[4] Vilsoni Hereniko, "Representations of Cultural Identities," in Hereniko and Rob Wilson, eds., *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific* (Oxford, 1994), 137–166; Margaret Jolly, "From Point Venus to Bali Ha'i: Eroticism and Exoticism in Representations of the Pacific," in Lenore Manderson and Margaret Jolly, eds., *Sites of Desire, Economies of Pleasure: Sexualities in Asia and the Pacific* (Chicago, 1997), 99–122; Joel Robbins and Holly Wardlow, eds., *The Making of Global and Local Modernities in Melanesia: Humiliation, Transformation, and the Nature of Cultural Change* (London, 2005).

[5] Doug Munro and Brij V. Lal, eds., *Texts and Contexts: Reflections in Pacific Islands Historiography* (Honolulu, 2005); Terence Wesley-Smith, "Rethinking Pacific Islands Studies," *Pacific Studies* 18, no. 2 (1995): 115–137; Stewart Firth, "Future Directions for Pacific Studies," *The Contemporary Pacific* 15, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 139–148; Neil Gunson, "An Introduction to Pacific History," in Brij V. Lal, ed., *Pacific Islands History: Journeys and Transformations* (Canberra, 1992), 1–13; Nicholas Thomas, "Melanesians and Polynesians: Ethnic Typifications Inside and Outside Anthropology," in Thomas, *In Oceania: Visions, Artifacts, Histories* (Durham, N.C., 1997), 133–155; Doug Munro, ed., *Reflections on Pacific Island Historiography*, Special Issue, *Journal of Pacific Studies* 20 (1996).

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a Pacific Century of emerging wealth and "globalization" at the end of the last millennium.[6] Many of these grand narratives are framed by histories of Southeast Asia and peninsular peoples of Malaysia and Indonesia; more are anchored in Australia, New Zealand, and Papua New Guinea, connected by movements of peoples and goods from the coasts of North and South America.[7]

Speaking in 1917 as the former president of the American Historical Association, Theodore Roosevelt asserted his faith in the Pacific as part of a new twentieth-century frontier, underscoring his role in securing the rights to the Panama Canal. Other academics declaimed upon the Philippines, China, Mexico, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand as part of a "Pacific Era," enthusing, "the history of the Pacific Ocean is a chapter in the history of civilization," while establishing that "it was reserved for European peoples to traverse those wastes of water and to establish regular communications."[8] The Pacific was the global future, although one to be instigated from Europe and America; Asia and Oceania were presumed to be trapped along distant shores and landfalls, limited and circumscribed by an expanse understandable only as barrier—those "wastes of water."

Perhaps the most resonant challenge to such imperial tales of isolation, helplessness, and dependency has been the commentary surrounding Tongan writer and scholar Epeli Hauʻofa's "Our Sea of Islands," which directly reversed the notion of "wastes" and emptiness of water and reimagined them as oceanic transits. Drawing on centuries of Pacific-wide navigation and settlement, Hauʻofa was moved to confront notions that Pacific Islanders were fated by vast oceanic barriers to inhabit small, isolated, marginal countries. He began to imagine "isolation" not as geographic, but as historical—a narration imposed by continental and colonial assumptions. "Oceania," on the contrary, was tied to ancestors, kin, and culture from Antarctica to the North Pacific, a realm of wide-ranging seafaring peoples intimately tied both to the sea and to each other. The "belittlement" of possible Pacific histories had created historiographical closure on lived pasts, such that "Oceania has no history before imperialism, only what is called 'prehistory.'"[9]

Against this notion, Hauʻofa proposed a "Sea of Islands" and a resonant response to the "when" of Pacific histories: newly imagined chronicles rooted in ancient leg-

[6] Anthony McGrew and Christopher Brook, eds., *Asia-Pacific in the New World Order* (London, 1998); Teʻo I. J. Fairbairn, Charles E. Morrison, Richard W. Baker, and Sheree A. Groves, *The Pacific Islands: Politics, Economics, and International Relations* (Honolulu, 1991); Stephen Henningham, *The Pacific Island States: Security and Sovereignty in the Post–Cold War World* (New York, 1995); Roger C. Thompson, *The Pacific Basin since 1945: A History of the Foreign Relations of the Asian, Australasian and American Rim States and the Pacific Islands* (London, 1994); Roger Bell, Tim McDonald, and Alan Tidwell, eds., *Negotiating the Pacific Century: The "New" Asia, the United States and Australia* (Sydney, 1996); Mark Borthwick, *Pacific Century: The Emergence of Modern Pacific Asia* (Boulder, Colo., 1992); George Boughton and Paul Leary, eds., *A Time of Change: Relations between the United States and American Samoa, Guam, the Northern Marianas, Puerto Rico and the United States Virgin Islands* (Mangilao, 1994).

[7] Douglas L. Oliver, *Oceania: The Native Cultures of Australia and the Pacific Islands* (Honolulu, 1989); Brij V. Lal and Kate Fortune, *The Pacific Islands: An Encyclopedia* (Honolulu, 2000).

[8] H. Morse Stephens and Herbert Bolton, eds., *The Pacific Ocean in History: Papers and Addresses Presented at the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress, Held at San Francisco, Berkeley and Palo Alto, California, July 19–23, 1915* (New York, 1917), 23–24.

[9] Epeli Hauʻofa, "Our Sea of Islands," *The Contemporary Pacific* 6, no. 1 (1994): 148–161; for extended commentaries, see Eric Waddell, Vijay Naidu, and Epeli Hauʻofa, eds., *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands* (Suva, 1994); also Hauʻofa, "The Ocean in Us," *The Contemporary Pacific* 10, no. 2 (1998): 392–409; Hauʻofa, "Epilogue: Pasts to Remember," in Borofsky, *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts*, 453–471.

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acies tied to contemporary destinies, from Polynesian navigators piloting outrigger canoes by the stars, to Cook Islanders flying into Auckland, Samoans or Maori finding heritage in Los Angeles, New York, or London, or communities driven by global economics and cultural connections. The logic of thinking the Pacific as an ocean-based history engages such attempts to restore movements and autonomies—migrations and navigation of island peoples engaged in cross-cultural contacts, shifting social organizations, and ethnic diasporas. These, in turn, inform articulations of a "Pacific Way" and an "Oceanic" vision to match "Pacific Rim" and South Seas "paradise" narrations as historical possibilities.[10]

Academically, these projects are the domains of multiple specialties. Major journals divide the workload in Pacific studies—*Oceania* is largely concerned with anthropological theory and practice. *Pacific Studies* focuses significantly on culture, linguistics, and archaeology, an emphasis shared with *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, whose title responds to the convention of culture zones. *Pacific Affairs* is an international journal of politics and economics, and greatly favors the "Rim" approach to the region, being principally concerned with the United States, China, Korea, Japan, and Southeast Asia. *The New Zealand Journal of History*, *The Journal of Pacific History*, and *The Contemporary Pacific* are historically and discursively rooted; focused on academic research, they are heavily invested in cultural criticism, ethnographic studies, and histories often concerned with "local" meanings, island events, topical political reviews, and issues-oriented forums. Many contributors are from the best-known scholarly research centers and universities in Australia, Aotearoa New Zealand, Fiji, and Hawai'i.

An Oceanic approach to Pacific history suggests cross-talk between many of these constituencies: Pacific Islands historians and anthropologists who claim monographic expertise in specific island groups such as the Solomons, Fiji, Tonga, Tahiti, or Hawai'i; "Rim" specialists who are dedicated to the study of policy issues and political-economic transfers of wealth and labor; Asian and American scholars whose concentration is the specificities of culture and politics in Japan, China, and Korea where mutual influences overlap in the Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia; and specialists in Southeast Asia doing sophisticated work on the "Sulu Zone," the Celebes Sea, and the Malay Archipelago.[11]

Oceanic histories emphasize movements and interconnections rather than area-

[10] Cathy A. Small, *Voyages: From Tongan Villages to American Suburbs* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997); Craig R. Janes, "From Village to City: Samoan Migration to California," in Janes, *Migration, Social Change, and Health: A Samoan Community in Urban California* (Stanford, Calif., 1990), 21–43; J. Kehaulani Kauanui, "Off-Island Hawaiians 'Making' Ourselves at 'Home': A [Gendered] Contradiction in Terms?" in Kalpana Ram and J. Kehaulani Kauanui, guest eds., *Migrating Feminisms: The Asia/Pacific Region* (New York, 1999), 681–693; Melani Anae, "Papalagi Redefined: Towards a New Zealand-Born Samoan Identity," in Paul Spickard, Joanne L. Rondilla, and Debbie Hippolite Wright, eds., *Pacific Diaspora: Island Peoples in the United States and across the Pacific* (Honolulu, 2002); George E. Marcus, "Tonga's Contemporary Globalizing Strategies: Trading on Sovereignty amidst International Migration," in Victoria S. Lockwood, Thomas G. Harding, and Ben J. Wallace, eds., *Contemporary Pacific Societies: Studies in Development and Change* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1993), 21–33; K. James, "Migration and Remittances: A Tongan Village Perspective," *Pacific Viewpoint* 32, no. 1 (1991): 1–23; C. Macpherson, "Public and Private Views of Home: Will Western Samoan Migrants Return?" *Pacific Viewpoint* 26, no. 1 (1985): 242–262; Grant McCall and John Connell, eds., *A World Perspective on Pacific Islander Migration: Australia, New Zealand, and the USA* (Kensington, 1993); Albert Wendt, *Sons for the Return Home* (1973; repr., Honolulu, 1996).

[11] James Francis Warren, *The Sulu Zone, the World Capitalist Economy and the Historical Imagination*

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studies distinctions; waterways and transits take on an active character, although this should not suggest a wholly seaborne or maritime focus. Some scholars have argued that an ocean-based approach to the Pacific misreads the many land-bounded peoples of New Guinea, or the Kanak of New Caledonia, for whom *terra* is as defining as water, if not more so. Many questions of production, politics, and culture—as Donald Denoon, Brij V. Lal, and Lilikalā Kameʿeleihiwa have pointed out for territories as diverse as Papua New Guinea, Fiji, and Hawaiʿi—are based upon communal land tenure, adaptations to plantation economies, and agricultural and private property questions.[12] Pacific inhabitants in this instance are connected by overland trading networks and can be peoples who rarely see the open ocean. Such is the case when some Australian Aboriginal peoples—dryland "bush" cultures—are claimed as folk of tidal and fishing life in the Torres Straits between the Northern Territories and Indonesia. The logic of an "ocean-based" history is that of both land and sea—"saltwater people" working histories and traveling with "saltwater feet."[13] This reckons with a littoral approach, conceptualizing Pacific worlds through linkages of intermediate environments from beaches and coastlines to villages, ports, and harbors.

An Oceanic history of the Pacific is very much a zone where tidal and maritime metaphors are appropriate as great confluences and individual vessels meet. Histories from European worlds come in contact with those of Islanders, Asians, and peoples from the Americas. David Chappell's studies of Oceanic voyagers on Euro-American ships neatly complicate the "Pacific" as simply—or principally—what Ferdinand de Magellan and Vasco Nuñez de Balboa claimed as the Great Southern and Pacific oceans. It was a place of origins and transit and a source of life; Arab traders, Indian Ocean merchants, and Portuguese caravels plied waters and crossed regions populated for millennia by peoples from Asia settling through Austronesia and outward. By emphasizing mixed crews of voyagers, such work resituates "discoveries" as already diverse encounters between allies, enemies, and Europeans, Asians, Africans, and Islanders.[14]

The imaginative of a "Pacific" rooted in the notion of a "distant" ocean is logically Atlantic in inspiration, and has much to do with what Euro-American histories have

(Amsterdam, 1998); Eric Tagliacozzo, *Secret Trades, Porous Borders: Smuggling and States along the Southeast Asian Frontier, 1865–1915* (New Haven, Conn., 2005).

[12] Donald Denoon, *A Trial Separation: Australia and the Decolonisation of Papua New Guinea* (Canberra, 2005); Brij V. Lal, *Broken Waves: A History of the Fiji Islands in the Twentieth Century* (Honolulu, 1992); Lilikalā Kameʿeleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: How Shall We Live in Harmony?* (Honolulu, 1992); also Jonathan Kamakawiwoʿole Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu, 2002); Ron Crocombe and Malama Meleisea, eds., *Land Issues in the Pacific* (Suva, 1994); David W. Gegeo, "Cultural Rupture and Indigeneity: The Challenge of (Re)visioning 'Place' in the Pacific," *The Contemporary Pacific* 13, no. 2 (Fall 2002): 491–507.

[13] John Cordell, *A Sea of Small Boats* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989); Cordell, "Indigenous Peoples Coastal-Narrative Domains: Some Matters of Cultural Documentation," in *Turning the Tide: Conference on Indigenous Peoples and Sea Rights, 14 July–16 July 1993—Selected Papers* (Darwin, 1993); Sue Jackson, "The Water Is Not Empty: Cross-Cultural Issues in Conceptualising Sea-Space," *Australian Geographer* 26, no. 1 (1995): 87–96; Sharp, *Saltwater People: The Waves of Memory* (Crow's Nest, 2002); Gary D. Meyers, Malcolm O'Dell, et al., eds., *A Sea Change in Land Rights Law: The Extension of Native Title to Australia's Offshore Areas* (Canberra, 1996).

[14] David A. Chappell, *Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships* (New York, 1997); Chappell, "Secret Sharers: Indigenous Beachcombers in the Pacific Islands," *Pacific Studies* 17, no. 2 (1994): 1–22; K. R. Howe, *The Quest for Origins: Who First Discovered and Settled the Pacific Islands?* (Honolulu, 2003).

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supposed as the ocean's vast navigational challenges. It would be incorrect to suggest that this resulted from any "lateness" in navigational mastery over the Pacific relative to other great maritime realms. That mastery simply came from Asian seafarers, and especially Polynesian navigators, whose talents for open-ocean travel predated European transits.[15] The power of naming the "Pacific" has been that of creating intellectual cohesion by imposing an encompassing European vision of water on Palauan atolls, the Japanese Nan'yo (South Seas), or the moana and marae of the Maori and the Hawaiians. About hundreds of Oceanic voyaging generations, Deryck Scarr has suggested, "If anything like a general name for the ocean ever, improbably, existed among them, it has not survived, and perhaps would not be recoverable."[16] Yet "the Pacific" was not a notion lacking in islander thinking; it simply had other names and supposed other destinies—not of discovery, but of return.

Much of the scholarly work in this area has been done by ethnobotanists, historical linguists, and marine archaeologists, tracing Lapita pottery and seed crops to join the common cultural ancestries of the Maori in Aotearoa New Zealand with an ancestral homeland of "Hawaiki."[17] In reverse, the search by other Polynesians for Aotearoa—"the land of the long white cloud"—suggests an extraordinarily large "Pacific" diaspora stretching from the northern tropics of Hawai'i to the Maori edge of Antarctica. The "Pacific" was a territory of distance, but not of outward adventure, discovery, or mystery in the sense of European exploration narratives. It was more a path of currents to return to an ancestral place. In this regard, an Oceanic Pacific is a vast notion, one for which the world was huge, incorporating originary connections to both the heavens and the underworld.

These are narrations relatively little known against a Pacific constituted in Euro-American scholarship by the Columbian and post-Columbian voyages of adventure and empire undertaken by the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch whose legacies shaped Indonesia, the Philippines, and Malaysia, and the subsequent charting and mapping of the South Seas during brilliant scientific missions by James Cook, Georges Vancouver, and others in the European Age of Enlightenment. The eighteenth-century moment of scientific transit, royal prestige, and encounters with "unexpected" places overlay the earlier mercantile empires seeking the wealth and civilizations of the Orient, and later provided much of the cultural "Romance of the South Seas."

This romance became the nostalgic counterpoint to merely commercial histories or tales of the barbarous Antipodes where English and French prisoners were sent to Australia and New Caledonia. As a result of the nineteenth-century coming of the French, British, and German empires, joined by the Japanese and Americans, Asian maritime voyages and the extensive migration and trading networks around the entire region of today's Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia were gradually closed out

[15] Vicente M. Diaz, *Sacred Vessels: Navigating Tradition and Identity in Micronesia* (videorecording) (Guam, 1997); Ben R. Finney, *From Sea to Space* (Palmerston North, 1992); David Woodward and G. Malcolm Lewis, eds., *History of Cartography: Cartography in Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies* (Chicago, 1998), especially Finney, "Nautical Cartography and Traditional Navigation in the Pacific Basin," 419, passim; David Lewis, *We, the Navigators: The Ancient Art of Landfinding in the Pacific* (Honolulu, 1994).

[16] Deryck Scarr, *A History of the Pacific Islands: Passages through Tropical Time* (Richmond, 2001); also Scarr, *The History of the Pacific Islands: Kingdoms of the Reefs* (South Melbourne, 1990).

[17] Ian Lilley, ed., *Archaeology of Oceania: Australia and the Pacific Islands* (London, 2006).

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and cut off through the imposition of colonial territories, exclusive zones, and strategic transits. These narrative elements of empire were emplotted in "lost world" literary and artistic romances issuing from Bougainville in the thrall of Rousseau, given substance by tales of paradise and possibilities by histories such as that of the *Bounty*, reinvented as vanishing cultures with Melville and Stevenson and Pierre Loti, and immortalized as sensual melancholy for much of the world by Paul Gauguin in Tahiti and the Marquesas.[18]

YET PACIFIC HISTORIES, UNDER DIFFERENT NAMES, were maintained and transmitted through ritual, image, dance, and oral tradition. Many of these have been studied in detail: the Trobriands kula and the "gift"; the Kanak-engraved bamboo in New Caledonia; the royal aliʻi genealogies in Hawaiʻi; Pukapukan tales; Marshallese and Palauan canoe culture.[19] Such subjects, of "anthropological" interest, have only fitfully become categorical forms of *historical* knowledge production. Initially taken as closed systems of signification reinforcing "timelessness" and "isolation"—thus stasis and impoverishment—they were not recognized for the qualities of narrative continuity and temporal transformation that historians underscore. As Jocelyn Linnekin put it, "A striking feature of Western scholarship in the Pacific Islands is the dominance of Anthropology since the late nineteenth century," a discipline that "emphasized the structured, routine aspects of events such as market transactions and ritual performances. They discovered history as a theoretical problem in the 1980s—when historians were extending their own gaze beyond particular sequences of events."[20] The confluence of temporal and cultural analysis has been critical for Pacific histories; neither is resonant without the other. For academics, "historical" engagement with the Pacific broke from the colonial narrative by drawing on historicized anthropological models and collaboration with many of the humanities and human sciences, including archaeology, linguistics, literature, and performance studies.

The "formal" institutional historiography of Pacific history is conventionally traced to the inauguration of the first chair in "Pacific History" at the Australian National University by James Davidson in 1954.[21] This self-declared new history, famously "centered not in Downing Street but in the islands," was a project shaped by "the general postwar spirit of decolonization" and organized around an attempt to combat a literature dating from the nineteenth century that was familiar to stu-

[18] Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific, 1768–1850: A Study in the History of Art and Ideas*, 3rd ed. (Melbourne, 1989); for the French case, see John Dunmore, *Visions and Realities: France in the Pacific, 1695–1995* (Waikanae, 1997); Patricia Grimshaw and Helen Morton, "Paradoxes of the Colonial Male Gaze: European Men and Maori Women," in Emma Greenwood, Klaus Neumann, and Andrew Sartori, eds., *Work in Flux* (Parkville, 1995), 144–158.

[19] Robert Borofsky, *Making History: Pukapukan and Anthropological Constructions of Knowledge* (New York, 1987).

[20] Jocelyn Linnekin, "Contending Approaches," in Donald Denoon with Stewart Firth, Jocelyn Linnekin, Malama Meleisea, and Karen Nero, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders* (Cambridge, 1997); John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Boulder, Colo., 1992); Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York, 1983).

[21] J. W. Davidson, *The Study of Pacific History: An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at Canberra on 25 November 1954* (Canberra, 1955), reprinted as "Problems of Pacific History," *The Journal of Pacific History* 1 (1966): 5–21. Also David Routledge, "Pacific History as Seen from the Pacific Islands," *Pacific Studies* 8, no. 2 (1985): 81–99.

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dents of "native" populations the world over: resigned and irresponsible tales of extinction of local peoples, inexorable loss and corruption of innocence and culture in an evolutionary and nostalgic model, and a focus on the fraught perils of "civilization."[22]

This internal reimagining of Pacific histories developed in parallel with early works on subaltern or Orientalist critical frameworks investigating what would become "tensions of empire."[23] In promoting "island-centered histories," Davidson read the European presence in Oceania as superficial—hegemonic, perhaps, in political and economic systems, but never truly altering (here we see the anthropological imperative) indigenous bases of custom, practice, and local knowledge.[24] Pacific histories have since marked numerous domains as the field was transformed. Many scholars have maintained advocacy of agency and autonomy interests in examining cultural and national contexts. Martyn Lyons, Stewart Firth, Margaret Jolly, Stephen Henningham, Bronwen Douglas, Brij V. Lal, and others have fashioned strong traditions of political and cultural histories by examining national struggles divided by ethnicity, class, and gender in New Caledonia, French Polynesia, Fiji, Vanuatu, and the Solomons.[25]

The local richness and broad implications of the studies remind general audiences that "the Pacific" is not simply a subset of East Asian and Southeast and South Asian histories. Rather, Pacific Islands work reinforces tensions and conjunctures—for example, Sandra Tarte's examination of disputed Japanese economic aid to Pacific islands in exchange for fishing rights—and continuing struggles, at times emphasizing violence. Such studies cross over national sovereignties, mineral resources, and the dilemmas of identity politics, as in the case of political clashes between Melanesian and Indian populations in Fiji or men and women and spousal battering in Vanuatu.[26] Because the Pacific is an area invested with highly visible female au-

[22] See Jacqueline Leckie, "Towards a Review of History in the South Pacific," *Journal of Pacific Studies* 9 (1983): 10; K. R. Howe, "The Fate of the Savage in Pacific Historiography," *New Zealand Journal of History* 11, no. 2 (1977): 137–154.

[23] See, for example, Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York, 1994); Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, N.J., 2000); Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, N.J., 1993); Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, N.J., 1996); Fredrick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997).

[24] David A. Chappell, "Active Agents versus Passive Victims: Decolonized Historiography or Problematic Paradigm?" *The Contemporary Pacific* 7, no. 2 (1995): 303–326; Tarcisius Kabutaulaka, "I Am Not a Stupid Native: Decolonising Images and Imagination in the Solomon Islands," in Donald Denoon, ed., *Emerging from Empire? Decolonisation in the Pacific* (Canberra, 1997), 165–171; Sione Latukefu, "The Making of the First Tongan-Born Professional Historian," in Lal, *Pacific Islands History*, 14–31.

[25] Lal, *Broken Waves*; Bronwen Douglas, *Across the Great Divide: Journeys in History and Anthropology* (Amsterdam, 1998); Jean Guiart, "Forerunners of Melanesian Nationalism," *Oceania* 22, no. 2 (1951): 81–90; Guiart, "Progress and Regress in New Caledonia," *The Journal of Pacific History* 27, no. 1 (1992): 3–28; Patricia Grimshaw, *Colonialism, Gender and Representations of Race: Issues in Writing Women's History in Australia and the Pacific* (Melbourne, 1994).

[26] Sandra Tarte, *Diplomatic Strategies: The Pacific Islands and Japan* (Canberra, 1997); Tarte, *Japan's Aid Diplomacy and the Pacific Islands* (Canberra, 1998); Victor Lal, *Fiji: Coups in Paradise—Race, Politics, and Military Intervention* (London, 1990); Grace Mera Molisa, "Colonised People," in *Colonised People: Poems* (Port Vila, 1987); *Nuis Blong Mere* (newsletter of the Solomon Islands National Council of Women), July 2, 1984, October 3, 1984, May 5, 1985; Margaret Jolly, "The Politics of Difference: Feminism, Colonialism and Decolonisation in Vanuatu," in Gill Bottomley, Marie de Lepervanche, and Jeannie Martin, eds., *Intersexions: Gender, Class, Culture, Ethnicity* (Sydney, 1991), 52–74. See Afu Billy,

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thority—from the revered monarchs Pomare Vahine and Liliu'okalani in Tahiti and Hawai'i, to the controversial Margaret Mead, to contemporary activists, scholars, and poets such as Grace Molisa in Vanutau and Miliani Trask and Haunani-Kay Trask in Hawai'i—students of the area have produced an extraordinarily sophisticated literature on gender questions. These range across representations of exotic fantasy to analyses of "custom" and feminist politics, with many of the categories and genres in constant tension.[27]

Other scholars have developed works with significant "crossover" impact in general academe with tales that incorporate symbolic and representational analyses into their visions. Greg Dening's works have investigated re-creating the life-world of Marquesan Enata, Tahitian royalty, English sailors, and mutineers with an ethnographic, almost quotidian richness. In close readings, Dening sees histories as performances, suggesting not only source bases for "mentalités," but also a notion of "histories" that deals with transformations of language, ritual, foodways, botany, and marine ecology as they become represented and reappropriated in commemorative and historiographical discourses. Nicholas Thomas's works have articulated in rich detail subjects ranging from Oceanic arts to the unstable subjectivity of diaries to material culture and exchange within colonial trading networks.[28]

In one of the most highly visible academic controversies of the last generation, Marshall Sahlins imagined the death of Captain Cook within a structural universe of Hawaiians through a question of European visitors as symbolic "gods." His sub-

"Against My Will," in Afu Billy, Hazel Lulei, and Jully Sipolo, eds., *Mi Mere: Poetry and Prose* (Honiara, 1983), 17–19; Jully Sipolo, "Wife Bashing," "Development," "Mother," "Urban Life," and "Anti-Climax," in Sipolo, *Praying Parents: A Second Collection of Poems* (Honiara, 1986).

[27] Zohl Dé Ishtar, *Pacific Women Speak Out for Independence and Denuclearisation* (Christchurch, 1998); Jocelyn Linnekin, *Sacred Queens and Women of Consequence: Rank, Gender, and Colonialism in the Hawaiian Islands* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1990); Margaret Jolly, *Women of the Place: Kastom, Colonialism and Gender in Vanuatu* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1994); also Jolly, "The Politics of Difference: Feminism, Colonialism and Decolonization in Vanuatu," in Bottomley, de Lepervanche, and Martin, *Intersexions*; Kalpana Ram and Jolly, eds., *Maternities and Modernities: Colonial and Postcolonial Experiences in Asia and the Pacific* (Cambridge, 1997); Caroline Ralston and Nicholas Thomas, eds., *Sanctity and Power: Gender in Polynesian History*, Special Issue, *The Journal of Pacific History* 22 (1987); Ralston, "The Study of Women in the Pacific," *The Contemporary Pacific* 4, no. 1 (Spring 1992): 162–175; also Ralston, "Polyandry, 'Pollution,' 'Prostitution': The Problems of Eurocentrism and Androcentrism in Polynesian Studies," in Barbara Caine, E. A. Grosz, and Marie de Lepervanche, eds., *Crossing Boundaries: Feminisms and the Critique of Knowledges* (Sydney, 1988), 71–80; Caroline Niko Besnier, "Polynesian Gender Liminality in Time and Space," in Gilbert Herdt, ed., *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History* (New York, 1994), 285–328; Lynn B. Wilson, *Speaking to Power: Gender and Politics in the Western Pacific* (New York, 1995); Rosemary Du Plessis and Lynne Alice, eds., *Feminist Thought in Aotearoa/New Zealand: Differences and Connections* (Auckland, 1998); Haunani-Kay Trask, "Feminism and Indigenous Hawaiian Nationalism," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 21, no. 4 (Summer 1996): 906–915; Kareva Mateata-Allain, "Ma'ohi Women Writers of Colonial French Polynesia: Passive Resistance towards a Post-Colonial Literature," *Jouvert: Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 7, no. 2 (2003), http://social.chass.ncsu.edu/jouvert/v7i2/mateat.htm.

[28] Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land, Marquesas, 1774–1880* (Honolulu, 1980); Dening, *History's Anthropology: The Death of William Gooch* (Melbourne, 1988); Dening, *Mr Bligh's Bad Language: Passion, Power, and Theatre on the Bounty* (Cambridge, 1992); Dening, "A Poetics for Histories: Transformations That Present the Past," in Aletta Biersack, ed., *Clio in Oceania: Toward a Historical Anthropology* (Washington, D.C., 1991), 347–380; Dening, *Beach Crossings: Voyaging across Times, Cultures, and Self* (Philadelphia, Pa., 2004). Also Nicholas Thomas, "Partial Texts: Representation, Colonialism and Agency in Pacific History," in Thomas, *In Oceania*, 23–49; Thomas, *Oceanic Art* (London, 1995); Thomas, "The Indigenous Appropriation of European Things," in Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 83–124; Thomas, *Possessions: Indigenous Art/Colonial Culture* (London, 1999).

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sequent challenge from Gananath Obeyesekere (each wrote a book in response to the other) and Hawaiian Island nationalists played out in international journals to much fanfare. Whether or not the research demonstrated or claimed that islanders thought that Europeans were "gods," the exchanges underscored the centrality of anthropologists to Pacific history, and highlighted forms of narrative analysis that attempted to take seriously the possible examination of islander consciousness as formative in the playing out, indeed the creation, of "historical events."[29]

Such works, whose questions and controversies have deeply inflected other studies, suggest how Pacific history has uniquely developed, in that it is a subject dominated not by mainstream academic historians, but rather by anthropologists, ethnohistorians, and often fiction writers, political activists, and artists. Its subjects have been much written about and expanded by talents who are deliberately and forthrightly reflexive about the production of their work, which draws on multiple genres: academic interdisciplinarity as read through critical essays, poetry, dramas, films, songs, and dance.[30] These are in part histories as performances, invested in critical vocabularies, gender and women's studies, and artistic expressions. As David Hanlon has said about the "decentered" materials and practices of Pacific narrations, "One begins to realize . . . that the practice of history in Oceania is something quite distinct from what is commonly understood to be the practice of history in the Euro-American world."[31]

"History" is partly an academic enterprise, but also self-consciously a wrestling with forms and practices of histories: sources visual and artistic, forms poetic and epic, actions and projects materially realized. These include Oceanic festivals of cultural appreciation and renaissance, such as that developed as *Melanésie 2000* by the New Caledonian Kanak leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou; the creation of the 1970s Hokuleʻa canoes, which demonstrated the possibilities of sailing without instruments, navigating only by the stars, from Hawaiʻi to Tahiti; or the advocacy of "Oceanic" arts and musical forms at the University of the South Pacific at Suva, Fiji.[32]

Autobiographical modes and dance performances are not simply, or even largely, points of self-expression, but rather experiments with "Pacific" ways of communicating knowledge, drawing on epistemologies of oral and movement traditions, and fabulist tales and humor as forms of cultural and historical knowledge.[33] Such approaches are constitutive of the sort of creative and often locale-specific studies that

[29] Marshall Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1981); Gananath Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific* (Princeton, N.J., 1992); Sahlins, *How "Natives" Think: About Captain Cook, for Example* (Chicago, 1995); Robert Borofsky, "Cook, Lono, Obeyesekere, and Sahlins," *Current Anthropology* 38, no. 2 (1997): 255–282; K. R. Howe, "The Making of Cook's Death: Marshall Sahlins and Gananath Obeysekere," *The Journal of Pacific History* 31, no. 1 (1996): 108–118.

[30] Greg Dening, "History 'in' the Pacific," *The Contemporary Pacific* 1, nos. 1–2 (1989): 134–139; Dening, *Performances* (Chicago, 1996).

[31] David Hanlon, "Beyond 'the English Method of Tattooing': Decentering the Practice of History in Oceania," *The Contemporary Pacific* 15, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 19–40.

[32] Jean-Marie Tjibaou, "Recherche d'identité melanesienne et société traditionelle," *Journal de Société des Océanistes* 32 (1976): 281–292; Tjibaou, "The Renaissance of Melanesian Culture in New Caledonia," *Ethnies: Human Rights and Tribal Peoples*, nos. 8, 9, 10 (Spring 1989): 74–78; Tjibaou, *Kanaké: The Mélanésian Way* (Papeete, 1978); Bernard Narokobi, *The Melanesian Way: Total Cosmic Vision of Life* (Boroko, 1980); Narokobi, *Life and Leadership in Melanesia* (Suva, 1983).

[33] Judith Binney, "Maori Oral Narratives, Pakeha Written Texts: Two Forms of Telling History," *New Zealand Journal of History* 21, no. 1 (April 1987): 16–28; Albert Wendt, "Techniques of Storytelling," interview (J. Ellis), *Ariel* 28, no. 3 (July 1997): 79; Ruth Finnegan and Margaret Orbell, eds., *South Pacific*

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have had resonance in other narratives: detailed microhistories excavated for their connections to global historical transformations, tilted always at the edge of postcolonial and neocolonial debates—what Tarcisius Kabutaulaka called "the bigness of our smallness."[34]

With respect to long-standing historical and anthropological interests in ritual, kinship, and imperial policy, Pacific scholars have increasingly highlighted concerns with contemporary legacies of colonialism and indigeneity, and have used academic positions, journals, and conferences as active forums for self-reflexive "native voices" to present, advocate, and criticize their own intellectual authority and subject positions as scholars. Scholars such as Malama Meleisea, David W. Gegeo, and Caroline Sinavaiana-Gabbard have addressed such challenges by widely interrogating and employing postcolonial critiques and methodologies. Vilsoni Hereniko, Teresia Teaiwa, and J. Kehaulani Kauanui have likewise not only actively pursued intellectual and institutional critiques, but also championed the logic of a "new" historiography of practice shaped around the integration of personal narrative, performance, and activism within an academic apparatus.[35] A 1978 essay by Meleisea used such self-identification to comment, "I know of a number of foreign scholars in Samoa, for example, who have been given valuable historical and genealogical information which would be denied me on the grounds of my status as an untitled man and because it would be suspected that I might use it to further any political ambitions I might have."[36]

Equally challenging, the reconstruction of organizing narratives regularly draws on ethnographic evidence, often transmitted through tales.[37] Such tales, recounting deeds of deities or ancestors, are studied and maintained by scholars not merely as folkloric preludes or "prehistoric" mythologies, but as sources of cultural continuity and evidence of active and formative political action. Hawaiian scholar and activist Haunani-Kay Trask famously prefaced a collection of essays, "Despite American political and territorial control of Hawai'i since 1898, Hawaiians are not Americans.

Oral Traditions (Bloomington, Ind., 1995); Michael Belgrave, *Historical Frictions: Maori Claims and Reinvented Histories* (Auckland, 2005).

[34] Tarcisius Kabutaulaka, "The Bigness of Our Smallness," in Waddell, Naidu, and Hau'ofa, *A New Oceania*, 91–93.

[35] Vilsoni Hereniko, *Woven Gods: Female Clowns and Power in Rotuma* (Honolulu, 1995); Hereniko, "Representations of Cultural Identities," in K. R. Howe, Robert Kiste, and Brij V. Lal, eds., *Tides of History: The Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century* (Honolulu, 1994), chap. 17; Teresia Kieuea Teaiwa, "Lo(o)sing the Edge," *The Contemporary Pacific* 13, no. 2 (2001): 343–357. On historiographical identity debates, Donald Denoon, "The Right to Misrepresent," *The Contemporary Pacific* 9, no. 2 (Fall 1997): 400–418; Peter Hempenstall, "'My Place': Finding a Voice within Pacific Colonial Studies," in Lal, *Pacific Islands History*, 60–78; Doug Munro, "Who 'Owns' Pacific History? Reflections on the Insider/Outsider Dichotomy," *The Journal of Pacific History* 29, no. 2 (1994): 232–237; Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Spivak, "The Prose of Counter-Insurgency," in Guha and Spivak, eds., *Selected Subaltern Studies* (New York, 1988), 45–86.

[36] Malama Meleisea, "Pacific Historiography: An Indigenous View," *The Journal of Pacific History* 4 (1978): 34, and Meleisea, "Ideology in Pacific Studies: A Personal View," in Antony Hooper, ed., *Class and Culture in the South Pacific* (Suva, 1987), 140–152; on his navigation of perspectives, see Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the History of Western Samoa* (Suva, 1987). Vicente Diaz and Kehaulani Kauanui, eds., *Native Pacific Cultural Studies on the Edge*, Special Issue, *The Contemporary Pacific* 13, no. 2 (2001).

[37] Geoffrey M. White, *Identity through History: Living Stories in a Solomon Islands Society* (Cambridge, 1991); K. Sinclair, "The Maori Tradition of Prophecy: Religion, History, and Politics in New Zealand," in Lockwood, Harding, and Wallace, *Contemporary Pacific Societies*, 321–334.

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Nor are we Europeans or Asians. We are not from the Pacific Rim, nor are we immigrants to the Pacific, we are the children of Papa, earth mother, and Wakea, sky father, who created the sacred lands of Hawai'i nei." Ancient tales inform a comprehensive historical cosmology of settlement patterns, social structure, agriculture, sustenance, and trade. The employment of such genealogies and inherited practice has come under scholarly fire as "invented tradition," underscoring the high stakes and active challenges yet involved in the forging of "authentic" Pacific histories from multiple nonstandard sources.[38]

It is little wonder that one of the most salient narratives concerning the early historical Pacific developed around debates leading to the Hokule'a voyages of the 1970s. The challenge of retracing the fabled routes of ancestors in outrigger sailing canoes was and is emblematic of both Pacific and "Oceanic" histories. Beginning with scholarly division about the possibilities of intentional sailing across the open ocean before the European age, the re-creation and sailing of vessels according to "traditional" methods defied archive-dominant historical knowledge. The deliberately performative engagement of history—part scientific mission, part drama—not only served to satisfy scholars and journalists, but also gave visibility to an acted ancient-contemporary continuity, sparking Pacific-wide celebrations of cultural pride and claims for historical integrity. The crews, in cooperation and conflict, also were emblematic—*haole* (white or foreign) academics from the American mainland, the Hawaiian navigator Nainoa Thompson, and the revered teacher Mau Piailug, who helped link Polynesia to its past by drawing on his own heritage from the Marshalls in Micronesia.[39]

THE STORYTELLING ASPECTS OF THESE "NEW HISTORIES" have been controversial at times, yet they in no way suggest an abandonment of historical narration. The Pacific is simply a "civilization without a center," an Oceanic space of movement, transit, and migration in a *longue durée* of local peoples and broad interactions, what Rob Wilson and Arif Dirlik call "heteroglossic spatiality."[40] Major academic surveys of the field—textbooks—engage this principle, declining strictly territorial or national-specific approaches in favor of thematic chronicles. Douglas Oliver's "standard" *Pacific Islands* survey ranges around an insular Pacific connected by migrations, a scope that Kerry Howe's *Where the Waves Fall* deepens with emphases on islander-actors

[38] Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii*, rev. ed. (Honolulu, 1999), vi; Jocelyn Linnekin, "On the Theory and Politics of Cultural Construction in the Pacific," in Margaret Jolly and Nicholas Thomas, eds., *The Politics of Tradition in the Pacific*, Special Issue, *Oceania* 62, no. 4 (1992): 249–263; Roger M. Keesing, "Creating the Past: Custom and Identity in the Contemporary Pacific," *The Contemporary Pacific* 1 (1989): 19–42; Haunani-Kay Trask, "Natives and Anthropologists: The Colonial Struggle," *The Contemporary Pacific* 3, no. 1 (1991): 59–67; Takiora Ingram, "The Culture of Politics and the Politicization of Culture in the Cook Islands," in Ron Crocombe et al., eds., *Culture and Democracy in the South Pacific* (Suva, 1992), 153–167; Finau O Kolo, "Historiography: The Myth of Indigenous Authenticity," in Phyllis Herda, Jennifer Terrell, and Niel Gunson, eds., *Tongan Culture and History: Papers from the 1st Tongan History Conference* (Canberra, 1990), 1–11; Jocelyn Linnekin, "The Politics of Culture in the Pacific," in Linnekin and Lin Poyer, eds., *Cultural Identity and Ethnicity in the Pacific* (Honolulu, 1990), 149–174; Margaret Jolly, "Specters of Inauthenticity," *The Contemporary Pacific* 4, no. 1 (1992): 49–72.

[39] Finney, *From Sea to Space*; Finney with Marlene Among et al., *Voyage of Rediscovery: A Cultural Odyssey through Polynesia* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994); Finney, *Hokule'a: The Way to Tahiti* (New York, 1979).

[40] Wilson and Dirlik, "Introduction."

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shaping temporalities from archaeological pasts and nineteenth-century trading networks, migrations, and imperial administrations. This design is also favored by I. C. Campbell's *A History of the Pacific Islands*, which emphasizes the mutual appropriations and exploitations of cultures in contact. A volume on the twentieth century edited by Robert Kiste with K. R. Howe and Brij V. Lal ranges across areas and specialties from colonialism to religion, trade, and warfare along the currents of a "tides of history" metaphor. Donald Denoon's edited *Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders* offers up multiple essays and island contexts both ethnographic and institutional with scholarly authority. Robert Borofsky's *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts* adopts a postcolonial strategy of multiple textual interrogations and narrative irresolution in an invitation to "remake history," framed by Vilsoni Hereniko's challenge to "indigenous knowledge and academic imperialism." In a singular voice, Deryck Scarr offers *A History of the Pacific Islands: Passages through Tropical Time* (partly written while he was shipboard) as history deeply invested in nautical sensibilities—thematic discussions encompassing centuries shaped around organizing metaphors of sealanes, oceangoing canoes, ports, schooners, trade vessels, and warships.[41]

All of these are projects in repudiation of the "isolation" and limited possibilities of a distant or empty Pacific. The narratives, written to provincialize European tales of "discovery," "paradise," and "development," capture the living nature of Oceanic histories and support newly mobile readings of "custom" and "tradition," revived from artifactual stillness in cabinets of curiosities. The Oceanic approach studies islands as sites of robust and dynamic exchange networks rather than small, isolated points. Even economies, rather than being "underdeveloped," are motivated by sophisticated gifting and kinship creation. As Nicholas Thomas and Marilyn Strathern have suggested, these are societies deeply implicated in—rather than innocent of—regional, global, and colonial exchanges in objects, arms, and peoples.[42]

The interrelational narratives of Oceanic histories are particularly rich and contested where Islander stories are matched against other global histories of seaborne empires emanating from European states and kingdoms, creating theaters of encounter and contact, instigating tales of conquest, mission faiths, and commodity commerce. With the coming of Europeans, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, early contact narratives develop into new categorical analyses of hybrid societies and communities with seafarers, beachcombers, traders, and castaways, each weighing benefits and dangers. As I. C. Campbell has suggested, the meanings of first meetings are encoded by sharing and misunderstanding, from cannibalism to religion and trade with cultures and practices taken from and "introduced" from Asia.[43]

Greg Dening has articulated many of the key questions by reading contact as a

[41] Douglas L. Oliver, *The Pacific Islands*, 3rd ed. (Honolulu, 1989); Kerry Howe, *Where the Waves Fall* (Sydney, 1984); I. C. Campbell, *A History of the Pacific Islands* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996); Howe, Kiste, and Lal, *Tides of History*; Denoon, *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*; Vilsoni Hereniko, "Indigenous Knowledge and Academic Imperialism," in Borofsky, *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts*, 78–91; Scarr, *A History of the Pacific Islands*.

[42] Marshall Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (Chicago, 1972); Thomas, *Entangled Objects*; Marilyn Strathern, *The Gender of the Gift: Problems with Women and Problems with Society in Melanesia* (Berkeley, Calif., 1988).

[43] I. C. Campbell, "European-Polynesia Encounters: A Critique of the Pearson Thesis," *The Journal of Pacific History* 29, no. 2 (1994): 222–231; Campbell, "Culture Contact and Polynesian Identity in the

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moment that has been lost by the dominance of colonial historiography, trying to reconstruct initial encounters—extending over decades in most cases—as not reflexively shaped by the organized and unequal power relations of guns, germs, and steel. Although this was clearly true for long-term devastating effects, early meetings have been reimagined as situations of appropriation, indeed collaboration and mutual engagement.[44]

Multiple scholars have searched for what Richard White has called "the middle ground," underscoring the development of performative and hybrid cultures, at times seeing postmodernist bricolage notions of identity fashioning by reading the ways in which European sailors took Islander things and acquired them, while Islanders took on European artifacts, as well as practices and armaments. These appropriations and employments could be rich and polyglot, as languages and religion, or ferocious—the Pomares in Tahiti or Kamehameha in Hawai'i adopted military technologies and tactics to wage war to attain political supremacy in their islands in the early nineteenth century. Oceanic narratives increasingly underscore these interrelational exchanges, adoptions, and transformations. Some intersect multiple categories, such as Damon Salesa's readings of overlapping "racial" typologies, colonial institutions, and military histories.[45]

This complexity has helped to problematize concurrent major narratives, such as those of "fatal impact" and paradisiacal exoticism. Built into Pacific diasporic and encounter stories are the demographic fates of peoples and lands marked by theories of inevitable decline, cultural fragmentation, and degeneration. Some of these tales have been rendered since the nineteenth century as grim chronicles of disease and "ecological imperialism." These spoliations were first rendered, generations previously, as indicators of moral decline, as Diderot suggested: "before the corruption of manners which unhappily characterizes civilized regions, may reach that innocent race of men, who live here fortunate in their ignorance and simplicity."[46] Melville propagated this tendency; civilization was a poison, leading to ultimate extinction for which the Pacific could be a momentary remedy, a place to regenerate—or to die. Catastrophic epidemics reinforced these narratives with deadly effectiveness.

"Fatal impact" challenges have broached both epidemiological and cultural lines

European Age," *Journal of World History* 8, no. 1 (1997): 29–55; Anne Salmond, *Between Worlds: Early Exchanges between Maori and Europeans, 1642–1772* (Honolulu, 1997).

[44] Greg Dening, "Possessing Tahiti," *Anthropology in Oceania* 21, no. 1 (1986): 103–118; Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Princeton, N.J., 1994); Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York, 1997).

[45] Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge, 1991); Malama Meleisea and Penelope Schoeffel, "Discovering Outsiders," in Denoon, *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*, 119–151; Max Quanchi, "Being Discovered: Perceptions and Control of Strangers," in Max Quanchi and Ron Adams, eds., *Culture Contact in the Pacific* (Cambridge, 1992); Nicholas Thomas, "Partial Texts: Representation, Colonialism and Agency in Pacific History," *The Journal of Pacific History* 25, no. 2 (1990): 139–158; Linnekin and Poyer, *Cultural Identity and Ethnicity in the Pacific*; Douglas, *Across the Great Divide*; Bronwen Douglas, "Conflict & Alliance in a Colonial Context: Case Studies in New Caledonia," *The Journal of Pacific History* 15, no. 1 (1980): 21–51; August Ibrum K. Kituai, "The Role of the Patrol Officer in Papua New Guinea," in Kituai, *My Gun, My Brother: The World of the Papua New Guinea Colonial Police, 1920–1960* (Honolulu, 1999), 19–41; Toeolesulusulu D. Salesa, "Half-Castes between the Wars: Colonial Categories in New Zealand and Samoa," *New Zealand Journal of History* 34, no. 1 (2000): 9–116.

[46] Denis Diderot, *Supplément au voyage de Bougainville* (1772; repr., Paris, 1972).

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of argument. David E. Stannard's *Before the Horror* and multiple studies of disease and politics have created controversy, and also fields of study that trace the devastation of local populations without recourse to the elegiac narrative of extinction. Such histories crosscut and separate formerly inextricable teleologies, pointing up the appalling legacies of biological and ecological depredation while counterpointing continuities and survivals of local cultures.[47]

As the literary allusions above suggest, legacies from this era outside the immediate domain of Pacific specialists are found largely in the analyses of enduring tropes springing from Pacific and European histories: the foundational confirmation and inevitable loss of Noble Savages deriving from the heyday of the age of European exploration. These involve rereadings of Magellan, Cook, La Perouse, and Bougaville, their legacies and reports, and the shaping of the Pacific in early modern Europe. This is the specific historical moment that has most shaped visions of the Pacific as a space of paradisiacal idylls, of exoticism, sexuality, and savagery, of escape, or of transit to better things—the fabulous mysteries and wealth of Asia and India. Such stories created the *European* Pacific of the Enlightenment that became the distant penal colonies and melancholy "paradise lost" of colonialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[48]

This Pacific was initially generated from multiple sources and institutions of purported change, enlightenment, and civilization, such as the Christian religious legacies of missionization that spread from continental emplacements in East and Southeast Asia and South America into the mid-Pacific at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Historiographically, this is a significant age of disputed legacies: of power and ideology contested through religion, soon entangled with science and epistemology. Both archival and ethnographic studies continue to grapple with the meanings of "conversion," the logic of salvation for missionaries and Pacific peoples—the two would eventually become one and the same—and the alliances between faith, politics, and competitions for legitimation between outlander and Islander authorities. Much of the scholarly work deals with male and female engagements with faith, intersections with local politics, and appropriations and adaptations of multiple sources of belief and practice.[49]

[47] David E. Stannard, *Before the Horror: The Population of Hawai'i on the Eve of Western Contact* (Honolulu, 1989). See literary revisions in Louise Peltzer, *Lettre à Poutaveri* (Papeete, 1995); also Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel*; Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (Cambridge, 1986).

[48] Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*; Robert Nicole, *The Word, the Pen, and the Pistol: Literature and Power in Tahiti* (Albany, N.Y., 2001), 167–202; Lee Wallace, *Sexual Encounters: Pacific Texts, Modern Sexualities* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2003); Barbara Creed and Jeanette Hoorn, eds., *Body Trade: Captivity, Cannibalism, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (New York, 2002); Alice Bullard, *Exile to Paradise: Savagery and Civilization in Paris and the South Pacific, 1790–1900* (Stanford, Calif., 2000); Claudia Knapman, "Reproducing Empire: Exploring Ideologies of Gender and Race on Australia's Pacific Frontier," in Susan Magarey, Sue Rowley, and Susan Sheridan, eds., *Debutante Nation: Feminism Contests the 1890s* (Sydney, 1993).

[49] Patricia Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1989); Grimshaw, "New England Missionary Wives, Hawaiian Women and 'the Cult of True Womanhood,'" in Margaret Jolly and Martha Macintyre, eds., *Family and Gender in the Pacific: Domestic Contradictions and the Colonial Impact* (Cambridge, 1989), 19–44; Margaret Jolly, "'To Save the Girls for Brighter and Better Lives': Presbyterian Missions and Women in the South of Vanuatu, 1848–1870," *The Journal of Pacific History* 26, no. 1 (1991): 27–48; Vicente Diaz, "Pious Sites: Chamorro Culture at the Crossroads of Spanish Catholicism and American Liberalism," in Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease,

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The Pacific is one of the great areas of study for such intersections of religion, science, and cultural politics. Darwin's famous voyage and observations in the Galapagos Islands are the foundation of the natural history that developed as evolutionary theory, while the human sciences are controversially indebted to models developed to "explain" social and cultural behaviors by using Pacific "laboratories" in the early twentieth century.

Such culture and "acculturation" models moved away from simple analyses of primitivism, and focused on the discursive constitution of scholarly narratives themselves. The intellectual history of the Pacific for academics has particularly been borne by two anthropologists who became icons in the West: Margaret Mead and Bronislaw Malinowski. Since the elemental simplicities and cyclical verities popularized by Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* and the ritual and customary details of Malinowski's *The Sexual Life of Savages* (Trobriand Islands), the model of historian as anthropologist—studying the other up close—has been powerful and also invested in self-critique, with the investigator recognized as inseparable partner and nemesis in narrations of ethnographic reality.[50] Although Mead popularized new anthropological possibilities focused on female subjects and women's practices, and Malinowski set a standard for rigorous fieldwork and detailed observational studies, both have proven controversial for the ways in which their personal lives intersected their scientific personas. This legacy is important. Works that transgress the boundaries of the scientific and self-reflexive, and are ultimately as much about the researcher's critique of self or discipline, are familiar in Pacific studies. They are particularly noteworthy where they study the very academic assumptions that constitute objects of study, and question the authority of the observer.

One such area of contest is the iconic phenomenon called "cargo cult," the supposed millennial worship of material fetishes (the ubiquitous refrigerator) and legendary saviors (John Frum) by Solomon Islanders in the later twentieth century. Reading these practices in terms of American consumerism and situating them in post–Pacific War national liberation histories, scholars such as Lamont Lindstrom have suggested that "cargo cult" is actually a double narrative: a compulsive tale about primitive reverence for magical goods (actually an expression of Westerners' own obsession with consumerism and "progress"), and an Islander's very different adherence to locally generated practices tied to political and spiritual organization and anticolonialism. The interrelational approach marks the characteristic disputed

eds., *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham, N.C., 1993), 312–339; Roger M. Keesing, "Politico-Religious Movements and Anticolonialism on Malaita: Maasina Rule in Historical Perspective," *Oceania* 48 (1978): 241–261; 49 (1979): 46–73.

[50] Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa: A Study of Adolescence and Sex in Primitive Societies* (1928; repr., Harmondsworth, 1943); Bronislaw Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia: An Ethnographic Account of Courtship, Marriage, and Family Life among the Natives of the Trobriand Islands, British New Guinea*, 3rd ed. (London, 1932); Malinowski, *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term* (London, 1967); Derek Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983); Marilyn Strathern, "The Punishing of Margaret Mead," in Gregory Acciaioli, ed., *Fact and Context in Ethnography: The Samoa Controversy*, Special Issue, *Canberra Anthropology* 6, no. 1 (1983): 70–79; Annette B. Weiner, "Ethnographic Determinism: Samoa and the Margaret Mead Controversy," *American Anthropologist* 85 (1983): 909–919; Albert Wendt, "Three Faces of Samoa: Mead's, Freeman's and Wendt's," *Pacific Islands Monthly* 54, no. 4 (April 1983): 10–14.

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legacies of Pacific histories and ties them to global Oceanic contests over cultural and political autonomy.[51]

THE CONTESTED GIVE-AND-TAKE of many of these histories has its roots in the distorted relations of power, hegemony, and accommodation of the nineteenth-century colonial age in the Pacific. General narratives chronicle British settler colonies and strategic interventions, the French presence in Tahiti and New Caledonia, struggles with missions, gunboat diplomacy, and the encoding of narrations that are peculiar to the Pacific, such as "the Romance of the South Seas."[52] Margaret Jolly and other Pacific scholars have engaged such typologies both by playing out their literary and visual representations following art historical and "Orientalist" critiques of Pacific imagery, and by building sovereignty politics and direct colonial critique into gendered postcolonial examinations of corporeal, sexual, racialized, and familial instantiations of authority and imperial possession.[53]

For scholarship both north and south of the equator, the nineteenth century is a period that concomitantly sees the formal articulation of Islander, Asian, American, and European interactions and dependencies on a global geopolitical stage, shaping categories that define the Pacific to this day. Reinscribed trading and, now, colonial outposts institutionally locate the political and imperial boundaries of what Braudel referenced analogically as the "multiple" Mediterraneans and Atlantics. Here, Polynesian commercial routes and Melanesian trade become parts of a system of hemispheric commercial exchange, as new market commodities tied to treaties and profits in Asia—notably Japan after the Perry missions and the Canton Chinese trading ports—propelled the growth of the "Pacific Rim" in the nineteenth century.

Exploitation of the sandalwood trade, bêche-de-mer (sea cucumber), and copra, and the land clearings of cotton and sugar plantations ignited the creation of a "people trade." Scholars have focused on the practices of blackbirders, recruiters, and slavers, tracing movements and circulation of both voluntary and forced labor.[54]

[51] Lamont Lindstrom, *Cargo Cult: Strange Stories of Desire from Melanesia and Beyond* (Honolulu, 1993); Martha Kaplan, *Neither Cargo nor Cult: Ritual Politics and the Colonial Imagination in Fiji* (Durham, N.C., 1995); Sam Kaima, "The Evolution of Cargo Cults and the Emergence of Political Parties in Melanesia," *Journal de Société des Océanistes* 92–93 (1991): 173–180.

[52] Jane Samson, *Imperial Benevolence: Making British Authority in the Pacific Islands* (Honolulu, 1998); Pierre Yves Toullelan, *Tahiti Colonial, 1860–1914* (Paris, 1987); Robert Aldrich, *The French Presence in the South Pacific, 1842–1940* (Honolulu, 1990); Salesa, "Half-Castes between the Wars"; Anne Godlewska and Neil Smith, *Geography and Empire* (Oxford, 1994); Vicente L. Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History* (Durham, N.C., 2000); John Hirst, *The Sentimental Nation: The Making of the Australian Commonwealth* (Melbourne, 2000); more generally on empire, Julia Clancy-Smith and Frances Gouda, eds., *Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender, and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism* (Charlottesville, Va., 1998); Alice L. Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895–1930* (Stanford, Calif., 1997); Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865–1915* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1994); Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002).

[53] Margaret Jolly, "Colonizing Women: The Maternal Body and Empire," in Sneja Gunew and Anna Yeatman, eds., *Feminism and the Politics of Difference* (Sydney, 1993), 103–127; Christine Ward Gailey, "Putting Down Sisters and Wives: Tongan Women and Colonization," in Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock, eds., *Women and Colonization: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York, 1980), 294–322; Manderson and Jolly, *Sites of Desire, Economies of Pleasure*, 191–211; Christine Dureau, "From Sisters to Wives," in Ram and Jolly, *Maternities and Modernities*, 239–274.

[54] Dorothy Shineberg, *They Came for Sandalwood: A Study of the Sandalwood Trade in the South-West*

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Where coercion and opportunity were ambiguously in tension, these researches famously include studies by Dorothy Shineberg, tracing Hebridean peoples and groups from the Solomons who were taken to the Northern Territories plantations of Australia, and especially to New Caledonia. Such movements also included Javanese, Japanese, and Vietnamese migrating into New Caledonia, and at the other extremity of the Pacific, the infamous "Slavers in Paradise" kidnapping of populations to excavate guano in Peru. Most famous, perhaps, are the contract and indentured laborers from India who were imported into Fiji to develop plantations for the British crown. These immigrants established themselves and became a demographic majority in the twentieth century, creating a multiethnic society troubled by legacies of empire, immigration, and nativist struggles between Fijians and Indians over political representation, land rights, and economic interests.[55]

In the north, histories that began with ancient migrations from Asia and Southeast Asia millennia ago reconnect by drawing Asia and North America dramatically back to the center of Pacific narrations. These look to whalers and traders, and especially to 1898 and the end-marking of the old Spanish Empire in the Pacific with American domination in Guam, the Philippines, and the kingdom of Hawai'i. In Hawai'i, the turn of the century was the culmination of decades of political and economic struggle and accommodation between island peoples and mainland planter aristocracies, royal juggling of interests in land ownership and political influence, trials over access to trading and naval ports, and, finally, armed overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy. The U.S. government officially apologized for the seizure in 1993, setting the stage for reparations debates over Islander sovereignty, land, education, and financial resources.[56]

These histories underscore again our resonant question: Who is part of the Pacific? Asian American scholars such as Gary Okihiro, Ronald Takaki, Evelyn Hu-Dehart, Lisa Lowe, Sucheng Chan, and Jonathan Okamura have famously narrated the trans-Pacific experiences of Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, and other Asians in American territories (both north and south) and plantation economies, giving ethnographic richness to prosaic tales of hardship by reconstructing working and family lives.[57] Here, the histories of the Asias, the Americas, and Oceania interact—at times within narratives of a "multicultural" society, at times within grim tales of racial violence, plantation labor, and class exploitation.[58] The social histories of Chinese,

Pacific, 1830–1865 (Melbourne, 1967); Shineberg, *The People Trade: Pacific Island Laborers and New Caledonia, 1865–1930* (Honolulu, 1999); Brij V. Lal, Doug Munro, and Edward D. Beechert, eds., *Plantation Workers: Resistance and Accommodation* (Honolulu, 1993).

[55] H. E. Maude, *Slavers in Paradise: The Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862–1864* (Stanford, Calif., 1981); Lal, *Broken Waves*; also Brij V. Lal, ed., *Crossing the Kala Pani: A Documentary History of Indian Indenture in Fiji* (Canberra, 1998).

[56] Kaplan and Pease, *Cultures of United States Imperialism*; Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*; Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui*.

[57] Gary Y. Okihiro, *Margins and Mainstreams: Asians in American History and Culture* (Seattle, Wash., 1994); Okihiro, *Common Ground: Reimagining American History* (Princeton, N.J., 2001); Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835–1920* (Honolulu, 1983); Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston, 1989); Evelyn Hu-Dehart, ed., *Across the Pacific: Asian Americans and Globalization* (Philadelphia, Pa., 2000); Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Durham, N.C., 1996); Sucheng Chan, ed., *Remapping Asian American History* (Walnut Creek, Calif., 2003).

[58] Jonathan Okamura, "The Illusion of Paradise: Privileging Multiculturalism in Hawai'i," in Dru C.

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Korean, Filipino, and Japanese immigrants have shaped the Northern Pacific narrations of everyday life for planters, laborers, prisoners, writers, teachers, and priests whose presence and actions are otherwise marked in the context of American exclusion acts and "yellow peril" rhetoric. Critically, this literature continues to seek forms for interrogating a hybrid culture of Asian and Pacific influences bounded within labor-market capitalism and the cultural preservation ethics of the later twentieth century.

These histories of struggle and claims for inclusion while maintaining distinction are not strictly American. Inflected by national and regional differences, they are played out across the Pacific among Vietnamese, Malaysians, and Chinese in Australia and New Caledonia, Cook Islanders in New Zealand, and any number of peoples in Fiji, Indonesia, and French Polynesia. Indeed, one of the most resonant and studied chapters of Oceanic history has been that which questions economic development and dependency, and the access of Pacific peoples to labor and resources. Regular debates focus on labor out-migration from Pacific territories—tying back into diasporic conceptions of Oceanic peoples, yet also framed within "remittance economy" questions and reassessments of "limited" local economies.[59]

The "Who is part of the Pacific?" question also falls across Pacific histories dedicated to worldwide conflict. "Pacific War" chronicles pay close attention to the motives and actions of European, American, and Asian national belligerents, yet surprisingly little to Pacific peoples. World War I in Europe redistributed German colonial authority in Papua New Guinea, in Samoa, and around the Marshall Islands, with concessions made as mandates to Japan in Micronesia. The turbulent seas of the 1930s and 1940s have been framed by the diplomatic-political maneuvering of the Pacific War itself—Japanese invasions of China, American responses, and colonial empires under pressure in Indochina, the Dutch East Indies, and the Philippines. Yet narratives of Pearl Harbor, Midway, Guadalcanal, "island-hopping," and Iwo Jima are largely stories of American and Japanese imperial collision, heroism, villainy, and sacrifice, with little account of Pacific Island peoples.

Chronicles, often in Bislama and local languages of the "Big Death," have transformed this tumultuous period with oral narrations of shifting, often treacherous alliances and loyalties, volunteerism, and cooperation from scouts, conscripts, and "coastwatchers." Island veterans' groups have extolled new heroes such as Jacob Vouza and the Tahitian battalions sent by the French to fight in Europe, and they have praised and condemned both Japanese forces and American landing and bombing operations from local viewpoints. Most of all, such oral and commemorative

Gladney, ed., *Making Majorities: Constituting the Nation in Japan, Korea, China, Malaysia, Fiji, Turkey, and the United States* (Stanford, Calif., 1998); Okamura, *Imagining the Filipino American Diaspora: Transnational Relations, Identities, and Communities* (New York, 1998); D. H. Wright and P. Spickard, "Pacific Islander Americans and Asian American Identity," in Linda Trinh Võ and R. Bonus, *Contemporary Asian American Communities: Intersections and Divergences* (Philadelphia, Pa., 2002).

[59] Langi Kavaliku, "Culture and Sustainable Development in the Pacific," in Antony Hooper, ed., *Culture and Sustainable Development in the Pacific* (Canberra, 2000), 22–31; I. G. Bertram and R. F. Watters, "The MIRAB Economy in the South Pacific Microstates," *Pacific Viewpoint* 27, no. 1 (1985): 47–59; Bernard Poirine, "Should We Hate or Love MIRAB?" *The Contemporary Pacific* 10, no. 1 (1998): 65–107; Geoff Bertram, "The MIRAB Model Twelve Years On," *The Contemporary Pacific* 11, no. 1 (1999): 105–138.

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reconstructions move beyond "loyal native" and "fuzzy-wuzzy angel" characterizations to form the basis for histories that capture the Pacific at a moment not only of external violence, but of resulting internal weakness—the delegitimation and fracturing of colonial institutions and imperial authority.[60] Continuing disputes over colonial legacies are present in the island trust territories that were taken as mandates and strategic bases during the Cold War. Such implantations reorganized the map of the Pacific into bases of American power in the Philippines, Hawai'i, Guam, and Micronesia by linking their economies and statuses to military and political contests in China, Taiwan, Korea, and Vietnam.[61]

The critical mass of this era is felt with perhaps the greatest global impact at the intersection of technology, coral atolls, and ecological spoliation: the atomic and later nuclear testing that began at Bikini in the late 1940s and was continued by the Americans, British, and French into the 1960s and 1990s as a prerogative of national power and colonial domination. The "resettlement" theme in Pacific history is given one of its cruelest twists by the forced evacuation of Bikini Islanders in the name of American authority and science, and their reclassification as "nomadic" peoples presumably capable of reestablishing themselves on any number of Micronesian islands. The ecological threats and reef destruction of testing resulted in a multination ban on nuclear material in the Pacific, and the criminal sinking of the Greenpeace ship *Rainbow Warrior* by agents of the French government in Auckland Harbor also sharpened resistance to the neocolonial political effrontery of continental powers.[62] Numerous studies have subsequently examined the peculiarities of French territorial rule in terms that unite Gauguin-type artistic legacies with statist imperial power.[63]

The contests are long. In some Pacific worlds, struggles and legacies concerning

[60] Lin Poyer, Suzanne Falgout, and Laurence Marshall Carucci, eds., *The Typhoon of War: Micronesian Experiences of the Pacific War* (Honolulu, 2001); Geoffrey M. White et al., *The Big Death: Solomon Islanders Remember World War II* (Suva, 1988); White, T. Fujitani, and Lisa Yoneyama, eds., *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s)* (Durham, N.C., 2001); Mark R. Peattie, *Nan'yo: The Rise and Fall of the Japanese in Micronesia, 1885–1945* (Honolulu, 1988); Geoffrey M. White and Lamont Lindstrom, eds., *The Pacific Theater: Island Representations of World War II* (Honolulu, 1989); Lindstrom and White, *Island Encounters: Black and White Memories of the Pacific War* (Washington, D.C., 1990).

[61] David Hanlon, *Remaking Micronesia: Discourses over Development in a Pacific Territory, 1944–1982* (Honolulu, 1998); Francis X. Hezel, *Strangers in Their Own Land: A Century of Colonial Rule in the Caroline and Marshall Islands* (Honolulu, 1995); G. Petersen, "Why Is Micronesian Independence an Issue?" in Brij V. Lal and Hank Nelson, eds., *Lines across the Sea: Colonial Inheritance in the Post Colonial Pacific* (Brisbane, 1995); Ron Crocombe, *The Pacific Islands and the USA* (Honolulu, 1995).

[62] Jane Dibblin, *Day of Two Suns: US Nuclear Testing and the Pacific Islanders* (London, 1988); Teresia Teaiwa, "Bikinis and Other S/pacific N/oceans," *The Contemporary Pacific* 6, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 87–109; Stewart Firth, *Nuclear Playground* (Sydney, 1987); Robert C. Kiste, "Identity and Relocation: The Bikini Case," in Murray Chapman, ed., *Mobility and Identity in the Island Pacific*, Special Issue, *Pacific Viewpoint* 26, no. 1 (1985): 106–115; Jean Chesneaux, ed., *Tahiti après la bombe: Quel avenir pour la Polynesie?* (Paris, 1995); Bengt Danielsson and Marie Thérèse Danielsson, *Moruroa, notre bombe coloniale: Histoire de la colonisation nucléaire de la Polynésie française* (Paris, 1993); Danielsson and Danielsson, *Poisoned Reign: French Nuclear Colonialism in the Pacific*, 2nd rev. ed. (New York, 1986); Dé Ishtar, *Pacific Women Speak Out for Independence and Denuclearisation*; Christopher Connery, "Pacific Rim Discourse: The U.S. Global Imaginary in the Late Cold War Years," in Wilson and Dirlik, *Asia/Pacific as Space of Cultural Production*, 30–56; Miriam Kahn, "Tahiti Intertwined: Ancestral Land, Tourist Postcard, and Nuclear Test Site," *American Anthropologist* 102, no. 1 (2000): 7–26.

[63] Colin Newbury, *Tahiti Nui: Change and Survival in French Polynesia, 1767–1945* (Honolulu, 1980); Robert Aldrich, *France and the South Pacific since 1940* (Honolulu, 1993); Aldrich and Isabelle Merle, eds., *France Abroad: Indochina, New Caledonia, Wallis and Futuna* (Sydney, 1997); John Connell, *New Caledonia or Kanaky? The Political History of a French Colony* (Canberra, 1987); Stephen Henningham, *France and the South Pacific: A Contemporary History* (Sydney, 1992); Nic Maclellan and Jean Chesneaux,

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colonialism are both past and present. Nationalist movements, at times accompanied by armed violence, mark histories since the 1980s from the Solomons and New Caledonia to Fiji and Tahiti, many of them inscribed with unresolved questions of race and male and female roles and representations.[64] The sovereignty question has been highly visible especially in Hawai'i, where Miliani Trask, Haunani-Kay Trask, Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, and Jonathan Osorio have articulated programs for a non-American Hawaiian nation.[65] Contention also continues in Australia, a regional superpower with economic weight through its agricultural production and manufacturing, and political and military capabilities for intervention (especially 1999–2003) in East Timor and in the Solomons. The government at Canberra reckons with anxieties over an increasing Asian population from China, Singapore, and Malaysia, and a grim history of encounters with Aboriginal peoples, whose culture it struggles to recognize officially at sites such as its National Museum. Aotearoa New Zealand equally reckons with Maori claims by adjudicating land settlements, and through artistic projects, museum exhibitions, and heritage and tourist promotion in Rotorua.[66]

After Moruroa: France in the South Pacific (Melbourne, 1998); Martyn Lyons, *The Totem and the Tricolour: A Short History of New Caledonia since 1774* (Kensington, 1986).

[64] David Robie, *Blood on Their Banner: Nationalist Struggles in the South Pacific* (London, 1989); Hugh Laracy, *Pacific Protest: The Maasina Rule Movement* (Suva, 1983); Joanne Barker, ed., *Sovereignty Matters: Locations of Contestation and Possibility in Indigenous Struggles for Self-Determination* (Lincoln, Nebr., 2005); Uentabo Neemia, "Decolonization and Democracy in the South Pacific," in Crocombe et al., *Culture and Democracy in the South Pacific*, 1–8; Ron Crocombe, "The Future of Democracy in the South Pacific," ibid., 9–28; H. Morton, "Remembering Freedom and the Freedom to Remember: Tongan Memories of Independence," in Jeannette Marie Mageo, ed., *Cultural Memory: Reconfiguring History and Identity in the Postcolonial Pacific* (Honolulu, 2001), 37–57; Martha Kaplan, "Imagining a Nation: Race, Politics, and Crisis in Postcolonial Fiji," in Lockwood, Harding, and Wallace, *Contemporary Pacific Societies*, 34–54; Laura Zimmer, "Nationalism and Sexuality in Papua New Guinea," *Pacific Studies* 16, no. 4 (1993): 61–97; Caroline Ralston, "Maori Women and the Politics of Tradition: What Roles and Power Did, Do, and Should Maori Women Exercise?" *The Contemporary Pacific* 5, no. 1 (1993): 23–44.

[65] Trask, *From a Native Daughter*; Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*; Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui*; Ton Otto and Nicholas Thomas, *Narratives of Nation in the South Pacific* (Amsterdam, 1997); Robert J. Foster, ed., *Nation Making: Emergent Identities in Postcolonial Melanesia* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1995); Poka Laenui, "Repression and Renaissance in Hawaii," in Denoon, *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*, 403–407; Brenda Lee, "The Relationship between the United States and the Native Hawaiian People: A Case of Spouse Abuse," in Borofsky, *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts*, 358–360; Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of the Law* (Princeton, N.J., 1994); Eni F. H. Faleomavaega, *Navigating the Future: A Samoan Perspective on U.S.-Pacific Relations* (Suva, 1995); Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, N.C., 2004); J. Kehaulani Kauanui, "Rehabilitating the Native: Hawaiian Blood Quantum and the Politics of Race, Citizenship, and Entitlement" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Cruz, 2000); Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui*.

[66] Adrienne L. Kaeppler, "Paradise Regained: The Role of Pacific Museums in Forging National Identity," in Flora S. Kaplan, ed., *Museums and the Making of "Ourselves": The Role of Objects in National Identity* (London, 1994), 19–44; Elizabeth Buck, "Contending Representations of Hawaiian Culture," in Buck, *Paradise Remade: The Politics of Culture and History in Hawai'i* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1993), 163–191; Philip J. C. Dark and Roger G. Rose, eds., *Artistic Heritage in a Changing Pacific* (Honolulu, 1993); Witi Ihimaera, ed., and Sandy Adsett and Cliff Whiting, general eds., *Mataora: The Living Face—Contemporary Maori Art* (Auckland, 1996); Denoon, *Emerging from Empire?*; Franz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism* (New York, 1965); Chappell, "Active Agents versus Passive Victims"; James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders, from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Honolulu, 1996); Belich, *The Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict: The Maori, the British, and the New Zealand Wars* (Montreal, 1989); Toon van Meijl and Michael Goldsmith, eds., *Postcolonial Dilemmas: Reappraising Justice and Identity in New Zealand and Australia*, Special Issue, *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 112, no. 3 (September 2003).

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Indeed, "tourism" is a category with particularly wide resonance in the Pacific. Debates focus on whether the increasing impact of leisure and entertainment economies is transforming the Pacific into a theme park, whether through the enforced folklorism of the Polynesia Cultural Center in Hawai'i, activist attacks on Japanese and American capital in Waikiki and "corporate prostitution," or the great impact on local economies of cruise ship charters to Tahiti and "cannibal tours" in Melanesia. The play between history and culture is a large question, and critics of tourism, while not opposing visitors, fear and loathe mass commodification of "tradition."[67]

Scholar-activists propose "culture" as a messy historical process, drawing out the problematic simplifications and appropriations of tradition and "kastom" in the Pacific as a means to shape a genuine sense of a local culture and "Pacific Way," deeply tied to family and clan and recognition of the earth and sea. Some of these attempts have struggled to integrate different forms of law and customary practice; others have been employed to sharply critique strong differences that remain between regional ethnic groups, and male and female access to political and economic rights behind consumer-friendly representations.[68]

Pacific histories remain narrations formed at the confluence of different tides from academic scholarship, political activism, and creative arts and literature. The Oceanic vision is composed by document and fiction, archives, film, poetry, chants, dances, novels, and writing by island researchers, writers, and scholars. It is a field awash with predicaments and tensions in examining pop culture and representation—tourism, film, writing, and music drawn from inherited tales and practices, linked to enduring questions of identities and sovereignties.[69] These surface in vi-

[67] Michel Picard and Robert E. Wood, *Tourism, Ethnicity and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies* (Honolulu, 1997); Jane C. Desmond, "The Industries of Species Tourism" and "In/Out-of/In-Fake-Situ," in Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki World to Sea World* (Chicago, 1999), 153–175, 176–216; Haunani-Kay Trask, "Lovely Hula Hands: Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture," in Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii* (Monroe, Maine, 1993), 179–197; T. D. Webb, "Highly Structured Tourist Art: Form and Meaning of the Polynesian Cultural Center," *The Contemporary Pacific* 6, no. 1 (1994): 59–86; Konai Helu-Thaman, "Beyond Hula, Hotels, and Handicrafts: A Pacific Islander's Perspective on Tourism Development," *The Contemporary Pacific* 5, no. 1 (1993): 104–111.

[68] Galumalemana Hunkin-Tuiletufuga, "Pasefika Languages and Pasefika Identities: Contemporary and Future Challenges," in Cluny Macpherson, Paul Spoonley, and Melani Anae, eds., *Tangata o te Moana Nui: The Evolving Identities of Pacific Peoples in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (Palmerston North, 2001), 196–211; Gerard Finnin and Terence Wesley-Smith, *Coups, Conflicts, and Crises: The New Pacific Way?* (Honolulu, 2000); Geoffrey M. White and Lamont Lindstrom, eds., *Chiefs Today: Traditional Pacific Leadership and the Postcolonial State* (Stanford, Calif., 1997); Lindstrom and White, eds., *Culture, Kastom, Tradition: Developing Cultural Policy in Melanesia* (Suva, 1994); Alain Babadzan, "Kastom and Nation-Building in the South Pacific," in Remo Guidieri, Francesco Fellizzi, and Stanley J. Tambiah, eds., *Ethnicities and Nations: Processes of Inter-Ethnic Relations in Latin America, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific* (Houston, Tex., 1988), 199–228; Asesela Ravuvu, "Culture and Traditions: Implications for Modern Nation Building," in Crocombe et al., *Culture and Democracy in the South Pacific*, 57–65; Paul de Deckker and Jean-Yves Faberon, eds., *Custom and the Law* (Canberra, 2001); Roger Keesing, "Creating the Past: Custom and Identity in the Contemporary Pacific," *The Contemporary Pacific* 1, nos. 1–2 (1989): 16–29; Jocelyn Linnekin, "Defining Tradition: Variations on the Hawaiian Identity," *American Ethnologist* 10, no. 2 (1983): 241–252; Margaret Jolly and Nicholas Thomas, "The Politics of Tradition in the Pacific: Introduction," *Oceania* 62, no. 4 (1992): 241–248.

[69] Vicente M. Diaz, "Simply Chamorro: Telling Tales of Demise and Survival in Guam," in David L. Hanlon and Geoffrey M. White, eds., *Voyaging through the Contemporary Pacific* (Lanham, Md., 2000), 141–170; selections from Albert Wendt, ed., *Lali: A Pacific Anthology* (Auckland, 1980), and Wendt, ed., *Nuanua: Pacific Writing in English since 1980* (Honolulu, 1995); Hereniko and Wilson, *Inside Out*; Alan Howard, "Cultural Paradigms, History, and the Search for Identity in Oceania," in Linnekin and Poyer,

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sions of navigation and Chamorro tastes from Vince Diaz and others, to ritual heiau ceremonies, to postcolonial literature from Albert Wendt, Keri Hulme, and Sia Figiel, to tales of community experience and individual vision from Alan Duff to Grace Molisa to Lois-Ann Yamanaka, writing in mixed idioms of Hawaiian, Maohi, Maori, Fijian, Samoan, or pidgin languages.[70]

All of these create shifting realms of surfaces and depths. Many questions remain. To what degree do Pacific Island histories and histories of East and Southeast Asia remain distinct disciplines, and how should these be understood? Is the Pacific a colonial or postcolonial realm? What methodologies will best suit research where academic scholarship has been only one approach to fashioning histories? The approach here has been to map some of the confluent narratives: ancient navigations, colonial labor markets and migrations, strategic policy, and culture networks. Refashioning these narratives will be the work that runs below and through islands and continents connected by water, spaces, times, and places that in their multiple conjunctures define the histories of an Oceanic Pacific.

Cultural Identity and Ethnicity in the Pacific, 259–279; Meralata Mita, "Indigenous Literature in a Colonised Society," in Witi Ihimaera, ed., *Te Ao Marama: Contemporary Maori Writing*, vol. 2: *Regaining Aoteaora: Maori Writers Speak Out* (Auckland, 1993), 310–314; Rob Wilson, "Blue Hawaii: Bamboo Ridge as Critical Regionalism," in Dirlik, *What Is in a Rim?*, 281–304; John Osorio, "Songs of Our Natural Selves: The Enduring Voice of Nature in Hawaiian Music," in Donald H. Rubinstein, ed., *Pacific History: Papers from the 8th Pacific History Association Conference* (Mangilao, 1992), 429–437.

[70] Pacific literary classics now include Albert Wendt, *Sons for the Return Home*; Wendt, *Flying-Fox in a Freedom Tree* (Auckland, 1977); Keri Hulme, *The Bone People* (Baton Rouge, La., 1983); Sia Figiel, *Where We Once Belonged* (New York, 2000); Alan Duff, *Once Were Warriors* (Honolulu, 1990); Molisa, *Colonised People*; Lois-Ann Yamanaka, *Blu's Hanging* (New York, 1998); Patricia Grace, *Potiki* (Auckland, 1986); Epeli Hauʻofa, *Tales of the Tikongs* (1983; repr., Honolulu, 1994); and Hauʻofa, *Kisses in the Nederends* (1987; repr., Honolulu, 1995). Literary and culture studies include Subramani, *South Pacific Literature: From Myth to Fabulation*, rev. ed. (Suva, 1992); Paul Sharrad, ed., *Readings in Pacific Literature* (Wollongong, 1993); Hereniko and Wilson, *Inside Out*; Bill Pearson, *Rifled Sanctuaries: Some Views of the Pacific Islands in Western Literature to 1900* (Auckland, 1984); Rod Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific: Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin* (Cambridge, 1997); Vanessa Smith, *Literary Culture and the Pacific: Nineteenth-Century Textual Encounters* (Cambridge, 1998); and Norman Toby Simms, *Silence and Invisibility: A Study of the Literatures of the Pacific, Australia, and New Zealand* (Washington, D.C., 1986). Also vital are numerous journals. A small sampling: *Oʻiwi*; Pacific edition of *CRNLE Reviews Journal* (1989); Pacific edition of *New Literatures Review* (1989); Pacific issue of *Meanjin* 4 (1990); Pacific issue of *Wasafiri* 25 (Spring 1997); Pacific Issue of *Manoa* (Summer 1993); *Mana: A South Pacific Journal of Language and Literature*, South Pacific Creative Arts Society, Fiji; *Bamboo Ridge*, Honolulu; *Pacific Quarterly* and *Moana*, Hamilton New Zealand; *Kovave*, Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea; *Ondobondo*, University, PNG; *Span*, South Pacific Association for Commonwealth Language and Literature Studies; *Commonwealth/Echos du Commonwealth*, Dijon France.

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

JACOB SOLL. *Publishing the Prince: History, Reading, and the Birth of Political Criticism*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 2002. $49.50.

Historians of European intellectual history now struggle with a tension. We want an intellectual history grounded in the real world, a place where even the "great books" can be situated in the humanity of those who produced them. Or as Jacob Soll puts it, even "high books such as *The Prince* could lead low lives, as socially nonelite scholars." Such was his hero, Abraham-Nicolas Amelot de La Houssaye (d. 1706). These foot soldiers of the early Enlightenment, he argues, helped shape the meaning of the texts they critically edited or translated (p. 5). Like so many of us, Soll wants to make the tension between the social and the realm of ideas go away. He would resolve it by situating the central intellectual event of early modernity, namely the origins of the Enlightenment, in the critical mind set of humanist editors and authors, who sometimes wrote insightfully about power while in the service of princes, and who in the process invented a critical posture that would ultimately undermine absolutism. In short, by encouraging critical interpretations of political life and action, absolute monarchs and their servants like Jean-Baptiste Colbert sowed the seeds of their own later destruction. The social life of the court and its humanist protégées encouraged critical techniques that could only, in the end, be used to question authority.

Soll's book is about more than its title would suggest. He wants us to rethink the social history of the early Enlightenment by relocating it in the works of late seventeenth century critical humanists—like the one-time courtier Amelot—who gave the French reading public tools by which they could critically interpret the actions of their kings. They could assess absolutist political behavior in the light of what Tacitus said about prudence, or Niccolò Machiavelli about power, or by exposés of how corruptly the Venetian republic operated. Such writing invited comparisons. Pierre Bayle and Montesquieu knew these heavily edited and annotated French translations intimately, and Soll contends that some of the editors of these classic texts, like Amelot, possessed political agendas that were none too friendly toward the absolutism endemic to Catholic Europe. The actual translators and editors were just as important, he argues, as the books they placed in circulation. Indeed, in the 1680s Bayle greatly admired the deft manner by which Amelot used his footnotes to subvert and criticize authority. A few years later, writing from the safety of the Dutch Republic, Bayle used the same techniques in his soon-to-be-famous *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1697).

The mention of Bayle and the Dutch Republic poses a challenge to Soll's interpretation of the origins of the Enlightenment. He argues that it was the absolute monarchs who sowed the seeds of their own destruction because they wanted histories of politics and hence that "political criticism and the terms of future public debate were monarchist creations" (p. 26). In effect Soll sees the monarchs as needing the Amelots as much as these gadflies of the pen craved an honorable living. But by the logic of this argument—that absolutism holds the key to understanding why the secularization of high culture occurred—the Enlightenment should first have emerged in Madrid, not, as it did, in London, Amsterdam, and Paris. Soll is surely right to see the need of the absolutist state for histories and critical thinking as part of the story of the turn toward the secular after the 1680s. But that analysis does not take us any closer to understanding the minds of the hundreds of people like Amelot who in one generation, from roughly the 1680s to the 1720s, writing in English and Dutch as well as French, made republicanism fashionable, rejected scholasticism definitely, conjured up pornographic novels, made materialism commonplace, and told the world that Jesus, Moses, and Mohammed had been imposters. The social experience that produced anger and *geste* on such a scale must also have bred a revulsion against a wide range of authorities, from clerical to courtier, first and foremost in northern and western Europe and in several different political contexts.

Alas, the Amelots of that world left few personal records. In their absence Soll tries to understand his ideological position by recourse to traditional intellectual history with particular attention to Tacitus's influence from the sixteenth century onward. The result is a fresh look, through a reading of Amelot, at the origins of what Paul Hazard (writing in the 1930s) labeled "the crisis of the European mind." This is no small achievement in a first book written by someone who is clearly

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passionate about books, their history and their meaning. Some times a social history of ideas can resolve its tension only by a social history of books, with the passions of authors, editors, and translators only to be inferred from their contents. Perhaps if Amelot, like his contemporary Bayle, had also migrated north, an emancipated pen would have told us why he turned his critical faculties so resolutely against absolutism. Soll has done him and his context justice, writing as he does with a clear, singular, and welcome voice.

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JOHN R. STILGOE. *Landscape and Images*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 354. $34.95.

This collection of essays celebrates the art of observing landscapes, particularly those that represent the lives of ordinary people past and present. This celebration is timely, John R. Stilgoe explains, because the near-disappearance of geography in American education has deflected attention from cultural landscapes, as have the advent of high-speed travel and the spread of homogenized commercial culture. In popular writing and tourist brochures, landscapes are trivialized as local color, while the migration to the coasts has drawn interest away from the interior. Thus we have learned to ignore vernacular landscapes and even to suspect those who observe them too closely.

The essays suggest the range of approaches necessary to bring these forgotten places to life. Stilgoe's historical conclusions are not new, but he innovates in applying them, along with clues drawn from autobiographies, paintings, films, magazines, postcards, maps, and atlases, to the complicated dialectic of landscape and culture. He scrutinizes old photographs—lighting, subject, angle, emphases—to determine how people ordered and interpreted the world they inhabited. These pictured landscapes and others contain powerful cultural elements. Remembered childhood landmarks—old gravel pits or relic forests—anchor the urban mind to a mythical rural place safe from modernity. Small-town memories blend together into distinctive regional landscapes. New England is represented in compact, nodal places bounded by stone walls, narrow country roads, and the detritus of a Yankee "make-do" mentality. The nation's beaches represent a different set of values. Correlating the bikini swimsuit with its namesake, Stilgoe suggests the ironies of the coastal zone, once a region of shifting currents and perilous reefs and now a place of idle play and relaxed social inhibitions. On the beach, American youth learned to ignore a future clouded by nuclear diplomacy, while the charred island paradise for which the bikini was named has no future to ignore. Symbols of place illuminate a mosaic of popular cultures, which also come to life in these essays.

Stilgoe's landscapes change over time. In medieval Europe, the perception of place was built around compact, self-contained territories inhabited by the same families over generations. Roads and commerce expanded this psychic horizon: self-sufficiency vanished; strangers intruded; boundary markers, once guarded by sacred ritual and community memory, were abstracted into mathematical systems. In an era of abundant energy and air-conditioned homes, the fuel-efficient Cape Cod house, with its low ceilings and small windows, gave way to the sprawling single-story tract home. A socially homogeneous nineteenth-century suburb needed no hedges or fences, but when automobiles tracked in strangers, noise, and fumes, the fences reappeared, providing backyard Edens that helped privatize the nuclear family. The way individuals viewed these landscapes changed as well. Pedestrian travelers stopped frequently to absorb the flavor of the land. Later they gleaned their impressions from the window of a rail car and were far less attentive to the attributes of the passing scene. Landscapes changed, but so did the technological prism through which these landscapes were viewed.

In an essay titled "Landscape Jellies, Landscape Jams," Stilgoe points out that just as jams offer a seductive mixture of fruits, vernacular landscapes mix together disparate features. Preservationists prefer the jellies—the significant monuments or isolated archetypes—but the landscape jams are far more intriguing. Like the Olmsted park, the rambling back-country road, with its potholes and abandoned pickups, has a story to tell about America.

There are ironies in this indiscriminate veneration of the vernacular. The picturesque landscape is likely to be a landscape of poverty, since poverty slows the pace of change and the loss of tradition. And when these living landscapes do change, they present the preservationist with a dilemma: to halt this evolution robs them of their cultural authenticity, but to preserve only an isolated component creates, in Stilgoe's words, a "rural dreamscape . . . mimicking the bits and pieces of landscape long portrayed in tourist advertising" (p. 235). But what Stilgoe finds most disconcerting is not the vanishing landscape but the diminished ability to appreciate it, and thus he offers this book as an invitation to view these ordinary places with a fresh eye and a historically informed mind.

For the historian, Stilgoe's task is to bring these landscapes into our national narrative. This is no easy task, given the way mainstream historians abstract their narratives from the land. Nor is it made easier by Stilgoe's own narrative, which defies chronology and leaps national borders with a magisterial disregard for the constraints historians usually impose on their topics. Whether this represents emancipated thinking or undisciplined analysis will depend on the reader, but the approach does drive home the message with perfect clarity: "an evening or so devoted to reading descriptions of former landscapes makes present-day landscapes far more intelligible" (p. 133). Stilgoe presents a delightful assembly of history, art, personal reflection,

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and policy: a welcome relief from the usual confines of a tightly focused discipline.

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BRADLEY J. PARKER and LARS RODSETH, editors. *Untaming the Frontier in Anthropology, Archaeology, and History*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2005. Pp. vi, 294. $50.00.

Late twentieth-century demographic and intellectual revolutions in the American academy precipitated powerful assaults on frontier as a useful category of historical analysis. Some historians of the American West even urged the retirement of what Patricia Nelson Limerick dubbed "the f-word." Among scholars of the United States, frontier became shorthand for a narrative of nineteenth-century history in which a white man's republic eradicated, exploited, or ignored different peoples and landscapes. To argue that an extended process of settlement and community building had created a distinctive democratic society seemed naïve at best and dangerous at worst. Indeed, to invoke the frontier was to indulge in an uncritical celebration of the expansion of the United States. Historians committed to recovering the voices of people who had resisted the expansion of the United States or contested its expansion from within believed the term hopelessly ethnocentric and nationalistic. It was as morally offensive as it was intellectually quaint.

Ironically, however, a plethora of conferences at the end of the century intended to deconstruct "frontier" ended up rehabilitating the term, in large part because of the turn of many historians to international and interdisciplinary perspectives. Investigating the etymology of frontier revealed that American historians' use of the term was as ethnocentric and provincial as that of American nationalists. Different people have defined frontier in different ways for different purposes, most of which have absolutely nothing to do with the United States. For twentieth-century "European historians and geographers . . . a frontier was usually an imperial boundary" (p. 6). As important, scholars other than historians were fascinated by places in-between, places where meaning and power were contested even in the most mundane of human activities.

Scholars found, in fact, that debating the nature of open-ended areas from a variety of angles helped them think creatively about cross-cultural exchange and conflict. The value of frontier studies lay less in what the term meant than in the conversations people had about what it meant. Thus when historian Bradley J. Parker and anthropologist Lars Rodseth write that on frontiers "it is possible both to escape from the cultural conventions of one's own society and to make contact with people carrying other conventions, other ways of living, thinking, and organizing social groups," they are describing both the subjects of the essays here collected and the process that gave birth to their book.

In the spring of 2002 Parker brought together a group of scholars to "open an interdisciplinary debate about the processes of frontier history in a variety of cultural contexts" (p. 3). Now Parker and Rodseth have published the papers in a collection designed to untame the concept of the frontier; that is, to wrest it from the familiar and revive "its power to excite the scholarly imagination" (p. 3). At least in theory, the editors were less interested in detailing subject and content; time and place are less important than thinking through the multiple dimensions of frontiers. The nine contributors include historians, archaeologists, and anthropologists.

Although the stimulating essays are literally all over the map and grounded in narratives of specific places, they all consider a frontier to be "a shifting zone of innovation and recombination, through which cultural materials from many sources have been unpredictably channeled and transformed" (p. 4). Several of the authors take Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron's 1999 essay on frontiers and borderlands in North America, published in the *American Historical Review*, as their point of departure. In "The Meetings of Peoples and Empires at the Confluence of the Missouri, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers," Aron explains the distinction he and Adelman made between a frontier as a "meeting place" without fixed borders and a borderland as a "contested boundary between colonial domains" (p. 178). Aron's operative word is "confluence," a metaphor for the coming together of diverse peoples who were able to exploit differences and develop accommodations, a process that ended in Missouri with the consolidation of American hegemony in the 1820s.

The other essayists emphasize different dimensions of a similar process. Peter C. Perdue shows that Chinese frontiers during the Ming and Qing dynasties "maintained their special character as contact zones from which emerged new institutions, new policies, and new social movements" (p. 48). Richard M. Eaton's study of early modern Bengal stresses the interrelationship of ecology and religion; the movement of the Ganges River delta to the east becomes both a precipitant for and an embodiment of the fluidity of the region. Rodseth focuses on the high Himalayas in the eighteenth century to point out that a frontier can nurture cultural isolation as well as integration. The mountains that prohibited "large-scale invasion" encouraged "ethnic fission and fragmentation" (p. 90).

Sonia Alconini tests the value of "two competing frontier models" of military barriers and contact zones as they were employed by the sixteenth-century Inkas (p. 115). Analyzing "ceramic styles, architectural complexes, and treatments of human remains" from the Central Petén region of northern Guatemala (p. 169), Prudence M. Rice and Don S. Rice investigate the fluid processes of " 'political definition,' 'confrontation,' and 'fashioning of new worlds' " (p. 167) among the Mayan peoples who "strenuously and successfully opposed Spanish domination for some two hundred years" (p. 146). Stuart Tyson Smith contends that ancient Egyptians established "firm international borders" to delineate "the limits of [their] conquests" (p. 210) and de-

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veloped an imperial ideology of ethnic difference. Lynn Swartz Dodd suggests that overextended Luwian kings attempted to sustain their waning territorial power by inventing tradition, drawing legitimacy by linking themselves with the achievements of their Hittite predecessors. Finally, James A. Millward examines the late nineteenth-early twentieth-century history of "secular, mass education" and nation building in the Chinese province of Xinjiang. In "a region where Sinic and Islamic worlds overlapped," education developed within "world market forces" and the "new ideological trends rapidly spreading throughout the globe as part of the package of modernity" (p. 278).

No one could possibly know the vast array of primary sources and secondary literature well enough to assess the specific contributions of the individual essays in this collection. But it seems safe to conclude that the book as a whole offers a useful introduction to the state of the art in frontier studies, especially as investigations of the characteristics of contact zones.

In a larger sense, the volume is a moment in a profound—and perhaps not fully considered—epistemological revolution in the discipline of history as a whole. Constructing global models of human behavior, whether the subject is frontiers or revolutions or class, has long been at odds with the basic enterprise of historians, who have generally tried to tell plausible stories about human beings in specific times and places. In the 1900s, most historians were ultimately more interested in how an interpretive category informed their work than they were in developing the category itself. This book is one of multiple indications that we are moving toward a new kind of history in which everything is a variation on a global theme or a theoretical model. In so doing, we gain much. But we also risk homogenizing history, creating a universal language that neglects both the peculiarities of local situations and the diversity of human experiences.

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Roy Harris. *The Linguistics of History*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 244. $89.00.

This polemical essay, written by a professor of linguistics, is concerned with the assumptions about language made by historians in the course of writing about the past. The term "writing" needs to be emphasized, since Harris argues that institutionalized history goes back to the "literate revolution" in ancient Greece and "embraced all the question-begging involved in reducing the oral to the written" (p. 67). Roy Harris claims that "throughout the Western tradition, the basic options in philosophy of history have been determined by the basic options in philosophy of language" (p. vii). He criticizes many historians for their "reocentrism"—in other words, for regarding the meanings of words "as deriving ultimately from things in the external world" (p. 3)—arguing that this assumption leads them to reify abstractions or, as R. G. Collingwood put it, to "freeze" the stream of historical thought. However, supporters of "psychocentric" and "contractual" views of language (according to which the meanings of words derive respectively from ideas in the mind or from social convention) do not escape whipping. Historians in general, more exactly "the majority of traditional historians from Herodotus onwards" (p. 19), are faulted for their uncritical acceptance of what Harris, as in earlier books, describes as "the language myth," according to which the messages received by hearers or readers are essentially the same as the messages sent to them.

What can be put in the place of this myth? Harris's preferred solution to the problems he has raised is what he calls "integrationism," or the claim that meanings "are created *ambulando* to meet the requirements of particular communication situations" (p. 170). He presents history, in the sense of beliefs about the past, as the result of the joint efforts of historical agents, of historians, and of posterity.

If Harris wishes to persuade the historical profession to change its collective mind, he is not going about it the right way. In the first place, he uses too much jargon: terms such as "surrogational" or "telementation," which may be meaningful to linguists but create an obstacle for readers trained as historians. In the second place, he is too vehement, dismissing one group of intellectuals as "dupes" (p. 22) and accusing another of "pretentious deception" (p. 31). The arguments of Isaiah Berlin, of all people, are described as "feeble" (p. 151), while Thucydides is criticized as confused. Harris has a sharp mind and is quick to spot inconsistencies in the work of other scholars, but in implying that his predecessors were fools and that only he has the solution to the problems of the last 2,500 years, he risks alienating his readers. He writes as if all professional historians rejected contributions made from outside their trade union, decades after the editors of *History Workshop*, for instance, made a point of welcoming outsiders. More important, he seems unaware of the work of his allies, integrationists *avant la lettre* who have already made the kind of point he supports. To quote only three examples, Harris's remarks about the importance of posterity in reshaping images of the past would not have surprised Pieter Geyl, whose *Napoleon For and Against* goes back to 1949. Paul Cohen's *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth* (1997) is organized precisely so as to show the way in which participants and posterity have contributed to the collective view of this episode in Chinese history. Eric R. Wolf's *Europe and the People without History* (1982) is a sustained critique of the reification of historical concepts. For Harris to have situated his own suggestions in such contexts would have been at once more generous and more persuasive.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

WALTER G. ANDREWS and MEHMET KALPAKLI. *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 425. $24.95.

This book by Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı is a provocative, engaging, and beautifully written study. It casts new light on Ottoman love poetry from the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth centuries, vividly recreating a haunting world of love, longing, and sensuality. The authors deftly analyze poems while providing stories and fascinating details about the men and women who authored them. The book, however, is much more than a work of literary scholarship. The poems are thoughtfully contextualized amid the social, cultural, and political history of both the Ottoman Empire and Western Europe.

Drawing on much of the latest work on gender, sexuality, marriage, urban spaces, courtly society, and religious movements, Andrews and Kalpaklı present rich discussions of how Ottoman poetry resonated with the realities of life. Not all of these studies concentrate on the Ottoman Empire. In fact, most of the works cited by Andrews and Kalpaklı deal with Renaissance Venice, Florence, and England. The reason for this is twofold. First, as the authors note, few comprehensive studies have been produced on such issues as sexual practice, sex laws and crimes, and the realities of homosexuality in the Ottoman world. The authors, therefore, rely on historical studies based in Western Europe to help interpret what they find in Ottoman poetry and other sources. One might be tempted to fault them on this, were they not so forthcoming about the limits of this approach and the care in which they use it. The other reason why Andrews and Kalpaklı draw so freely on Western studies and sources is much more deliberate and relates directly to one of their central arguments.

While most scholars place Ottoman literature and culture in the broader perspective of the East, Andrews and Kalpaklı look westward. They present strong parallels to the Ottoman culture of lovers and beloveds in their examinations of European courts, the behavior of courtiers and courtesans, norms of marriage, and public life. They also argue convincingly that the seemingly "Eastern" preference for boy beloveds in Ottoman love poetry has numerous correlates in Renaissance literature and in carefully concealed, real relationships in Europe; all were natural outgrowths of the European male-dominated public sphere, homosocial culture, and late marriages for men. The effect is a groundbreaking demystification of the other. What was dismissed by orientalists as Eastern perversion is sensitively recast in more familiar and dignified terms. Boy beloveds are a particularly risky subject; the authors handle it with eye-opening attention to the context of the times in both cultures.

As a comparative approach, the reliance on European studies is extremely useful and carefully done. But Andrews and Kalpaklı suggest something more than parallels, arguing in a Braudelian fashion that similar economic, political, and demographic conditions were present in the Ottoman Empire and Europe, predisposing both areas to similar cultural forms. As intriguing as this explanation for the commonalities they find may seem, it needs to be developed. If conditions were strong enough to foster a common culture that crossed national and religious borders in the Renaissance, then why did a common culture not exist sooner, and why did it collapse under the pressures of the seventeenth century? Moreover, the conditions they identify as causing this common culture feel insubstantial beside the behaviors they so sharply and effectively sketch. Given the brevity of the time frame, one suspects that other, more immediate, factors influenced its sudden emergence and decline. At times the authors seem to lean in the direction of arguing for peaceful exchange of ideas between the cultures and "zones of convergence" (p. 26), but they shy away from the question of where conscious or unconscious borrowing might have come into play. Likewise, they largely avoid the looming issues of conflict and domination, either as a barrier to exchange or as a complicated region of exchange. For all their common talk of love in this period, Ottomans and Western Europeans were often engaged in some form of military conflict or uttering words of religious and cultural hostility. Some acknowledgment of these struggles would lend depth to the picture of commonalities so vividly drawn.

These observations by no means detract from the boldness of the authors' vision and the success of the book as a whole. Andrews and Kalpaklı graciously describe their study not as the last word on this subject but as an invitation to other scholars (p. ix). Readers of all levels will learn much about Ottomans and Europeans from this delightfully written book and find many perceptions challenged if not changed for good.

NANCY BISAHA
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JESÚS F. DE LA TEJA and ROSS FRANK, editors. *Choice, Persuasion, and Coercion: Social Control on Spain's North American Frontiers*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2005. Pp. xxi, 338. $24.95.

The essays in this volume survey an area from Florida to California in the present-day United States and through the northern tier of Mexican states. As the title suggests, the common thread running through them is the application of social control, here taken to mean the use of persuasion and coercion by the dominant group on its subordinates. In seeking to answer the question of how social control was applied in Spain's North American colonies, the contributors take approaches as varied as the regions they describe.

In his essay ("Who Controls the King?"), Alfredo Jiménez suggests that although the Spanish monarch exercised control over many aspects of the lives of his American subjects, ultimately they influenced his ac-

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tions through their right of appeal to king and council in Spain. Jane Landers's survey of Spanish Florida and Gilbert C. Din's essay on Spanish Louisiana deal with the exercise of social control in areas characterized by the presence of individuals who owed allegiance to other European nations—England and France—as well as complex, multiracial societies. Moreover, both regions felt the impact of European wars and imperial competition.

Editor Ross Frank's essay is based on a close reading of the instructions that New Mexico governor Fernando de la Concha left to his successor. De la Concha's advice on how to govern New Mexico almost drips with disdain for the local populace. There is little doubt that he considered himself superior as an individual and military man to the citizenry and the Franciscans he encountered. In particular, the governor warned that the friars were meddlesome in affairs of state. He counseled ignoring their complaints and threatening them with expulsion from the province if need be. As for the Hispanic citizens, the governor compared them unfavorably with the Pueblo Indians: they were malicious, uncooperative with de la Concha's directives, and dared to complain to higher authorities. They were not to be trusted or given positions of authority.

In her chapter on women who subverted traditional gender roles in colonial Nueva Vizcaya, Susan M. Deeds examines how the Catholic Church reacted when social control was threatened. Antonia de Soto, an escaped mulatto slave, traveled throughout New Spain in the guise of a man. She eventually confessed to a Jesuit, Tomás de Guadalajara, and turned herself in to the Inquisition. Antonia claimed that she had become intimate with Satan. Apparently, the moral code of social control instilled in her by the church led her to cast off the freedom she had gained as a "man."

Contributions by Cecilia Sheridan Prieto and Juliana Barr delve into the world of nonsedentary Indian groups and their interactions with Spaniards in areas where indigenous peoples often had the upper hand. Sheridan deals with the region that today forms northeastern Mexico and southern Texas. In this part of the Spanish Empire, Indians occasionally formed new groups combining elements of several native communities. Barr presents a very original view of a world in which the Spaniards were largely at their mercy, except for small zones of Spanish control. Barr argues that the Comanche and Caddo Indians exerted social control over the Spaniards, forcing them to learn and adapt to the Indian way of life in order to remain in the area.

Cynthia Radding shows the significant place given to the indigenous *cabildo* in the mission communities of Sonora. Invested with judicial and administrative responsibilities, these community councils came to represent the Indian pueblos in their dealings with colonial officials. The *cabildos* had been introduced in the missions in order to recreate Spanish institutions, as a means of carrying civilization to the Indians and evangelizing them. José Cuello examines the *sistema de castas*, what he refers to as the racialized hierarchy of power in Saltillo. The use of race and ethnicity as a means of social control proved particularly effective because it kept Spaniards at the top of the societal heap, irrespective of how flexible nomenclature actually was in practice. Despite the fine gradations of ethnic definitions available in theory, the reality of colonial Saltillo was best expressed in one of four categories in rank order: Spaniard, mestizo, Indian, and mulatto. Cuello points out that individuals could and did move up and down the scale for a variety of reasons, and that this ability to change one's ethnic identity served as an important release for societal pressures.

Patricia Osante's study of José de Escandón's colonization efforts in the province of Nuevo Santander is in marked contrast to most of the other essays in this volume in that it deals with social control by an individual who bears a striking resemblance to the stereotypical *caudillo*. Selected to carry out a major colonization of the Gulf of Mexico south of Texas and north of Tampico, Escandón attracted moneyed men of property to invest in his plan by making them large grants of land and naming them to important positions. At the same time, he lured many simple farmers with the promise of modest grants of land and then coerced them to remain by delaying and threatening to deny them the promised land. Finally, he bullied local Indians into providing labor for the large grantees through armed intimidation. He only fulfilled his original promises after the thousands of settlers he drew into Nuevo Santander complained to higher authorities.

James A. Sandos's essay presents the stories of two women, a Spaniard who was the wife of the governor of California and a mission Indian woman. Young and beautiful, doña Eulalia Callis de Fages accused her husband, don Pedro Fages, of infidelity and sought permission to leave Monterey for Mexico City with her children. Her case came to the attention of the general command of the northern provinces and the bishop of Sonora, with the former siding with doña Eulalia, and the latter supporting don Pedro. Although the couple eventually reconciled, within five years she got her wish and returned to Mexico City, perhaps as a result of her challenge to the traditional role of wife and mother in Spanish society. Sandos contrasts the story of doña Eulalia with that of an Indian woman named Toypurina, who was implicated in a plotted rebellion. After her trial, Toypurina was baptized, married a presidial soldier, and took the name Regina Josefa. Toypurina's decisions gave her a new life and reflected a rare example of the kind of behavior the priests serving California missions desired to use as a means of controlling the Indians.

This outstanding collection of essays demonstrates the multiple ways that Spain attempted to control its vast North American colonies over an extended time. It will be of interest to scholars of the history of Spain in the Americas, particularly those working on the area

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once commonly referred to as the Spanish Borderlands, but is accessible to college students.

Rick Hendricks
New Mexico State University

Robert H. Jackson. *Missions and the Frontiers of Spanish America: A Comparative Study of the Impact of Environmental, Economic, Political, and Socio-Cultural Variations on the Missions in the Río de la Plata Region and on the Northern Frontier of New Spain*. Scottsdale, Ariz.: Pentacle Press. 2005. PP. xxii, 568. $44.95.

Ecological context, economics, disease, demographics, and cultural impositions are the organizing categories used by Robert H. Jackson in his survey of mission activities on the frontiers of New Spain and Río de la Plata. Jackson's work is an excellent reminder that despite Franciscan dreams of a Christian utopia in northern New Spain, *reducciones* were far from viable in regions where the environment did not permit concentrated agriculture and its attendant population. "Nature's rhythm," and the degree to which different communities could work within its confines, appears throughout the book as the substratum underlying the success or failure of individual missions.

Ideally, Native Americans were to be congregated in order to be catechized, but California missions faltered when environmental realities were not taken into account. Thus, Baja California's La Purisíma relocated in 1730 in search of more plentiful water, and in Alta California, all the missions except San Luis Obispo were relocated after their initial establishment. As exemplified by a Chumash case study, the cultural definition of being European and Christian, so identified with settled agriculture, overrode any possibility of cultural survival for the foragers in the region, or the ecosystem they had used: "Forms of dress, diet, and housing all changed" and "Corn replaced the acorn as the staple" (pp. 251, 252). An el Niño effect, corroborated by tree ring data demonstrating a lack of growth in dry years, points to the Chumash moving to the missions in larger numbers when their foraging and hunting became less reliable in the hot, dry years between 1786 and the early 1800s (p. 287). Then, as the missions gained support and numbers, the increased introduction of European livestock like sheep went on to devastate indigenous plants (p. 290).

When California Governor Diego de Borica wrote a report in 1797 that included an assessment of the causes of indigenous population decline, he noted the concentration of people, especially women and girls, in overcrowded dormitories, and even "the stench of human feces" (p. 303). Missionaries in the Californias aided the spread of diseases in their attempt to aid conversion through population concentration. At San Luis Obispo, birth rates exceeded death rates in the 1780s and mean life expectancy at birth stood at 22.8 years. A decade later, the mean life expectancy dropped to 8.6 years, "and then averaged only 5.2 years between 1800 and 1834" (p. 307). With girls and women dying at higher rates than men in dormitories constructed to "protect their virtue," the indigenous California population failed to replace itself. Meanwhile, the soldiers and settlers of four Alta California presidios experienced population growth through births and an average life expectancy of 31.4 years (p. 307). The missions of Baja California, Alta California, Sonora, and Texas destroyed Native Americans and their traditions, while individuals of Spanish ancestry and culture grew in numbers with their sheep and cattle.

Even where greater compromises were reached with Native American cultures, as by the Jesuits in Paraguay, periodic epidemics proved disruptive. Jackson's estimated death rates run between 100 and 200 per thousand for the smallpox epidemic of 1738–1740, but after the epidemics, unlike the Californias, "Mortality returned to . . . levels at which birth rates were higher than death rates and the mission populations began to grow again." Jackson writes, "In Paraguay, numbers of Guarani [sic] continued to live on the former missions for decades following the departure of the Jesuits" (p. 394). Having been armed by the Jesuits to fight off slave-raiding *bandeirantes* in the 1640s, and continuing to live within their clans and with caciques who exercised "considerable authority," the Guaraní lived an average of 26.8 years (in non-epidemic years) under Jesuit rule between 1690 and 1769 (p. 342). Thus, Jackson presents a frontier mission experience where human agency mattered, but perhaps only in ameliorating the worst effects of conquest.

Overall, this book stands as a welcome synthesis of information, drawing on the work of other scholars, Jackson's own previous work, and his additional perusal of archival sources. Labeled "a comparative study," it offers a rather in-depth entrée to the sources and literature for Spanish borderland studies, providing photos, maps and numerous demographic tables, as well as an optional CD-ROM with PowerPoint slide presentations. The expert will not find anything terribly surprising and new, but Jackson's synthesis reveals the material underpinnings of human culture. Spanish missions certainly interpreted, modified, and even destroyed what they found in the Americas, but they were also shaped by "Nature's rhythm"—and by some successful Native American cultural resistance.

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Ball State University

Charles A. Weeks. *Paths to a Middle Ground: The Diplomacy of Natchez, Boukfouka, Nogales, and San Fernando de Las Barrancas, 1791–1795*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2005. Pp. x, 292. $45.00

Charles A. Weeks takes a familiar rubric, that of intricate negotiations among Europeans and Indians, adopts a recent trend of using Spanish sources, and applies both techniques to a new location and time period, the lower Mississippi valley during the early 1790s. The result is a detailed study that fills a gap in the historical literature and expands our understanding of the complexity of the southern frontier during the eighteenth

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century. Weeks focuses his investigation on the diplomatic relations that occurred and evolved between the Spanish and their native neighbors in the Gulf South region during the first half of the 1790s. He divides his book into three sections, with part one discussing the history of this culture of diplomacy, part two examining how this arrangement operated during this moment in time, and part three incorporating translations of pertinent documents related to this series of encounters. Taken altogether, this text gives a meticulous snapshot of a specific episode in history for better and for worse.

As is usually the case with most works involving Native American history, some background material is necessary so that the reader will understand the context of historical events as they unfold, and Weeks supplies this information in the first section. He presents a short overview of European-Indian dealings in the region from contact to the late eighteenth century and then backtracks to summarize briefly the cultural traditions of the native peoples in the area, namely the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Cherokees. He then discusses the shared diplomatic culture that developed over time as Europeans and Indians interacted more frequently before explaining recent activities, most notably the peace settlement of 1783 that ended the American Revolution and granted most lands east of the Mississippi River to the new United States.

After 1783, Spain increased its operations in the Gulf South in order to protect its claims from American expansionism, benefitting from superior diplomatic skills and connections that had developed over the years. In order to check American intrusions, the Spanish established several forts along the Mississippi River after negotiating with local Indians for their permission to do so. A series of missions to the Choctaws in 1791 and 1792, for instance, culminated with a congress at Natchez that allowed the Spanish to found Nogales. Success at this meeting continued good relations between the Spanish and nearby natives and led to the suggestion of creating a confederation of nations to prevent further American intervention. Another treaty resulted in another fort that would serve as the centerpiece for their confederation, but this plan never materialized beyond the construction of the post. Multiple difficulties, especially on the part of the various Indian nations, caused several delays before the next assembly occurred in Nogales in late 1793, involving over 2,000 Indian participants. While it did not accomplish everything that everyone wanted, it did allow the different parties to come together and maintain favorable relations. The Spanish continued their negotiations through 1794 and early 1795, and even secured permission to build yet another fort only to have all of their efforts undone by Spanish and American diplomats overseas who signed the Treaty of San Lorenzo in late 1795 surrendering Spanish claims in the lower Mississippi valley to the new United States.

The remaining section includes seventeen documents translated by Weeks and Sarah J. Banks that are directly related to these aforementioned incidents. This addition allows the reader to peruse the literature generated from these encounters, to understand the author's interpretations of them, and to draw his or her own conclusions. It is a unique supplement that adds much to the book as a whole.

Nevertheless, Weeks's story is one that could be easily condensed into a lengthy yet thorough article or should be expanded into a fuller and richer text. He does an excellent job, especially in part two, of narrating the complex diplomacy that occurred between the Spanish and their native neighbors, and he gives an impressive amount of detail about those negotiations. Unfortunately, he sticks mainly to a political perspective and only occasionally delves into social or cultural analysis of the many interactions between these two groups. Weeks merely skims the surface of his topic rather than thoroughly interrogating his sources and making broader assertions. In order to strengthen his thesis of expert Spanish diplomacy, he could expand his study to cover a longer time period and/or include a larger geographical area. Even so, the book sheds light on an understudied region and epoch and points the way towards future work thanks in part to the inclusion of many previously neglected documents.

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SAM TRUETT and ELLIOTT YOUNG, editors. *Continental Crossroads: Remapping U.S.-Mexico Borderlands History*. (American Encounters/Global Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 344. Cloth $79.95, paper $22.95.

Borderlands are complex and fascinating places, especially when they are extensive and between diverse countries such as those connecting Russia and China, China and Central Asia, or the United States and Mexico. Whereas to the historical geographer a border generally is linear, formed by a river and/or in particular a line on a map, separating two distinct political entities, a boundary is more dynamic, zonal, and vague, often surrounding a border, and it regularly assumes cultural characteristics of its own apart from the entities that it divides and joins. While the two notions may coincide, they too frequently work against each other. Perhaps the best-known and most knotty example of this historical phenomenon is the long U.S.-Mexico borderland.

The essays in this collection, edited by Sam Truett and Elliott Young, collectively seek to recast particularly the social history of the U.S.-Mexico borderland, which currently is at the center of attention in both countries and is an area experiencing vibrant change. The volume begins with the foreword by eminent Southwestern historian David Weber that sets its tone and is followed by a lengthy useful introduction by the editors. The heart of this book is the ten essays by ten younger historians, including the editors, from academic institutions on the American side of the Greater

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Southwest. It ends with a brief summary conclusion by the editors.

All of the essays reflect a keen awareness of the national and transnational forces at work in the region and project beyond its Anglos and Mexicans into its Mestizo population. They correctly illustrate that borderlands history is a meeting place of various academic disciplines. While exhibiting a mixture of approaches to the problems, significantly, they also underscore a number of common denominators, giving the volume a durable unity.

The two essays in the first section, "Frontier Legacies," consider aspects of the tricultural interaction in Texas and California at the height of the colonial period into the later nineteenth century. The magnitude of the area's Mexican heritage is restated admirably by Louise Pubols in "Fathers of the Pueblo: Patriarchy and Power in Mexican California, 1800–1880." The variety of the regional literature is the subject of the three essays in part two, "Borderland Stories." The three essays of the third part, "Transnational Identities," go beyond the tricultural experience and examine other groups and individuals in the region—Chinese, Europeans, and African Americans—in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In looking at the race and class issues these groups confronted, the authors deepen the reader's understanding not only of the diversity of the borderland but of triculturalism as well. The two essays of the last section, "Body Politics," deal with continuity and change in the first half of the twentieth century. As exemplified by the final essay, "Nationalism on the Line: Masculinity, Race, and the Creation of the U.S. Border Patrol, 1910–1940," by Alexandra Minna Stern one of the most important changes since the 1930s has been the hardening of the border from the American side.

The essays are laden with the race, class, and gender aspects of contemporary social history and are weaker on the impacts of geography, economics, and artistic culture. The history is yet more multifaceted. The absence of Mexican scholarship is disappointing, but perhaps it will be the basis for future work by Truett and Young or someone else. And despite three helpful simple black-and-white maps at the opening of the volume, there is nothing cartographic about the collection; the use of "remapping" in its subtitle therefore is unfortunate and a bit misleading.

The essays in this book are well researched and clearly and concisely written, and the scholarship is solid and commendable. Beyond those seriously interested in the field, they also are appropriate for other informed readers and upper-division undergraduate and graduate students.

DENNIS REINHARTZ
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ROBERT APPELBAUM and JOHN WOOD SWEET, editor. *Envisioning an English Empire: Jamestown and the Making of the North Atlantic World*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 368. Cloth $59.95, paper $24.95.

The approaching four hundredth anniversary of the founding of Jamestown, the recent discoveries of the Jamestown Recovery archaeological project, and the development of Atlantic world studies have combined to spark renewed interest in the events surrounding the founding of the first permanent English colony in North America. This essay collection is the first of several forthcoming commemorative volumes, indicating widespread interdisciplinary interest in understanding the events at Jamestown within the transatlantic, international, and indigenous worlds that shaped them, and in using Jamestown as a lens through which to scrutinize more closely the forces that produced not only this first English colony, but the almost contemporaneous surge of interest in North America among other Europeans as well.

The historians and literary scholars whose work appears in this volume place the Virginia project (both its London and Jamestown components) in a broader context that not only includes Powhatan Tsenacommacah, Spain, Ireland, and West Africa, but also the Ottoman Empire and North Africa. Divided into three sections, "Reading Encounters" examines early Anglo-Powhatan relations; "The World Stage" explores the international contexts that influenced Virginia; and "American Metamorphosis" charts changes in Virginia and in the meaning of Virginia over the course of the seventeenth century.

Among those essays on contact and conditions in early Jamestown, Emily Rose's "The Politics of Pathos: Richard Frethorne's Letters Home" is especially notable. Her careful reading of Virginia Company records indicates that Frethorne's famously pathetic letter to his parents was, in fact, a piece of propaganda used (and perhaps solicited) by Henry Rich, second earl of Warwick, in his successful campaign to have the Virginia Company dissolved. Among the essays on early encounters, James Horn's on the English in Tsenacommacah and Alden Vaughan's on Powhatans in England both conclude that Anglo-Powhatan conflict was inevitable. Lisa Blansett details John Smith's privileging of experience over status in his *Map of Virginia*.

Susan Iwanisziw's "England, Morocco, and Global Geopolitical Upheaval" and Pompa Banerjee's essay on "Turkey and Virginia in John Smith's *True Travels*" together insist on the importance of the Ottoman Empire and of relations between the Christian and Muslim worlds to European expansion and the Catholic/Protestant rivalries that we see as initiating an Atlantic world. Iwanisziw, innovative in both evidence and approach, examines the alliance between England and Morocco, which she argues served to buttress Morocco against the Ottoman Empire and Spain, and England against Spain and Ireland. Banerjee introduces readers to the details of John Smith's eastern travels, pointing out that although Smith traveled in Turkey before going to Virginia, he wrote about his travels after both jour-

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neys. Therefore, his experiences in Chesapeake may have influenced his writing about Turkey just as much as the more common supposition that his Turkey travels affected his perception of Virginia. She forces readers to think carefully about the implications for early Americanists of using sources whose authors were trying to understand not just one new colonial locale but a much larger world that was broadening rapidly in several directions.

Eric Griffin's "The Specter of Spain in John Smith's Colonial Writing" explores a more expected international context, but does so from a new perspective that once again forces us to recognize the complexity of the world that encompassed European expansion. For example, he points out that Richard Hakluyt listed as a primary reason for expansion the need to find new markets for England's "decayed trades" (p. 127) with Spanish territories, lost to English merchants for a variety of reasons during Hapsburg Spain's wars. Andrew Hadfield's "Irish Colonies and the Americas" sees England's Irish and American colonization projects as sharing broad contexts of Protestant-Catholic rivalry and developing English colonial thought, but cautions against assuming direct lines of influence from one to the other.

Robert Appelbaum's "Hunger in Early Virginia" offers the provocative argument that very different English and Powhatan responses to (and indeed experiences of) physical deprivation were responsible in part for English and Powhatan denigration of one another. Jess Edwards points out that while John Smith's (and others') representations of land use in Virginia reflect attempts to justify the English appropriation of Powhatan land, they also should be read in light of conflict within England at the time over what constituted legal bases for property holding. Peter Herman identifies in Aphra Behn's *The Widdow Ranter* an English (rather than American) origin for the identification of a new American or Virginian identity, but his evidence suggests as much that Behn used events in Virginia to explore her own sense of rapidly changing English identity. Michael Guasco insists that scholarship on English attitudes toward slavery in the early Atlantic needs to expand far beyond an examination of English ideas about the enslavement of West Africans or Indians in the Americas to consider English debates about slavery as punishment for crime, slavery as political metaphor, and enslavement of Europeans by North Africans.

Together, the essays in this collection raise a significant question about the role of religion in early modern international relations and in European expansion. Karen Ordahl Kupperman points out in her foreword that "the great opposition to Roman Catholic Spain as the ultimate other" (p. xi) provides a starting point for determining why 1607 saw the first successful English American colonization project. Many of the essays in the collection use Protestant-Catholic rivalry as shorthand for large scale geopolitical rivalries that infused Europe and the Atlantic, but none fully considers the religious element of this rivalry. Doing so reveals the irony of English-Moroccan alliance, each side allying with someone religiously more different in order to strengthen itself against supposedly religious enemies who were in reality, much more similar. John Smith appears unrepresentative but perhaps more logical, claiming that he withdrew his service from the Dutch against the Spanish Hapsburgs, preferring to fight with the Hapsburgs against the Ottomans, in part to see more of the world, and in part "lamenting and repenting to have seene so many Christians slaughter one another" (p. xiv).

The distance between the volume's title and subtitle reflects a difficulty common to such collections: "Envisioning an English Empire" aptly describes the essays in the first and third sections, and "Jamestown and the Making of the North Atlantic World" those in the second, with too little tying them together. Kupperman's foreword poses questions designed to encourage readers to place the essays in a common framework, and John Wood Sweet's introduction provides some helpful points of comparison. However, the essays often speak past one another, missing several opportunities to engage one another in what might have been fruitful conversations. Guasco and Iwanisziw, for example, present strikingly different (though not necessarily mutually exclusive) pictures of English-North African relations. Appelbaum uses Frethorne's letter in ways that seem at odds with Rose's analysis of the same letter. Banerjee and Blansett disagree about John Smith's relationship to gentlemanly status, although both believe it an important component of his identity and behavior. Taken separately, many of the essays present strikingly new interpretations, and taken together, both the overlap among the articles and the contradictions between them suggest how much we still have to learn about early English expansion and its world stage. This volume demonstrates that the field is moving in promising directions.

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Stephen J. Hornsby. *British Atlantic, American Frontier: Spaces of Power in Early Modern British America*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England in association with the Center for American Places, Santa Fe, N. Mex. 2005. Pp. xv, 307. Cloth $60.00, paper $29.95.

Stephen J. Hornsby offers a sweeping synthesis of the history of the English and later British presence in North America and the Caribbean from first incursions in the fifteenth century until the eve of the American Revolution. His book's framework is geographic, relying on contrasts between the Atlantic (defined as maritime and commercial) and the continent (land based and agricultural). It calls to mind the more encyclopedic works of Donald Meinig, and like Meinig's corpus, this volume draws together a vast secondary literature, making sense of it from a geographical perspective.

Hornsby posits variations among the British-controlled regions that he argues determined the course of

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their history. He divides "Early Modern British America" into three types of regions. "Atlantic Staple Regions" include Newfoundland, the West Indies, and the Hudson Bay. All produced a highly valued staple (whether fish, sugar, or furs). All were closely connected to the metropolis through their dependence on trade and the relatively transient nature of their populations. "Continental Staple Regions" produced a staple commodity, including cod from New England, tobacco from the Chesapeake, and rice from the Carolinas. These regions were less closely linked to Britain, however, because their products were less lucrative, their economies somewhat more diversified, and their populations more committed to the colony in which they resided. "Agricultural Frontiers" made up the last major region, encompassing New England, the Mid-Atlantic, and the southern backcountry. Least connected of any part of the empire, these areas were oriented toward the continental interior rather than the Atlantic world. Finally, colonial towns completed this geography, creating in some cases vibrant centers for trade and local political leadership.

While the framework is geographic, Hornsby's argument is primarily economic. Regional variations in production shaped local society and politics. Those places (the Atlantic Staple Regions) most closely linked economically to Britain relied heavily on the metropolis: populations moved between colony and center regularly, local leadership remained attenuated, and there was a general reliance on Britain culturally and in a host of other ways. On the other extreme, frontier regions that had little contact with Britain became largely independent of it. With little trade and less ready access to Atlantic economic networks, frontier dwellers of necessity went their own way.

The big question behind this masterful synthesis is why revolution occurred in some parts of early modern British America but not in others. The answer, put simply, is that those areas that were Atlantic in their orientation did not rebel, while those that were continental did. According to Hornsby both the Continental Staple Regions and the Agricultural Frontier were less connected to imperial trade networks, boasted entrenched settler populations and relied on local leadership. In many of these areas (basically mainland North America south of Canada) well developed urban centers offered connection to a world beyond the continent, but these connections were not limited to links with Britain. Boston, Philadelphia, and New York traded directly to Europe (not to mention other colonial ports), whereas Port Royal or Bridgetown did not. These urban centers would take the lead in opposing imperial policy after 1763, and resistance was sparse in places that lacked such vigorous colonial cities.

The book brings together the historiographies of Canada and the United States, an effort that Hornsby discusses in an illuminating introduction. The historiographies diverge because the two nations' histories did; connection to the wider Atlantic remained important in Canada and shaped its history, while the turn toward the continental interior in the United States produced other stories. The contrast is nicely encapsulated in the difference between Harold Adams Innis, the Canadian political economist, and Frederick Jackson Turner, the American theorist of frontier. This contrast is echoed in Hornsby's conclusion, with the British Empire after 1800 remaining expansionist and sea-based, while the new United States turned to the continental interior, becoming isolationist (but no less expansive).

What Hornsby's schema omits is Africa, where the British were a notable economic presence by the 1760s, and South America, where they ultimately had little impact. With the current rage for Atlantic history much ink is being spilled over the definition of Atlantic, with arguments about what topics and geographic foci can claim the moniker. Hornsby satisfies my criteria when he offers a defensible definition of the parameters of the Atlantic he explores. He has done more than this, however, defining Atlantic so that it carries explanatory power. Colonial United States historians, who tend to be particularly enamored of the concept, may not be pleased to find Atlantic defined so that the American Revolution swept up those areas least Atlantic in their orientation. But Hornsby's synthesis is compelling and thought provoking, a welcomed addition to the literature.

Carla Gardina Pestana
Miami University

Carla Gardina Pestana. *The English Atlantic in the Age of Revolution, 1640–1661.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 342. $49.95.

In her thorough study, Carla Gardina Pestana makes weighty points that this reviewer happily endorses. By 1660, there was an anglophone empire, and it was imperial-political, and it was English. It was Atlantic in scope, but Ireland and Scotland were still peripheral to it. Charles I's empire of 1640 consisted of numerous colonial settlements, varied (and developed) enough to demonstrate in American settings the diversities and tensions that would convulse the old country over the next twenty years. Pestana does not directly address revisionist interpretations of the English "troubles," but she judges revisionism to be well past its prime and notes that it is unable to accommodate, far less explain, the profound effects on the empire of civil war, regicide, republic, and protectorate. These seismic shifts, felt in all colonies, everywhere altered structures of religion, politics, and trade—and population. A conservative restoration of monarchy might have been attempted in England but was pointless in America, where the settlement of 1660 was not a turning point. Charles II's imperial inheritance came not from his martyred father or England's monarchical past but was delivered to him by the transforming power of a revolutionary age.

This is a narrative history that takes in all the colonies, including the islands, and gives each its significance. This inclusive approach is a great virtue, espe-

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cially in such a short book, but as anyone who has tried it will testify it is also a tall order. By 1640, there were at least sixteen settlements we can call polities, and there was a lot going on in each of them, never mind events at home. All this detail can leave too little time, and space, for careful analysis. This seems the case in the first hundred pages, where Pestana sets the scene and brings the story up to the regicide, the declaration of the Commonwealth, and the passage of the navigation legislation of 1650 and 1651. Given Pestana's insistence on telling the story in considerable detail, the demands of narrative leave too few landmarks by which the writer might have charted a clearer course.

Pestana's thorough research has many virtues, however. She goes well beyond the conventional sources, and virtually every paragraph is well annotated. Thus this book will be treasured by scholars for some time to come, and the weight of evidence does lead to important insights even for the civil war period, especially concerning the religious conflicts which shaped the civil wars between crown and Parliament. Given the newness and fragility of most colonies, troubles at home would have increased the hazards of settlement anyway, but the shape taken by these particular troubles heightened colonial uncertainty by highlighting divisions within colonial populations and between colonies in matters of religion and authority. As events in England lurched along, Parliament's coalition fragmented and moved from one formulation (Presbyterianism) to another (Independency and toleration) in matters of religion. In almost every colony these changes threatened and tempted those in and out of power, forcing them to risk much whether from principle or opportunism. Then, in 1649, the regicide and the proclamation of a republic promised to replace the personal, contractual relationship between each colony and the crown with national and political policies to which all colonists, as Englishmen, were subordinate. Some colonies rebelled, taking a clear stand for the first time, and this in turn forced a clarifying response from the new Commonwealth, the naval expeditions of 1651. By 1652, all colonies had—more or less grudgingly—accepted the new order.

While things did not calm down much in the 1650s, with wars with Holland and Spain and Oliver Cromwell's Western Design of 1655, the defining events of 1649–1652 had rough-shaped a recognizably new empire, and Pestana happily shifts into a more analytical mode. In the process, she transforms good history into significant history. Chapters five and six (pp. 157–212) stand out in particular: "Free Trade and Freeborn Englishmen" and "Lost Liberty and Laboring People" are richly textured analyses of the ways in which several factors transformed the English Atlantic. New imperial legislation, vigorous colonial production, emergent trading patterns, and significant population growth worked together to make elite colonists highly conscious of their rights as Englishmen, and equally well aware of how heavily their continued prosperity was dependent upon their ability to use these rights to consolidate their position, not only vis-à-vis the empire but also through their power to secure and control dependent labor. Pestana confirms that the English empire was already by 1660 a complex community of power and impotence, rights and subjection, freedom and unfreedom.

Pestana's excellent work has been ill-served by her publisher, who delivered this review copy with six pages missing from two valuable appendixes, one on colonial populations, the other a survey of 125 pamphlets on New England published in England during the 1640s.

ROBERT M. BLISS
University of Missouri, St. Louis

PETER A. COCLANIS, editor. *The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel.* (The Carolina Lowcountry and the Atlantic World.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xix, 377. $49.95.

Perhaps because Atlantic history means different things to different practitioners, its genealogy is in dispute. But to my knowledge, nobody has gone as far back in time as Peter A. Coclanis, who traces the roots of Atlantic history to the nineteenth century. Coclanis asserts that some would extend the genealogy back to Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* (1867). It is hard to see, however, why Marx should be considered a pioneer here. Of course, he identified a number of developments in the New World and Africa (as well as the East Indies) as constituting the dawn of capitalist production, but concluding that events on one side of the Atlantic bear on the other does not make one an Atlanticist. Nowhere did Marx come close to arguing that the Atlantic was a coherent unit of analysis. His view was a global one.

The spirit of Marx is present in this volume, however, in that the essays explore the economic foundations of the Atlantic world. Based on papers presented at a 1999 conference, the thirteen contributions on the French, Dutch, British, Spanish, and Portuguese empires shed light on both imperial trade and the cross-imperial linkages that defied mercantilist schemes. One wishes more essays had been available on Africa, but a fine contribution by Ty Reese on free and bonded labor at Cape Coast Castle at least acknowledges the role of West Africa. The only essay that does not fit in this collection is that by Laura Croghan Kamoie on the domestic economy of the Chesapeake. The author does not even attempt to show the impact of the wider Atlantic world on the Chesapeake, or vice versa.

Three authors deal with imperial trade. Jan de Vries presents a thorough overview of the Dutch Atlantic, distinguishing four stages of development after 1600. While the Dutch failed in their grand design for the Western Hemisphere, their share of Atlantic trade was never insignificant, de Vries argues, although the marginal character of their presence in the Caribbean made them vulnerable. British transatlantic trade, as R. C.

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Nash relates, also took off around 1600, but commercial expansion had to wait for extensive settlement in the sugar and tobacco colonies. In a comprehensive discussion of trade and finance, Nash revisits the commission system, which he claims came to account for around eighty percent of British Atlantic trade. British merchants who remained outside this system as independent entrepreneurs dealt in tobacco produced by middling and lesser planters or Carolina rice, or were active in the transatlantic slave trade. Contrary to the Dutch and the British, cash crop production in the New World for a long time had no priority for the Spanish, focused as they were on harvesting precious metals. Although she makes too much of the Dutch role in paving the way for the sugar revolution in the non-Hispanic Caribbean, Laura Náter convincingly argues that Spanish officials deliberately avoided competition in sugar with English and French colonies, inasmuch as easy access to capital, high productivity, and low prices put their rivals at a considerable advantage. Spain's Caribbean crop par excellence was Cuban tobacco, which became popular early on among foreign customers. Náter contends that the blossoming of Cuba's tobacco production provided the basis for the island's sugar expansion in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as it created an infrastructure and brought in capital and manpower.

While the caliber of Cuban tobacco was never in dispute, planters of other crops struggled to produce a high-quality product. S. Max Edelson reveals how indigo in South Carolina failed to match the expectations of its growers. Environmental factors hindered its reputation, but perhaps even more important was the established taste for indigo from Guatemala and St. Domingue, with which the Carolinian variety had to compete in the London market. In his original contribution, David Hancock reconstructs how Madeira wine became an important consumer item in the Atlantic world and beyond. Its quality was the outcome of "epistolary conversations among growers, the distributors' agents, wholesalers and retailers around the Atlantic, and consumers in America, Britain, and the East" (p. 32). As a result of this correspondence, several innovations were introduced, including the fortification of wines with brandy and the increase in the number of grape varieties from four to twenty-four. Carolina rice, by contrast, did not have many gradations. Nash explains that this meant that, compared to growers of sugar or tobacco, "rice planters had few opportunities to earn premium prices for higher grades by consigning their rice for sale in British markets" (p. 109). Consequently, the commission system played a minor role in South Carolina's rice business.

In a model study of Atlantic history, Robert DuPlessis looks at the market in textiles, the single most important consumable sent to the colonies. Comparing consumption in four North American cities—Montreal, New Orleans, Charleston, and Philadelphia—between the late seventeenth century and the 1760s-1770s, DuPlessis shows that T. H. Breen's thesis about the growing standardization of colonial consumer goods can be extended across the border of British North America. By the end of the colonial regime, all four areas displayed a remarkable resemblance of three major kinds of fabrics: linens, cottons, and woolens. At the same time, variations occurred according to region, status, wealth, and gender. More specifically, distinctive textile markets developed in the eighteenth century for whites, blacks, and Indians.

Apart from trade within the imperial framework, this volume devotes much attention to inter-imperial (or, as one author calls it, "supranational") commerce. While the often illegal transactions between subjects of different empires may have become more conspicuous with the growth in scale of Atlantic trade generally, inter-imperial trade existed from the outset, as various authors report. Náter notes, for example, that tobacco smuggling became such a problem in early seventeenth-century Spanish America that the authorities banned its cultivation for several years in Santo Domingo, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Margarita, Cumaná, and Nueva Andalucía. Kenneth Banks privileges one type of smuggling, suggesting that the illegal introduction of African slaves to Martinique provided the foundation for all other contraband trade. (The observation could also be applied to other parts of the New World, where all kinds of contraband goods were introduced under the cloak of the slave trade. Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, for one, documents this in his essay.) Banks also argues that French officials in Martinique "used their positions to foster an elaborate contraband economy," as they exchanged metropolitan protection for colonial contacts and support. Martinique thus resembled, once again, numerous other American ports and colonies, where, as Zacarías Moutoukias has written in a study of Buenos Aires, metropolitan officials were coopted into informal personal networks that were the source of political influence.

Coclanis rightly points out that an exclusive focus on the Atlantic basin is at times too narrow. Similarly, as he argues, it would be stretching the truth to claim that transatlantic ties had a profound impact on all aspects of all circum-Atlantic societies at all times. However, the essays in this collection show that Atlantic history can offer fresh perspectives, enriching our knowledge of the past without sweeping other approaches under the carpet.

Wim Klooster
Clark University

Douglas B. Chambers. *Murder at Montpelier: Igbo Africans in Virginia*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2005. Pp. x, 325. $45.00.

On August 24, 1732, after a month-long illness, Ambrose Madison died at Mount Pleasant, his plantation seat in Virginia's piedmont backcountry. Within a week three African slaves were accused of poisoning him. Two of them, a woman named Dido and a man named Turk, belonged to Madison; the third, a man named Pompey, belonged to a fellow planter nearby. On Sep-

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tember 6, a jury of Madison's peers heard the evidence, found the defendants guilty, and sentenced Pompey to execution and Turk and Dido to twenty-nine lashes each. In Douglas B. Chambers's transatlantic analysis, these Africans were part of the "charter generation" of what came to be called Montpelier, home of Ambrose's grandson, President James Madison, and the murder was its "charter event." The book's title suggests a sensationalism—and a narrative—that Chambers cannot deliver, due to the exceedingly fragmentary sources about the event and about that first generation of Madison slaves.

To the book's benefit, Chambers instead deploys Ambrose Madison's death as a starting point for an interdisciplinary inquiry into Igbo culture in Africa, its transplantation to piedmont Virginia, and the process of historical creolization. Slaves exported to Virginia in the first half of the eighteenth century came predominantly from villages in the central and northern regions of Eboan Africa. Four developments, all conducive to slaving and destructive to Nri ("first Igbo") civilization, shaped their history around 1700: drought, encroachment by Aro warlords into Igbo hinterlands, the rise of the coastal entrepôt of Bonny, and the link Bristol merchants provided between the Bight of Biafra and the planters of Virginia. Igbos' shared experience included yam agriculture, the relationship of foodways to *òmenáni* (custom), a built environment of structures and villages, and material culture. Because hinterland Igbos had little contact with Europeans into the early eighteenth century, their culture—including *juju*, the investment of spiritual power in lesser deities and in objects, oaths, and medicines (or poison)—could be transported largely undiluted by European influence. Because Igbos from one region so predominated in piedmont Virginia, the diaspora there looked "more like loosely constituted groups than crowds of cultural strangers" (p. 189). Poisoning Ambrose Madison, Chambers contends, reveals his slaves as Atlantic Africans.

Here Chambers's story crosses the Atlantic. Several years before moving his own family to Mount Pleasant in March or April 1732, Ambrose Madison sent Africans and an overseer ahead to clear land, erect structures, and secure his own title through the improvements. Five months later he was dead, but a neighborhood of slaves grew. His son, the elder James Madison, built Montpelier into a tobacco plantation with three separate slave quarters among which he rotated slaves, perhaps to prevent plotting. The Madison slave community survived four generations after the "charter" Africans. The "creolizing" generation (1740s–1760s) increased naturally and through importation, with non-Igbo arrivals joining a society whose contours were limned by Igbo culture. The first creole generation (1770s–*ca.* 1800) witnessed agricultural and economic diversification as grain production began to eclipse tobacco. The elder Madison's death in 1801 began the "worriment" period, in which heirs squabbled and sued and slaves must have worried about dispersal. Finally, the 1836 death of ex-president James Madison, Jr. produced "ruination," the breaking up and sale of the Montpelier property and community.

This community's longevity raises a question for Chambers: in what ways did later generations remember their charter predecessors and the "charter event," Ambrose Madison's murder? Chambers's remarkable census of Madison family slaves, presented in an appendix, reveals the persistence of given names across a century. Chambers argues that repeated names served as *lieux de memoire*, repositories of larger collective history. Whether and how those memories included Ambrose Madison's murder, like whether and how that event influenced his grandson's views of slavery and of African Americans, can be the subject only of speculation. Tracing particular memories across time becomes nearly impossible when the evidence is as distantly proximate as naming patterns—and when white people never committed to paper their own reflections on an event they probably preferred to bury.

The organization of this book bears witness to the difficulty of integrating an Africanist perspective and a specific narrative of Anglo and Afro-Virginian lives. In a final chapter, Chambers shows how Igbo practices translated into piedmont Afro-Virginian material culture, built environments, and kinship networks. This material, although not specific to Montpelier, might have better informed the discussion of the Madisons' plantation if it had been placed earlier in the book. Chambers has drawn upon an impressive range of scholarship in anthropology, archaeology, and demography, as well as county legal records in Virginia and contemporary and later travelers' accounts of Igbo culture. His challenge to future scholars, "to recover the historical presence of particular groups of Africans in North America," is well founded (p. 192). So is his challenge to those who interpret sites like Montpelier: to incorporate African histories into the stories they tell about the past.

Scott E. Casper
University of Nevada, Reno

Jon F. Sensbach. *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. 302. $22.95.

In this noteworthy book, Jon F. Sensbach combines impressive archival skills with sophisticated analyses of textual and visual evidence to reconstruct the story of a hitherto rather obscure individual of African descent, much of whose life was spent in one of the smallest and least economically and politically significant European colonies in the West Indies. In so doing, he convincingly demonstrates that the biography of this little-known woman, whose own life was apparently so different from the lives of the overwhelming majority of her contemporaries of African descent, was nonetheless paradoxically emblematic of theirs and their descendants.

The woman who died on the Gold Coast of Africa in

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1780 as Rebecca Protten had been born of African European heritage around 1718 in the British colony of Antigua. Kidnapped at about the age of seven, she was brought to the Danish colony of St. Thomas and sold as Shelly to the prominent planter Lucas van Beverhout. The little girl quickly displayed a remarkable degree of agency and independence. Desiring to become a full member of the Christian community, sometime during her early adolescence she sought out a Roman Catholic priest, who baptised her as Rebecca. Around the same time, for reasons unknown, her late first master's son and heir, Adrian, freed her.

Rebecca found her calling when the German missionary Friedrich Martin arrived on St. Thomas in 1736. He was a member of the evangelical Protestant Moravian Church, whose German patron was Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf. The appeal the Moravian faith had for people of African descent, enslaved as well as free, women as well as men, was obvious. Like most Christians in the eighteenth century, Moravians saw no contradiction between Christianity and slavery. But their doctrinal belief in the primacy of the Bible, and their evangelical belief in the spiritual, albeit not social, equality of all true Christians were manifested in their promotion of literacy, the active missionary role of women in the church, and the amelioration of conditions for the enslaved. Establishing the first all-black church as well as the earliest racially integrated congregations in the Americas, the Moravian Brethren were the leading edge of the Protestant conversion of people of African descent in the British colonies. The Moravians also practiced what they preached: in 1738 Rebecca was married by Martin to another German missionary, Matthäus Freundlich, and commenced her career as an itinerant exhorter on the island.

Disturbed by the possible social implications of Moravian doctrine and practices, the local planters had Martin, Rebecca, and her husband arrested on the pretext that the Freundlichs' marriage was invalid. Only the fortuitous arrival and intervention of Zinzendorf saved them from heavy fines and imprisonment and prevented the re-enslavement of Rebecca. Unfortunately, part of the price paid for their liberation was Zinzendorf's public commitment of the Moravians to the alleged Biblical justification of slavery. No doubt exhausted by their recent ordeal, the Freundlichs, along with some other Moravians, decided to take their mission to Germany in 1742, where Matthäus died almost immediately, leaving Rebecca a widow with their two-year-old daughter. The little girl lived only another two years.

Three years after she reached Germany, Rebecca met Christian Jacob Protten, who became her second husband in 1746. Their union produced her second daughter, who also survived for only four years. Protten was the thirty-one-year-old African-born son of an African woman and her European husband, a Danish seaman stationed at Fort Christiansborg on the Gold Coast. Educated in Denmark, Christian Protten, too, was a member of the Moravian Brethren and, like Rebecca, a multilingual evangelical missionary. Following their marriage, while they were still in Germany, Rebecca became one of the first women of African descent ordained in Western Christianity, gaining possibly unprecedented spiritual authority over European women.

Unlike his wife, Christian Protten seemed uncomfortable in his own cultural skin; embracing Christianity never enabled him completely to bridge the division between his African and European identities. His reputation for pride and alcoholism may have been what prompted Zinzendorf to expel the Prottens from the Moravian community in 1756. Nine years later they went to Africa to open a school at Christiansborg, where Christian died in 1769. After rejecting an offer to be carried back to the West Indies on a slave ship, Rebecca died on the continent of her ancestors in 1780.

Sensbach's main source of information about Rebecca's life is the account found in Moravian historian Christian Georg Andreas Oldendorp's *History of the Mission of the Evangelical Brethren on the Caribbean Islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John*, published in an unauthorized version in German in 1777. But Sensbach greatly elaborates this account by mining relevant American, Danish, German, and West Indian archives to fill in many of the missing pieces of Rebecca's biography. Methodologically the book is a tour de force, a model of judicious reconstruction of a life from fragmentary manuscript, print, and visual evidence. Extremely well written, the book belies the labor that went into it. Sensbach contextualizes Rebecca's life to reveal the complexity of issues of slavery, religion, and identity in the transatlantic eighteenth-century world. Refusing to oversimplify the certainty of the evidence or its implications, Sensbach's frequent use of words like "may," "might," "if," and "perhaps" reflects not the weakness of indecision but rather the strength of a historian who can discriminate the known from the unknown, and more importantly the possible from the probable.

VINCENT CARRETTA
University of Maryland

VINCENT CARRETTA. *Equiano the African: Biography of a Self-Made Man*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 436. $29.95.

Often when my students read *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African* (1789), their first response is a flash of recognition. Since 1969, when Dawsons of Pall Mall (London) published a facsimile edition with an introduction by Paul Edwards, Equiano's memoir has become the iconic slave narrative. Republished in numerous scholarly and popular editions and included in a wide array of literary anthologies, it has served as source material for historians, educators, and producers of popular culture in almost every medium. Recent interest in the transnational paradigm and its application to the histories of Atlantic peoples of color, spurred by Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (1993) and by Ira Berlin's conception of

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"Atlantic Creoles" as the founding generation of African-descended people, laid out in "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Societies in Mainland North America" (*William and Mary Quarterly* [1996]) and in *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (1998), has also focused new attention on Equiano, the quintessential Atlantic creole. Equiano's memoir is a rich source of first-hand testimony on matters ranging from the nature of family life, culture, and slavery in Africa to the horrors of the Middle Passage and eighteenth-century black cosmopolitanism.

Or not. In 1999, Vincent Carretta provoked a listserve firestorm when he reported in *Slavery and Abolition* that, while researching his introductory essay for a new Penguin edition of the memoir, he had located evidence suggesting that Equiano was American-born, not African. He theorized that Equiano's vivid descriptions of his childhood in Africa, his initial enslavement, and his horrifying voyage to the West Indies may have been invented to support the cause of antislavery, although the rest of his life story was largely supported by the historical record. In the full-length biography under review here, Carretta carefully pieces together a richly contextualized account of Equiano's life that makes extensive use of Equiano's narrative voice and draws heavily from the memoir itself as well as from Equiano's other published and unpublished writings and from a wealth of documentary sources. It is a heroic task that for the most part yields a satisfying result.

Carretta shies away from stating flatly that Equiano fabricated his early years, insisting that "reasonable doubt is not the same as conviction" although "[t]he burden of proof . . . is now on those who believe that the *Interesting Narrative* is a historically accurate piece of nonfiction" (p. xv). This seems like an effort to have it both ways, which is evident in his decision to treat Equiano's account of Africa and the Middle Passage "as if it were true" (p. xvi) in his first two chapters. Thus, in "Equiano's Africa," Carretta describes Africa and what was known about it in the eighteenth century as context for the experiences of "the child Equiano shows us" (p. 10), not the historical Equiano; similarly, "The Middle Passage" contextualizes the experience of "Equiano and his sister [who] were about to become victims of the largest forced migration in history" (p. 18)—in the *Interesting Narrative*, of course, not in Equiano's actual past. By substituting the created for the historical Equiano as the biographical subject in these chapters, Carretta seems to betray one of his central arguments: that an American-born Equiano who invented and marketed himself as an African is at least as compelling a figure as an African-born one.

In the rest of the book, Carretta tracks and documents the historical Equiano through his world travels as a seaman, through his rise from slave to the wealthiest African in London, through his conversions to evangelical Christianity and antislavery, and through an astonishing range of encounters with merchants, aristocrats, philanthropists, and reformers. Along the way, Carretta offers a wealth of contextual information on almost every aspect of eighteenth century transatlantic commerce and culture—sometimes too much at too basic a level, although students and general readers will find it useful.

This book will do little to mollify those who are deeply invested in the historical accuracy of Equiano's first-hand account of Africa and the Middle Passage. Carretta suggests that some of Equiano's information may have come from close association with Africans, and his account may reflect their perspective so faithfully that it can still be regarded as authoritative. He argues that "every autobiography is an act of re-creation," the details selectively arranged "to represent an integrated, essential *self* abstracted from the disparate and sometimes conflicting particular details" (p. xviii). In a slightly different sense, the same is true of biography. Carretta has painstakingly recreated an extraordinary, self-made Atlantic creole in the context of his narrative and his larger eighteenth-century world.

JOANNE POPE MELISH
University of Kentucky

PAMELA SCULLY and DIANA PATON, editors. *Gender and Slave Emancipation in the Atlantic World*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. vi, 376. Cloth $84.95, paper $23.95.

In this thought-provoking collection of essays, the contributors explore several interconnected questions about former slave societies of the Western Hemisphere as well as those in West and South Africa. The first question, broadly put, is what did freedom mean to those who had long been denied it? Second, how did the ex-slaves' definitions of being free differ from those expressed in elite discourses? The contributors underscore how concerns about ideal gender roles strongly shaped the actions of both the emancipated and the emancipators as each group strived to mold new relationships with the other.

As slavery was an institution rooted in the exploitation of labor, the first freedom asserted by ex-slaves was to leave the employ of their masters and to seek work elsewhere or under a substantially improved contract. (Essays by Ileana Rodríguez-Silva on Puerto Rico and Bridget Brereton on the British Caribbean clearly outline such efforts.) An important attendant liberty entailed creating new personal ties of family or reconstructing older ties that had been broken by forced removal to an owner's work site. Throughout the Atlantic world, former slaves asserted the right to marry whom they pleased, or (as in the case of West Africa) the right to divorce partners acquired as a slave. (Pamela Scully on South Africa, Martin Klein and Richard Roberts on West Africa, and Marek Steedman on Louisiana address the contested nature of these asserted liberties.)

The quest for the respect and security of newly private lives, new economic resources (land or wages), and new communities both intersected and clashed with

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dominant gender norms that privileged men over women and relegated emancipated women to a dependence on husbands and fathers rather than on slave owners. (Michael Zeuske's essay illuminates the unequal access to land for ex-slave women in Cuba.) To a certain extent, the gender ideals of former male slaves converged with those of certain sectors of white elites, particularly those of abolitionists and missionaries who sought a post emancipation world in which freed men attained new masculine entitlements. (Mimi Shellar analyzes how Jamaican freedmen forged ideas of Christian citizenship.) Former masters, however, did not accept assertions of equality among men of different color, and (so as to demonstrate) continued to resist constraints on their sexual access to non-white women (Steedman and Hannah Rosen on the United States South and Martha Abreu on Brazil speak to the persistence of planter ideology as it relates to sex, racial miscegenation, and marriage in the post-emancipation years.) Ex-slave men endorsed only those gender norms of elite white men that superseded the social and political oppression of their slavery days.

Likewise, former slave women did not, as Brereton put it for the Caribbean region, "buy the package" of nineteenth-century gender ideology (p. 157). In Jamaica they did not wholeheartedly embrace Christian marriage, or confinement to domesticity, or economic dependence on a husband. While more well-to-do women of color in Barbados and St. Vincent did tend to embrace more of the cult of domesticity, they did not blindly mirror metropolitan formulations of proper female behavior but rather used their embrace of such norms to forward their own locally defined goals. Non-elite women, along with men, claimed the streets for displays of conformity and rejection of European behavioral norms. (Melanie Newton and Sheena Boa both explore the distinct goals of elite women of color in these two colonies through their participation in charitable societies.)

Intriguingly, the essays in this volume also repeatedly note how the post-emancipation world, and the struggle to get to that world, reshuffled the boundaries of public and private space. Women abolitionists, both in the United States and in Brazil, entered into the public sphere themselves in order to circumscribe the private authority of masters. (Roger Kittleson examines women abolitionists in Brazil and Carol Faulkner those in the United States.) At least in some locations, one important result of the emancipation process was a (temporarily) greater role for the state in regulating relations between employers and employees (Steedman articulates this point for Reconstruction Louisiana) and for codifying the separate spheres of men and women citizens (Sue Peabody suggests this occurred in postrepublican francophone autocracies).

This collection of essays is valuable for its discussions of divergent gender ideals among men and women slaves, elites and non-elites, planters, abolitionists, and missionaries. It is most important for its descriptions of the efforts of former slaves to contest and define what it meant to be free and male, versus free and female, in the aftermath of emancipation. The essays' more limited allusions to the expanded role of the state in prescribing norms for society's labor relations, race relations, and gender ideals suggest the need for continued research on public versus private spheres in the post-emancipation societies of the Atlantic World.

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DANIEL E. WALKER. *No More, No More: Slavery and Cultural Resistance in Havana and New Orleans.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 188. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

This engaging monograph by Daniel E. Walker makes an important contribution to comparative slave studies. The field has a long and contentious history going back to the travel writers of the nineteenth century and includes scholarly voices such as those of pioneering North American scholar Frank Tannenbaum. Students of comparative history are well aware of the challenges and pitfalls of contrasting the dynamics of two distinct societies with different political, economic, and social systems. Walker wisely utilizes a variety of traditional and nonconventional sources available to scholars of the African diaspora to supplement his archival research in Cuba and the United States. He also uses two institutionalized public festivals as a springboard into a wider discussion about cultural resistance of enslaved Africans and their progeny.

Slavery relied on physical and psychological control to subjugate peoples of African descent across the Americas, yet the enslaved found ways to assert their cultural identities and to resist the processes that sought to rob them of their dignity. Walker convincingly shows that while participating in the sanctioned festivities and performances of the annual Día de los Reyes (Three Kings' Day) festival in Havana and in the weekly activities that took place at New Orleans's Congo Square, people of African descent often contested racial oppression and celebrated their cultural heritage in spite of the restrictions that governed their lives.

On January 6, El Día de los Reyes (still an important Catholic holiday), enslaved and free people of color joined a procession through the streets of Havana and performed, celebrated, and often "acted out" positive views of blackness, including black sexuality. Likewise, on Sundays in New Orleans, people of African descent descended upon Congo Square to engage in a number of social and cultural activities including drumming, song, and dance, all of which provided a positive, cohesive source of energy for people of African descent.

Walker's sources and narrative are richer on Havana than on New Orleans, but he nonetheless presents a credible reconstruction of activities in both geographical locations. Walker's narrative foregrounds the theories and practices of the relationship of peoples to social spaces in general and of people of African descent

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to public spaces at a time in which their movements were severely restricted. Walker's work gives further credence to what Sidney Mintz and Richard Price have characterized as the syncretic nature of African American cultures.

Whereas Latin American scholars usually discuss syncretism and cultural intermingling (*mestizaje*) in terms of Europeans and subjugated groups such as Africans and indigenous peoples, Walker reminds us that syncretism and *mestizaje* took place among different African ethnic groups as well. In Havana and New Orleans, American forms and practices in religion, dance, and music showed continuity with African forms, but at the same time the interactions among peoples of African descent engendered new African American ways of dealing with the slave environment. Walker highlights specific elements inherent to the social control and what he calls the "counterstatements" of enslaved Africans and people of African descent in Havana and New Orleans. He shows how the black family, black masculinity, and black sexuality remained intact in the face of negative pressures. While resistance was an important part of syncretism, however, Walker downplays the fact that then and now many subjugated peoples accommodate or even wholeheartedly adopt religious and cultural views or trends and come to honor the new traditions.

The author is clear from the beginning that his comparative analysis and the focus on the particular nuances of slavery in both cities will be central to his narrative. While he effectively situates his two "micro studies" in a broader theoretical analysis of space, blackness, and negotiating racial hierarchies, readers would benefit from a broader discussion of the trends in Cuban and Louisiana history in the early and middle eighteenth century. The similarities and differences between the two cities in the aftermath of the Haitian Revolution, the evolution of the complex racial hierarchies in light of the shifting fortunes of the Spanish Empire and the French-American negotiations, and the tensions between blackness and the emerging sense of Cubanness and Americanness could provide additional contexts for understanding cultural resistance.

Finally, Walker's comparative discussion of pan-Africanism raises important issues for students of race, particularly on the meaning of solidarity for subjugated peoples of various ethnic backgrounds. His evidence of pan-Africanism in Cuba and its absence in New Orleans should be taken as a point of departure, however, and not an absolute since some Afro-Cubans clearly sided with the elite and even owned slaves. On the New Orleans side, one might argue that the scant urban sources may not necessarily reflect or reveal the varied responses from resistance to accommodation.

Although many historians will require more background and details on the broader political and social issues of the nineteenth-century Caribbean, Walker's book provides a compelling cross-cultural narrative that tackles a number of important questions for students of race relations in general and comparative slave societies in particular.

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Enrico Dal Lago. *Agrarian Elites: American Slaveholders and Southern Italian Landowners, 1815–1861*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 372. $62.95.

Enrico Dal Lago's book is an exemplary model of lucid comparative history. He has read widely in two fields: the American South that formed its own new country in 1861, and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies that was incorporated into the Kingdom of Italy the same year. Hence two styles of nationalism passed in the night; the Risorgimento in Italy finished the Bourbon state, and war and reconstruction soon ended the other. Dal Lago's nuanced study will appeal to readers in these and other fields.

Dal Lago required a sensible basis for this comparative study, and he found the agrarian elites. Slavery and racism, largely absent in the standard history of southern Italy (the Mezzogiorno), did not provide a common theme and possibly made laboring people—Italian peasants and American slaves—simply incomparable. Hence this study treats the two regions from the point of view of their reforming elites, who practiced distinctive styles of patriarchy and paternalism. Common impulses among Bourbon planters and nobles yielded many valuable insights, sustained by Dal Lago's archival research in Naples and Charleston, among other places. Contemporary letters illuminate the hopes and attitudes of powerful families like the Allstons, Bruces, Balls, and the Pignatelli, Lanza, and Savarese. Articulate and literate members of these elites left many records to exploit. To the extent that they were modernizers and agricultural reformers, they helped to shape the new nineteenth-century economies of regions where cotton, and wine, citrus, and sulfur emerged to enrich those who understood their possibilities. Anyone interested in elites will find this study teeming with fresh insights on how they replenish and inspire their ranks.

Beside the big story of elites and regions, smaller projects also bear fruit. Possibly the most compelling case study concerns South Carolina and Sicily, places with old elites and landowning traditions partly transferred by landowners knowledgeable about Barbados and Spain. Urban comparisons like Charleston and Palermo prove to be more than clever juxtapositions, although Dal Lago might have looked more deeply into the promising Bari-Natchez story of two peripheral, frontier societies far from the center. On the level of notable personalities the author is appropriately cautious about the comparative method that seems better suited to big families than individuals. Still, the ideas of Henry Clay and Giuseppe Mazzini influenced both regions, and these outsiders, to varying degrees, paved the way for the more successful Giuseppe Garibaldi and

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John C. Calhoun. This book does not address the intriguing question of how much elites knew about their contemporaries across the sea. Stirring events in the Mezzogiorno, like the revolts in 1820 and most famously in 1848, nearly undid the Neapolitan monarchy and produced a crop of elite exiles. Parallel crises concerning the American South in 1820 and 1850 provide useful points of comparison. Fighting in Palermo in 1849 or Kansas in the late 1850s needs to be explained, and agrarian elites are not the entire story. Dal Lago's book places in context the contemporaneous crises of 1860–1861 and the pivotal roles of elites in both Souths are mutually enlightening.

Students of nineteenth-century American and Italian history perhaps read little in common, and for both countries today it is fair to say the other's history in this period has been neglected. Dal Lago cannot assume much common ground, so he provides ample and up-to-date background for readers more versed in one field, or neither, so they can fathom the comparative points. Dal Lago's main theoretical stance stresses core and periphery arguments at every turn. Hence from the vantage of Naples or Richmond, places like rural Alabama or Calabria become peripheries, just as the entire regions have periphery issues with richer, industrialized Norths. An important theme of this book stresses better ways to conceive of North-South debates in both countries in order to move beyond outdated stereotypes and modes of inquiry.

Dal Lago makes clear that he is not privileging the entrepreneurial elites and their middle-class camp followers over millions of slaves and peasants in the Mezzogiorno and the South. Antonio Gramsci's views on hegemony have provided scholars on both sides of the Atlantic with a useful tool for exploring cultural ties and dependencies among classes slave and free. For working people the comparisons work less well because even the most proverbially downtrodden Sicilian peasant was personally free and could run away more easily from a repressive agrarian regime than an American slave could escape bondage. Big themes like religion, railroads, and literacy rates receive less attention than they may warrant. Still, Dal Lago has laid excellent foundations for more comparative work on these peoples, and his astute epilogue looks forward to post-Risorgimento and Reconstruction problems. The great migrations of those descended from American slaves and Italian peasants will be lucky indeed if they find an historian of Dal Lago's abilities to tell their comparative stories.

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Julie Cruikshank. *Do Glaciers Listen? Local Knowledge, Colonial Encounters, and Social Imagination*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 312. $85.00.

Julie Cruikshank's book is a fascinating example of what I would call "ecological epistemology": the analysis of human ways of knowing in relation to natural shapes. Her study follows in a line of books on interpenetrations between mental dispositions and natural surroundings that includes Marjorie Hope Nicolson's *Mountain Gloom, Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite* (1959), Gaston Bachelard's *The Psychoanalysis of Fire* (1964), Philip Kuberski's *Persistence of Memory: Organism, Myth, Text* (1992), and my own *Spiritual History of Ice: Romanticism, Science, and the Imagination* (2003). Cruikshank adds to this tradition by meditating richly and convincingly on glaciers and their "intangible connections to recent human history" (p. 3).

Cruikshank focuses on human interpretations of the ice fields along the Saint Elias Mountain divide, a frozen mountain range on the northwest boundary of Canada and the United States. She is mainly interested in interactions between Aboriginal oral traditions and European colonial accounts. She finds that these two cultures often clashed in their respective readings of glaciers. Tribes speaking the Athapaskan and Tlingit languages tended to personify glaciers, to attribute to the moving ice the ability to listen and to see. In contrast, European colonizers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were prone to treat the glaciers as inanimate objects to be studied and possessed.

These oral traditions clashing with European readings are, as Cruikshank argues, rarely simple and static. She believes, for instance, that the local knowledge of traditional tribes is in a constant state of evolution, persistently altering in the face of changing natural processes and social practices. She maintains that these complex connections between glaciers and indigenous tribes reveal deep structures in the history of encounters between nature and humans and thus shed light on current debates concerning the preservation of the wild. Cruikshank's demonstration of how local knowledge is not static but vital is an important corrective to much recent work that views local knowledge as a fixed, unified body of information. Similarly admirable is her effort to illuminate contemporary debates with her meditations on earlier encounters.

In exploring connections between local knowledge and colonial encounter, Cruikshank makes four interrelated arguments. One, she claims that the end of the "Little Ice Age" (a period of uncharacteristic coldness running from 1550 to 1850) coincided with colonial missions to the icy fields of northwest North America. Two, she argues that those trying to negotiate this coincidence of natural upheaval and social disruption reached radically different interpretations: the European colonialists read glaciers as wild, nonhuman powers while Aboriginal tribes saw the glaciers as familiar, human spaces. Three, these clashes between Aboriginal oral histories and colonial historical records are important for understanding current debates concerning the relationships between humans and their environments. Four, these themes all together reveal the ways in which landscapes can become markers of human history, of

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"memory, stability, and change in human affairs" (p. 11).

Cruikshank organizes her study into three overlapping sections. In her first section, she studies the ways that Aboriginal oral traditions contribute to debates concerning local knowledge. She discusses Aboriginal memories of the "Little Ice Age," oral traditions concerned with modernity, and narratives devoted specifically to glaciers in order to demonstrate the complexity and vibrancy of local knowledge. The second section studies how the literatures of colonial science and exploration interpret the glaciers. In analyzing the records of three European explorers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Cruikshank explores the ways in which strangers left their enduring traces on northwestern glaciers. She is keen on revealing the nature of exploration in general and its sometimes detrimental impact on local knowledge. In her third section, Cruikshank discusses the clash between national boundaries and the more traditional regions of indigenous populations. She specifically considers how mapping in relation to the making of national boundaries disrupted the lives of Aboriginal peoples in northwest North America. She also describes ongoing debates concerning ownership of the land and the melting of the glaciers.

Cruikshank's book is sophisticated, rigorous, and exciting. Its pages brim with nuanced takes on epistemology, sensitive descriptions of ice, and rigorous analyses of cultural interactions. This is indeed a tour de force in interdisciplinary studies. It will inform historians, naturalists, ecologists, and literary scholars. Readers in all of these fields will probably feel at the end of the book as I did: that listening to what the glaciers have heard will likely reveal to us our own secret assumptions concerning nature and teach us to interpret anew both "past and present" (p. 259).

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FELIX DRIVER and LUCIANA MARTINS, editors. *Tropical Visions in an Age of Empire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 279. $25.00.

This collection, edited by Felix Driver and Luciana Martins, explores the tropics as it has figured in the post-Enlightenment European imagination. An exemplarily interdisciplinary volume, the book incorporates historical, literary critical, geographical, scientific, philosophical, and art historical perspectives to compose a thick description of tropical histories and fantasies and their imbrication in European representation. The editors draw attention to two streams within European tropical exploration: a group of enthusiasts who accumulated marvelous, if often unsynthesized, collections and observations; and visionaries, of whom the main exemplar here is Alexander von Humboldt, whose encounters with the tropics shifted the emphases and paradigms of European thought. Similarly, the collection itself combines exotic oddities—essays richer in detail than theory—with thought-provoking research that demonstrates as well as argues how the tropical encounter instantiated and revised binary modes of thinking about the globe.

Humboldt looms large. Michael Dettelbach's engaging essay tackles his influence most directly, focusing on Humboldt's robust capacity to subject his body to environment in the interest of scientific discovery. While such experiments began during his descents into Prussian mines, they were incorporated into a version of scientific authority, a philosophy of travel, and an aesthetic of praxis in relation to his travels in the American tropics. Yet the question Humboldt implicitly poses—"How does being in the tropics affect one's knowledge of it?" (p. 11)—and that still resonates, unanswered, in Denis Cosgrove's concluding allusion to "the always anxious, unnerving, and muddied intersection between what is there in the world immediately present to the sensing and social body—and how it can be known consciously and represented honestly" (p. 216) is broached more often through the singular example than attention to broader epistemologies. A counterpoint to the Humboldtian model is represented by D. Graham Burnett's delightful essay on Matthew Fontaine Maury's oceanic charts, which avoids the potential of some of the projects of historical retrieval collected here simply to marvel at the arcane. Locating Maury first in a footnote in Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* (1851), Burnett sketches a contentious figure whose charts, created in the archive rather than at sea, enabled whales to be located, sea passages to be reduced, and even unexplored territory to be mapped speculatively from the armchair.

Most of the essays, in different and interesting ways, bear in mind the editors' observation that tropicality is always a relational term. Peter Hulme makes insightful connections between the figuration of Tahiti and Dominica in the tropical imaginary. Commensurate reflection on what is arbitrary as well as significant about this affiliation would have added to Hulme's subtle account of the capacity of discourse to reduce difference to stereotype. Rod Edmond's elegant essay on tropical disease stands out for its ability to keep relations between the "torrid zone" and metropolis in play. Carefully tracing the real and imagined incursions of tropical disease, in particular leprosy, on metropolitan cities, scientific theories, and literatures, Edmond manages neither to figure the tropics as a simple space of colonial projection nor assume that the facts of disease can be disentangled from the fears and prejudices that helped to forge them. David Arnold's study of Joseph Hooker's *Himalayan Journals* (1854) and Claudio Greppi's discussion of the role of traveling artists in European voyaging both figure the construction of tropicality as a dialectical relationship between observation, literary or artistic production, and its recirculation in the context of new voyagings. Leonard Bell's study of Samoan colonial photography recovers an intriguing and highly memorable set of views of Samoa to counter the postcolonial commonplace of a colonizing European gaze.

The volume is divided into three sections: "Voyages,"

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"Mappings," and "Sites," whose thematic emphases incorporate a discreet chronological structure, beginning in the second half of the eighteenth century and moving to the early twentieth century. This foregrounding of place over history contributes to the book's strength. Eschewing comprehensive description, the collection seizes instead on exemplary scenes and genres of topicality, to create a cabinet of suggestive curiosities. However, this also leads at times to a surprisingly unquestioning reiteration of some of the very discourses of tropicality that are here placed under critique. Certain of the essays seem to assert rather than demonstrate the relevance of tropical vision in order to unearth oddly fascinating characters whose tropical experiences seem symptomatic rather than self-reflective: exotic specimens, whose heads have been turned by the tropical sun. The sense of tropicality as a European discourse rather than an observable phenomenon gets lost in these instances. Yet ultimately the collection offers more than rigid discourse analysis: it is an astute but respectfully tentative assay on the ideas and objects and feelings the tropics sent back to Europe in the period of empire.

VANESSA SMITH
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ROBERT W. RYDELL and ROB KROES. *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869–1922.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 209. $26.00.

The globalizing force of American culture is far from an untreated historical theme, and scholars will find much that is familiar in this fast-paced, succinctly presented dash through more than half a century of transatlantic experience. They will also find much that is new. Robert W. Rydell and Rob Kroes are well-known cultural historians: together they examine the engorging thrust of American technologies, commodities, entertainments, celebrities, and even some art forms between 1869 and 1922.

This book actually has several stories to tell. First, the conquest of traditional American tastes and hierarchies by mass cultural methods and products in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Second, their exportation to a European public alternately repelled and fascinated by American life. And third, the continuing debate among intellectuals on both sides of the ocean about the significance and impact of this transfer of power. Given the authors' special interests, international expositions and mass entertainments play a particularly large role in the narrative of dissemination. Chicago's great Columbian Exposition of 1893, the Paris Fair of 1900, and the international adventures of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show are favorite sites, but they share space with the growth of American motion pictures, the popularity of snapshots and picture postcards, the rise of the department store, the development of vaudeville, and the maturation of consumer advertising, among many others. Theoretically informed, building on (and generously referencing) dozens of relevant monographs published in recent decades, Rydell and Kroes argue that American mass culture transformed national politics and reshaped world consciousness many decades before its hegemonic power gained broad acknowledgement. Perceptive journalists, anxious statesmen, and concerned intellectuals had been alerting Europeans to the dangers of an ongoing American invasion since the mid-nineteenth century, and the last chapter highlights the changing shape of reactions, from Matthew Arnold, Max Weber, and Johann Huizinga to a set of somewhat less celebrated Dutch critics.

More than that, Rydell and Kroes insist that representations of racial hierarchy and "empire as a way of life" as well as assaults on working-class practices were fundamental to the triumph of the various entertainments whose rise they chronicle. Thus the authors argue that dime novels "functioned to advance the nationalizing and industrializing agenda of the Republican party" (p. 35), the world's fairs were "ideological constructs" intended to bolster faith in the coming corporate road map (p. 40), the American circus "outfitted audiences with an imperialist vocabulary a full decade before the 1898 Spanish American War" (p. 28), the Wild West Show served as an instrument for foreign policy objectives (p. 108), and Tin Pan Alley music songs projected "the powerful sentiments about race that permeated other aspects of American mass culture" (p. 91). The deployment of racial images and ethnic stereotypes in the interest of white supremacy and national progress, as well as devaluations of women and immigrant groups, saturated the formulas for success, the book insists, making this new mass culture an instrument for the perpetuation of reactionary, racist, and violence-laden values at home and abroad.

But Rydell and Kroes acknowledge that not all messages were efficiently received. Mass culture, they assert at the start of the book, "can never be understood as a static construct," and its "constantly shifting boundaries" reflect continuing struggles for control (p. 12). Rydell and Kroes give targeted audiences a fair degree of agency, pointing out that impresarios and distributors can never be certain that their customers will draw the anticipated lessons. At times the two authors seem in dialogue with one another, as generalizations are alternately proffered and taken back in the interests of nuanced analysis.

This rich thematic feast suffers, to be sure, by compression. The text's elegant synthesizing rarely spends more than a few pages on its many seminal figures and profound changes before pressing forward to the next example. Some areas of greater textual development—George Creel's Committee on Public information and the domestic success of *The Birth of a Nation*—seem oddly chosen; Creel's campaign, despite its immensity, did little to shape European propaganda techniques or views of America, and Griffith's film epic, however influential in the United States, does not seem to parallel the international impact of the Wild West shows, despite the considerable ideological freight it carried. In

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tackling the two dimensions of domestic and international transformation, the authors may have assumed too ambitious a task, at least for the scale of this book. In the end, the book illuminates its subject brilliantly but erratically, missing opportunities to examine more closely the two way street that so often has defined transatlantic novelties. But the lively, absorbing, and unusually insightful text wears its learning gracefully and, perhaps unexpectedly, alludes to older notions of American exceptionalism in explaining the national talent for cultural entrepreneurship.

NEIL HARRIS
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BRIAN T. EDWARDS. *Morocco Bound: Disorienting America's Maghreb, from Casablanca to the Marrakech Express*. (New Americanists.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 366. $23.95.

Brian T. Edwards applies the lessons of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) to an arena whose time has come. He scrutinizes American popular views of the Maghreb, mainly Morocco, between the Allied invasion of North Africa in 1942 and the hippie onslaught ending around 1975. His book, whose lovely title originated, appropriately enough, in a song from a Bob Hope "road" movie, critiques the insularity of Americans and also the field of American Studies, asking the reader to "rethink the role of American culture in the world and imagine alternative possibilities for an American encounter with the world" (p. 11). Because superpower status thrust on Americans the challenge to become worldly in unprecedented ways, it is fitting that this book appears in a series called "New Americanists."

In keeping with his commitment to global dialogue, Edwards spent considerable time in Morocco; he studied the local dialect of Arabic and discussed the book's content with Moroccan colleagues. It is easy to endorse his collaborative spirit and to join in lamenting what he calls the American heritage of indifference toward the political travails of Moroccans, especially those who protested against the often brutal regime of King Hassan II. Edwards reworked his manuscript after September 11, 2001, because he felt urgently the need to locate Americans and America in a new worldly paradigm.

To critique conservative and "hypernationalist" attitudes—epitomized by Henry Luce's "American Century"—Edwards looks closely at writers and artists who thought differently: Paul and Jane Bowles and William Burroughs, among others. They respectively collaborated with Moroccan writers, wrote fragmented narratives, and developed a new literary code, thus activating a "space of dialogue" with Morocco itself. Edwards also looks at deceptively liberal films like *Casablanca* (1942) and Alfred Hitchcock's *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1956). And he chronicles hippie travels, finding them a "conservative recoil from difference" that amounted to "hippie Orientalism" (pp. 22, 23). He uses what he calls a "snapshot," not a cultural history, approach. He is sketching "domestic frames of reference" rather than trying to prove that they affected "the world of foreign relations" (p. 9).

In Edwards's rendering, postwar American attitudes toward the Arab world were less precise than those of French colonialists, and Americans were more prone to use "domestic referents in order to understand foreign spaces." A major "domestic referent" during this thirty-year period, he writes, was American race relations: white Americans put Arabs and African Americans "on a different place in the evolutionary scale and understood [them] as not ready for rights and responsibilities" (p. 3). Were General George Patton and Hollywood scriptwriters really eager, in their own ways, to prevent black Americans from drawing a colonial analogy? The evidence presented here, riddled with words like "might," does not convince.

Does the concept "domestic frame of reference" slight the multiplicity of voices inside America? Most Americans here seem to belong to one class and to subscribe to one unchanging Cold War ideology. Postwar efforts to understand the rest of the world reflected U.S. history, values, and class structure, and so they varied. People like journalist Ernie Pyle initially made sense of foreign areas by invoking the familiar. More worldly Americans did not refer reassuringly, as Pyle did in an article on Arabic, to "Walgreen's." In 1959, for example, A. J. Leibling wrote enthusiastically about the fourteenth-century Maghrebi philosopher Ibn Khaldun in a *New·Yorker* article that Edwards does not cite. Meanwhile universities trained experts to assume the mantle Orientalists had worn in nineteenth-century Europe. Edwards criticizes Clifford Geertz, the doyen of Moroccan anthropologists, for domesticating Moroccan foreignness. By rendering Morocco a text that could be read intelligibly by Americans, Geertz edited out "the more challenging strains of foreignness from the native's point of view" (p. 299). Geertz and his generation are said to have "turned away" from a conversation with "the Moroccan other" (p. 301). In doing so, their fieldwork and interpretation of culture were "resonant with hippie counterculture" (p. 254).

The majority of Edwards's sources, like Geertz, are fine writers whose work is marked by precision and even humor. They worked hard to understand Morocco. Edwards's drive to theorize about America focuses on their deficiencies, although he grants them grudging compliments, as when he calls Jane Kramer "well read" and Paul Rabinow "astute." They are more than that, and they have been decontextualized from the demands of their professions. Was Ernie Pyle really anticosmopolitan, or was he reaching out to an audience that otherwise would not read him? Did journalists aim to make Tangier "abject" as a "queer African city," or were they trying to sell a story? (p. 150). Edwards acknowledges the demands of "genre" (p. 52) and "narrative purposes" (p. 41) but does not grant his authors much liberty to use whatever means allowed them to be read and understood. He, however, uses peculiar verbs to identify the significance of named actors (not all of them human), as when he writes "*Casablanca* names the pe-

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culiar collusion of U.S. cultural production and post-1941, postcolonial foreign relations" (p. 44). Geertz would not make a film "name" a "collusion," and Edwards would not refer, like Geertz, to French soldiers as having a "*Beau Geste*" air. One suspects that, rather than opening "lines of communication" (p. 25), this book offers readers a vantage point on an intergenerational, American war of words.

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PATRIZIA PALUMBO, editor. *A Place in the Sun: Africa in Italian Colonial Culture from Post-Unification to the Present*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. 332. $24.95.

African and colonial studies in Italy have traditionally been underdeveloped. There were two main reasons for this. First, Italy's Africanists were closely tied to the Italian political and colonial establishment. Second, they were largely isolated from African studies in other countries, and hence little aware of contemporary African, Anglo-Saxon, and French critiques of colonialism. The result was excessive Italian sensitivity about the country's supposed prestige. A case in point is fascist Italy's use of mustard gas during the invasion and occupation of Ethiopia (1935–1941). Evidence of the intention to utilize gas is preserved in Benito Mussolini's letters to his commander-in-chief, Pietro Badoglio, and conclusive testimony to its use is provided in eyewitness reports. However, all mention of gas is suppressed in Badoglio's memoirs, as well as in those of all other Italian commanders. Given that gas was by all accounts decisive in defeating Emperor Haile Selassie's army, the omission of any reference to it clearly distorts the entire picture of military operations in what Mussolini chose to call Italy's "civilizing mission."

What is more alarming is that, despite the fall of fascism, Italy's postwar government, reluctant to come to terms with the reality of decolonization, maintained complete secrecy about the use of gas for sixty years. It was only in 1996—largely through the insistent pressure of Angelo Del Boca, a contributor to this book—that the Italian Ministry of Defense in 1996 finally admitted the truth. Del Boca, today Italy's leading scholar of Italian colonialism, not surprisingly takes a poor view of his country's lack of transparency in matters colonial and Ethiopian. He accordingly entitles his essay: "The Myths, Suppressions, Denials and Defaults of Italian Colonialism."

Editor Patrizia Palumbo has done a good job of redressing the imbalance in many earlier Italian compilations. She has assembled over a dozen interesting essays on Italian colonialism, its history, and its characteristics. There are illuminating accounts, not only of Italian "explorers" and military and colonial officials—the stock-in-trade of many earlier works—but also of Italian settlers and physical and social anthropologists, as well as of the *nativi*, or subject peoples, among them *ascari*, or "native" troops, and *madame*, or "native" concubines.

Useful comparisons are drawn, notably by Nicola Labanca, between short-lived Italian colonialism (the only example of fascist colonialism on record if we discount that of Portugal and Spain), and that of the European democracies. Labanca, however, also raises questions germane to political and diplomatic history. He poses the intriguing question of why Mussolini chose to attack Ethiopia rather than a Mediterranean country, and why he launched his invasion in 1935. As for the choice of Ethiopia as the victim of fascist aggression Labanca argues convincingly that it was a kind of poor man's choice, Ethiopia being the only country that the Duce could safely attack without coming into conflict with one or other of the Great Powers. As for the timing of the invasion, Labanca argues that this was determined by a combination of numerous interlinking factors. These included the distancing of Italy's fascist regime from the British and Americans; Mussolini's increasing preoccupation with Nazi Germany; Italy's inability to expand its economic penetration in the Balkans; the League of Nations' failure to halt the Japanese invasion of Manchuria; the growing influence on the Duce of Italian expansionist and colonial interests; the desire of Italian army officers, threatened by the expanding influence of the Fascist Party, to find alternative fields of employment and prestige; an Italian commercial interest in boosting economic activity at a time when Italian credit banks, following the Great Depression, were in difficulty, and when Italian unemployment was rising; the Duce's fear that Italy might soon be outclassed by Nazi Germany; and Emperor Haile Selassie's modernization program, which was making his country increasingly difficult to occupy by border penetration.

Labanca argues that expansionism in Africa had little support in Italy until the actual beginning of hostilities. He believes, however, that not a few Italian commercial interests, including those of shipping, automobiles, and textiles, saw the possibility of profit in war. The Italian Royal House of Savoy also played a part through its highly publicized African tours, which introduced the colonies to the Italian public. And then, as so often happens, "once the war machine had been turned on, it was not easy for the regime to decrease its speed or reverse its direction" (p. 55).

This valuable work, which is in its way a contribution to decolonization of the Italian mind and deserves to be translated into Italian, also discusses many other interesting colonial issues. Giulia Barrera, an authority on racism and on the *madama* or "native concubinage" system in the Italian colony of Eritrea, analyzes the history of that "first-born" colony. She shows that Ethiopian Emperor Menelik's victory at the battle of Adwa in 1896 put an end to Italy's earlier attempt at the mass expropriation of "native land," and that the Italian colonial authorities were reluctant to countenance any policy which might lead to "native rebellion" followed by Ethiopian intervention. The Italians, as a result, were "far less successful than their counterparts in

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other colonies in seizing Africans' lands." Tension between colonizers and colonized was therefore "eased" and, paradoxically, because of Adwa the Italians in Eritrea had "less of a siege mentality" than those in other European colonies (p. 101).

Other essays delve into diverse aspects of the short-lived Italian colonial reality. Robin Pickering-Iazzi examines the involvement of Italian women in colony building. Palumbo investigates (largely ineffectual) fascist efforts to recruit Italian children to be little soldiers. Giorgio Bertenelli indicates that the fascist cinema shunned colonial reality by seeking to equate the regime—fantastically—with ancient Rome, while Cecilia Boggio argues that the African crowd scenes were filmed to create an element of fear. Finally, Karen Pinkus shows that postwar Italy displayed not the slightest spirit of decolonization such as had so influentially characterized postwar France.

This collection was compiled, so to speak, in the shadow of the ancient Aksum obelisk, which was looted and taken to Rome on Mussolini's personal orders in 1937: its repatriation to Ethiopia, long demanded by Ethiopian intellectuals, as well as by Italian anticolonialists and antifascists, was then after sixty years still under discussion. Restitution to Ethiopia has since been successfully effected. However, Emperor Haile Selassie's prewar, Addis Ababa-built airplane, called Tsehai after his beloved daughter, and part of Ethiopia's National Archives, including letters from the kings of Italy to the emperors of Ethiopia, have still to be returned. Whether they are will show whether present-day Italy has taken decolonization to heart.

Richard Pankhurst
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Tyler Priest. *Global Gambits: Big Steel and the U.S. Quest for Manganese*. (International History.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2005. Pp. xxvii, 332.

This book by Tyler Priest suffers from its author's ambition. For the most part, it recounts the interesting history of the manganese trade, particularly the development of Brazil's mines. Priest, however, uses the information to draw broad conclusions about international capitalism that his subject matter is too narrow to support.

The demand for manganese has always been linked to that for steel, in whose production it is a vital catalyst. Unfortunately for steelmakers, rich manganese deposits existed only in a relatively few, isolated locations. Before 1914, almost all of it came from Russian Georgia, central India, or the interior of Brazil; in the 1920s, companies also began to develop mines in Africa. Transportation has always been a vital concern for the industry, and manganese has often "piggybacked" on systems built for other commodities, like Indian cotton or Brazilian coffee. During World War I, manganese shortages threatened to curtail steel production, and the American government and U.S. Steel became concerned about supplies. With the coming of peace, Washington lost interest, but in the 1920s, U.S. Steel gained control of a large portion of Brazil's mines, which it used to keep the world market stable and prices low. If prices fell, it cut production; if they went up, it expanded output. In retrospect, this policy kept prices too low, retarding necessary investment, and the tremendous surge in demand that accompanied World War II threatened to cripple steel production. The American government avoided disaster by financing the expansion of Brazil's mines and, perhaps more important, its railroad network. After the war the shortage persisted, and Washington focused much of its development aid to Brazil and other manganese producers on increasing output and improving transportation. At the same time, it devised a stockpiling policy that stabilized manganese prices at a remunerative level. As a result, despite dire warnings to the contrary from experts, manganese output kept pace with increasing demand.

Unfortunately, Priest mixes this interesting discussion with a broader meditation on economic development, imposing on the manganese trade a burden that it cannot bear. He accepts uncritically the ideas of dependency theorists, who argue that producers of basic commodities—usually third world countries—are at a disadvantage vis-à-vis the makers of manufactured goods—usually developed countries—because in the long run the prices of manufactured goods tend to rise against commodities. This is highly controversial, not the least because some high-income countries like Canada and Australia based their development on exporting commodities. Priest also contends that mining does little to foster long-term economic development, because almost all the investment that accompanies it is specific to mines and, once they play out, becomes useless. Again, this is controversial. For instance, mining revenue helped to build the American transcontinental railroads, like the Great Northern, and in India, manganese was shipped over, and paid rates to, a railway system designed to serve the country's vast interior. A study of a specific commodity might well illuminate at least some aspects of these questions, but unfortunately the manganese trade is not a particularly good vehicle for this. Although necessary for steelmaking, it constitutes little more than one percent by weight of inputs for steel. Accordingly, steelmakers locate their plants with an eye to supplies or iron ore and coal and resign themselves to bringing in manganese from as far away as they must. They would be foolish to do otherwise. As a result, manganese mining generally has not furthered broader development. Production of commodities like iron ore or petroleum, more central to their industries, might have a very different impact on the local economy.

Priest's account begs some other questions as well. Did manganese producers try to organize a cartel in the 1920s and 1930s, as did producers of so many other commodities (with mixed success)? The author asserts several times that the United States could have produced all the manganese it needed domestically. How

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does he reach this conclusion? His own account indicates that, even with high prices and a protective tariff, domestic producers rarely met more than twenty percent of demand.

Nevertheless, Priest has produced an interesting book on a subject of which most historians are ignorant. In particular, his account of how U.S. aid policies reflected the desire to secure raw materials is instructive. It would have been better still had he used his findings more cautiously.

WYATT WELLS
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MANUS I. MIDLARSKY. *The Killing Trap: Genocide in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 463. Cloth $75.00, paper $28.99.

Using three genocides—the holocaust of the Armenians under the Turks, the Jews under the Nazis, and the Tutsis under the Hutus—Manus I. Midlarsky develops the fundamental conditions or rules of human behavior under which genocides have occurred in the twentieth century. He excludes the mass murders in Cambodia and the Darfur as politicides rather than genocides because those deaths did not result from the desire to destroy a whole people but rather from an effort to destroy a social or economic class for reasons of politics. In each of the chosen cases, regarding the attitude of the perpetrator versus the victims, Midlarsky finds some form of loss to the perpetrator—loss of territory, war, economic depression, or loss of security—and certain consequences of loss, such as the need to blame someone, as well as a strong need to regain what has been lost. He also finds present in the three genocides he has chosen the power to repair that loss, or what he calls "realpolitik," which is a government that has the power and the will to use that power, and altruistic punishment, a method of obtaining unity among the perpetrators by making it clear that the victims are criminals or traitors or subversives who deserve to be destroyed. Whether every genocide requires the presence of all these conditions the author does not indicate, but it would seem that genocide requires all three, and the author does an excellent job of showing the presence of loss, realpolitik, and altruistic punishment in the cases of the Armenians, Jews, and Tutsis.

The first part of the book deals with the need and role of theory in explaining genocide, distinguishes genocide from mass murder, and considers three other cases that have been excluded as genocide: Bosnia, the Nanjing massacre by the Japanese, and the Herero massacre in German Southwest Africa in 1904. "Genocide is understood to be the state-sponsored mass murder of innocent and helpless men, women, and children denoted by a particular ethnoreligious identity, having the purpose of eradicating this group from a particular territory" (p. 10). In part two, Midlarsky explains the nature of the perpetrator, to wit, the government, realpolitik, and the three types of realpolitik in the domain of repairing its losses: brute force "not based on reasoned scrutiny" (p. 92), prudent realpolitik "based on reasoned scrutiny understood as the application of reason to the empirical world" (p. 92), and cynical realpolitik, or the dislike by the majority of people for a distinct minority. He reasons that the first and the third types were found in all three of the genocides involved in this study, and the second, had it been applied, would have "avoided the US intervention in Vietnam" (p. 94).

In part three, having narrowed the meaning of genocide and identified the perpetrator's conditions for genocide, Midlarsky applies his analysis to Turkey, Rwanda, and Germany, with special attention to the situation regarding Nazi persecution of the Jews in Italy, Vichy France, and Romania. In part four, the author takes up the vulnerability of the victims, without which, basically, no genocide can occur. Armenians, Jews, and Tutsis all had insufficient defenses against the murderers in terms of armed might; the Israeli Jews might today be undergoing a new holocaust in the Middle East except that they have the armed might to resist. What will prove to be controversial in this section is the author's conclusions that what led to the killings were, in the case of the Armenians, Turkish fear, spurred on by Germany, of Russia's influence over its Armenian Christian minority; in that of the Jews, the Vatican's fear of Jewish support for communism plus Adolf Hitler's willingness to serve as a bulwark against Soviet expansion; and, in that of the Tutsis, the anglophone Tutsis' interference with francophone Hutu control, aided by France's desire to maintain French dominance over that portion of Africa. Part five of the book deals with mass murders in the twentieth century that could have but did not evolve into the author's definition of genocide: Jews in Bulgaria and Finland during World War II, Greeks in Turkey, and the Irish in the British Empire.

It is regrettable that Midlarsky does not deal more with prevention of genocide, which is the ultimate purpose of studying the subject. He touches on the matter briefly in suggesting that where military power is unlikely to work because of the inability of getting the great powers to unite, genocide might be averted by compensating a perpetrator for its loss in some way; "reasoned scrutiny" or the application of realpolitik, although he admits that "the divide between prudent and imprudent realpolitik is not a clear line" (p. 388); and an effort to promote democracy. He states that the "best preventives of the genocide of a state's minority population is the existence of a liberal democratic regime" (p. 392). Yet establishing such a regime in areas that have either never had secular liberal regimes, or the educational facilities to promote such regimes, has not been shown to be easily feasible, as we are at present experiencing in Iraq.

To the seasoned student of genocide, the author's conditions for the existence and/or prevalence of genocide would likely be manifest from the start, but this book is highly useful for introductory classes in the subject. Well researched and written in clear language rea-

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sonably free of abstraction, it should prove to be an excellent supplement to Holocaust studies.

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STEPHAN LANDSMAN. *Crimes of the Holocaust: The Law Confronts Hard Cases*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp xi, 304.

This book's prologue states that "The world's effort to respond to genocide has been one of the most significant legal developments in the last fifty years." Stephan Landsman examines the trials of the major war criminals before the International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg, of Adolf Eichmann and John Demjanjuk in Israel, and of Imre Finta in Canada. The concluding chapter of his book considers the prosecution of perpetrators of more recent genocides and crimes against humanity.

The author's claim to have studied the trial records carefully is suspect, at least in his opening case. A glance at the endnotes to the chapter on the IMT trial reveals not a single reference to published trial transcripts or to any archival sources. Indeed, the vast majority of the references are to a limited range of secondary sources, namely the accounts by Telford Taylor, Drexel Sprecher, Robert E. Conot, and John and Ann Tusa. This may explain why the chapter presents us only with a standard resumé of the trial, its achievements, and its shortcomings, one that might have been substantially nuanced with reference to other studies of the representation of the Holocaust at Nuremberg.

Two absences from Landsman's endnotes are particularly noteworthy. In no place does he cite, even to criticize, my own *Genocide on Trial: War Crimes Trials and the Formation of Holocaust History and Memory* (2001) or Lawrence Douglas's *The Memory of Judgment: Making Law and History in the Trials of the Holocaust* (2001). Given the publication of these volumes a full four years before his own, and given that they reach somewhat different conclusions with regard to the "success" of the trial medium in doing justice to the historical record, thus opening up a scholarly debate of direct relevance to the volume under review, their omission is remarkable. This is particularly true for Douglas's work, which like Landsman's is also concerned with the Eichmann and Demjanjuk trials. The only Douglas publication that is cited by Landsman is "Film as Witness: Screening *Nazi Concentration Camps* Before the Nuremberg Tribunal" (*Yale Law Journal* [1995]).

Lest I appear unreservedly critical, I must record that there are merits to Landsman's book. It is strong on matters of courtroom procedure, although that is scarcely a matter specific to the prosecution of *génocidaires*. The extensive coverage given to the Finta case is interesting, and the ground here has been less well trodden by others. Overall, however, the book fails to live up to its claims to originality. The individual chapters are overly burdened with detail at the expense of sustained analysis; indeed, the book seems to lack an overall analytical approach or jurisprudential focus that ties the cases together by something other than their subject-matter. The breaking down of each chapter into subsections with prosaic headings such as "The Prosecutors," "The Defence Counsel," and "The Judges" gives the volume more the appearance of an introductory overview than a monographic thesis, with the crucial caveat that an overview would have been careful to address the range of existing scholarship. The absence of a bibliography and a substantial conclusion and introduction is problematic, whatever the book's intended purpose.

DONALD BLOXHAM
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PETER BALDWIN. *Disease and Democracy: The Industrialized World Faces AIDS*. (California/Milbank Books on Health and the Public, number 13.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 465. $44.95.

In this book, Peter Baldwin examines the relevance of the past for understanding how developed countries charted a course to deal with their domestic AIDS crises in the 1980s and 1990s. Focusing on the United States, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Germany, and, to a lesser extent, Denmark, Italy, and other industrialized democracies, he shows that some countries, like the U.S. and Sweden, took relatively authoritarian and interventionist policies to come to grips with the AIDS epidemic, whereas other places, such as Bavaria in Germany or Britain, took more libertarian approaches. Using evidence from an exhaustive survey of published official sources from all countries reviewed, Baldwin explains that these divergent responses to a common disease source can be explained by the development of national policies to combat infectious diseases, especially cholera, tuberculosis, and syphilis, in the nineteenth century.

This book is not a comprehensive history of the AIDS epidemic, nor is it a history of science or public health per se. Readers seeking details about the natural history of the virus, the search for a vaccine, or the evolution of social movements centered around raising the political profile of HIV/AIDS will have to look elsewhere. Instead, over a series of ten chapters, Baldwin seeks to persuade the reader of the importance of path dependency with respect to domestic public health policies. The book's thematic organization—rather than chronological or geographical—is intended to support that view.

The first chapters provide the reader with a helpful overview of the intellectual history of medicine and public health. In "Body Fluids and Citizenship," for example, Baldwin analyzes the ways in which understandings about disease etiology have changed over time, and he provides an instructive discussion about the relative importance attributed to disease agent, environment, and host over different periods since the nineteenth century. That chapter, along with the next, "What Came

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First," provide both an overview of early efforts to discover the origin and cause of AIDS and a reflection on the role of contagious diseases legislation, which had largely come to be considered outdated by the late twentieth century, in dealing with a new and unusual infectious agent.

In subsequent sections Baldwin focuses on the politics of disease surveillance, including the testing, screening, and isolation of patients; the origin and development of social movements centered around infection status or sexual identity; and the emergence of debates over such issues as the utility of education campaigns and prevention measures or the links between disease and criminality.

Particularly interesting sections include the final two, which deal with the effect of the past on public health and liberty, authority, and the state in the AIDS era. In "Clio Intervenes" Baldwin returns to the book's central theme, carefully explicating similarities between Sweden's interventionist policies in face of cholera in the nineteenth century and the nation's approach to handling AIDS in the late 1980s. Similarly, Britian's sanitationist, environmentalist approach to cholera informed its voluntarist, social reformist perspective with respect to HIV/AIDS. The United States, Baldwin argues, offers a complicated example, for he finds both voluntarist and interventionst impulses in the history of disease prevention and treatment in nineteenth and twentieth-century America. Nevertheless, he shows that the nation's fear of imported disease—either by soldiers engaged in foreign wars or by immigrants seeking a new life in the United States—favored strict quarantinist and interventionist policies in a polity otherwise noted for its commitment to liberal approaches. The association of authoritarian approaches with public health politics is the theme of the final chapter, in which Baldwin explores the rights of the individual and the community in the face of contagious disease.

At its best, this book, which is based on an impressive compilation of policy documents, makes a compelling argument for the relevance of public health history; in so doing, it resonates with ongoing analytical work related to path dependence in other areas of health policy studies, such as reproductive health, tuberculosis programs, or hepatitis testing and treatment regimes. But the work can also be frustrating. It is definitely not for a reader seeking an introduction to the political history of AIDS in the developed world. Baldwin sometimes assumes a familiarity with the progress of the epidemic as well as a kind of cultural fluency that those who did not experience the 1980s and 1990s in an industrialized country may have trouble understanding. At the same time, the book is extremely fast paced, and Baldwin moves quickly from topic to topic with the reader sometimes struggling to grasp the last bit of information before moving on to the next.

Though not for the nonspecialist, Baldwin's study nevertheless offers a provocative, timely, and relevant analysis of past and contemporary health policy issues for scholars interested in those topics. It raises questions about the influence of history on public policy that will prompt future studies. The approach is certainly applicable to a wide range of other health topics, and one wonders how the past may have influenced national approaches to such outbreaks as SARS in 2003 or the current development of plans to deal with avian and pandemic influenza.

One issue that Baldwin's analysis does not address, and that researchers may want to consider, is the influence of the past on the industrialized democracies' approach to development assistance in the face of AIDS. As the epidemic becomes ever more centered in the world's less developed countries, for example, what explains donor nations' divergent responses to the global pandemic?

KATHERINE ELAINE BLISS
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IAN DOWBIGGIN. *A Concise History of Euthanasia: Life, Death, God, and Medicine*. (Critical Issues in History.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2005. Pp. vii, 163. $22.95.

Ian Dowbiggin here covers much the same ground as he does in his more extended and scholarly *A Merciful End: The Euthanasia Movement in Modern America* (2003). This book, as part of Rowman and Littlefield's "Critical Issues in History," certainly lives up to the first two words in that series' title. The author is an avowed partisan as an outspoken radio and television commentator and an active member of Canada's Pro-Life movement. His book is clearly intended to influence the debate that will surely intensify in the United States. Academic readers may find little new in this study, largely confined to the Western world, but despite its bias and certain flaws it does serve as a useful, clearly written primer on an issue of increasing import.

"Euthanasia" in Greek means simply "good death," and in this original sense it seems ever harder to achieve naturally, as an aging population, increasingly prone to illnesses such as cancer, inevitably multiplies demands to short-circuit the pain. But while this demographic fact, plus advances in medical technology, have made assisted suicide an issue as never before, Dowbiggin amply demonstrates his second most important point (following only the need to condemn it on moral grounds), which is that most of the debating points are ancient ones, and that history is essential to understanding them.

He begins with the classical world's favorable view of suicide, indeed infanticide, and goes on to credit Judaism—and above all Catholic Christianity—with successfully condemning both. (A nod to "other world religions" is purely cursory.) The ancients' rationales included social utility—the drain, on the state, of the terminally ill or deformed—together with the need to avoid pain or dishonor. Jews countered with the idea that an omniscient God must determine the day of death, with Christians adding the religious virtue of suffering. These ideas went essentially unchallenged

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through the Middle Ages, or until the Renaissance and especially Enlightenment were infected with "moral relativism."

A brief survey can offer no more than a page or two to summarize various positions or arguments over the centuries, but that seems enough; the subject was rarely a major one, or at least not until the past century and a half, and despite some strained effort it is almost impossible for Dowbiggin to show the impact of any given thinker on another, let alone on actual practice or wider opinion. These pocket biographies or summaries are in general given straight, although he has some trouble with, for example, the case for utilitarian suicide offered by St. Thomas More in *Utopia* (1516), which he concludes was as purely hypothetical as its locale.

More insightful is a running account of a developing medical profession, as the lowborn, hired-by-the-disease doctors of the ancient world were by the Middle Ages succeeded by professionals who accepted responsibility for palliative care, joining family and clergy in helping, at the final bedside, to manage a truly "good death." Since then, although their reputation has had its ups and downs, the general public has given physicians a crucial role in the whole euthanasia debate, both pro and con.

The book hits its moral stride only in the nineteenth century, when Charles Darwin opened the way to the eugenics movement championed by his cousin Francis Galton, who advocated improving the race by eliminating inferior specimens through sterilization, in some cases infanticide. By the 1920s, Dowbiggin asserts rather dubiously, "almost all American scientists were eugenicists in one degree or another" (p. 84). At the same time, and for parallel reasons, England's Voluntary Euthanasia Society and the Euthanasia Society of America were gathering support in many of the same quarters, and in his restrained way the author is clearly delighted to list the number of Anglo-American reformers and socialists—George Bernard Shaw, John Dewey, and Margaret Sanger, among others—who with varying enthusiasm endorsed the basic thesis.

There was always tension between advocates of "voluntary" euthanasia, or suicide, and down what Dowbiggin describes as a slippery slope a much less acceptable "involuntary," until the Nazis discredited the latter and in some degree both. The later twentieth century witnessed many apparent shifts in popular support, more in reaction to publicized cases such as Karen Ann Quinlan's, and to advances in medical technology, than to purely abstract argument. The current debate was importantly shaped by Pope Pius XII, who in 1957 asserted that doctors need not use extraordinary means to prolong the lives of the terminally ill, and that while it is sinful deliberately to use drugs to hasten death, it is not so if the intent is purely to mitigate pain.

The battle now, Dowbiggin argues, is between atheists, Unitarians, and others who base their ethical views on purely social grounds, and those who believe in a transcendent morality. In general he believes that the strength of traditional religion will keep America, outside of Oregon, from legalizing assisted suicide, which in his view does not and cannot prevent the killing of disturbed patients not capable of informed consent. On less firm grounds he believes, too, that the rest of the English-speaking world will resist it, led by a largely conservative medical profession. But a more secular Europe may well follow the lead of the Netherlands and Switzerland, and this is no time for the faithful to relax.

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ASIA

KEITH NATHANIEL KNAPP. *Selfless Offspring, Filial Children and Social Order in Medieval China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2005. Pp. x, 300. $47.00.

This book studies filial piety in early medieval China (A.D. 100–600). During this period literati turned to Mysterious Learning, Taoism, and Buddhism for intellectual stimulation, and Confucian filial piety tales also achieved popularity. These seemingly contradictory phenomena, according to Keith Nathaniel Knapp, were due to the existence of a weak central government and the emergence of powerful local clans. Patriarchs of the extended families needed Confucian values and rites to ensure their survival in the "politically fragmented world" (p. 188) and the continuity of their privileged positions. Against this historical setting Knapp sets various versions of *Accounts of Filial Offspring*, investigating the origins of filial piety tales, the identity of their creators and readers, and the ideology conveyed in the stories.

The filial miracles of this period provide "historical flesh to the theoretical bones" (p. 105) that had already been established in correlative Confucian thought and the apocrypha. According to the theory of *tianren ganying* (the resonance between heaven and humans), humans "can stimulate (*gan*) the moral universe," and then "heaven and earth respond (*ying*) to this stimulus with a miracle" (p. 83). The filial narratives in the Western Han already exhibited some traces of this idea, but filial miracle tales emerged and flourished when the Confucian apocryphal texts appeared under imperial patronage. Early medieval writers explored these miracles to reiterate the hierarchical view of human ethics emphasized in correlative Confucianism. Meritocracy, another key point in correlative Confucianism, was also stressed in the tales of poor sons. These conveyed the message that miracle rewards would only come from filiality. This emphasis reflected the fear of the learned elite who, in face of the disorderly world, urged their descendants to maintain family fortunes through personal cultivation and learning, which Yan Zhitui (531–591) regarded as survival skills.

Chapter five is devoted to filial piety tales with reverent-care motifs. In *The Analects*, the definition of filial piety stresses *jing* (reverence): that is, that one should serve and bury one's parents in accordance with the rites, and offer them sacrifice according to propri-

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ety; providing parents only with *yang* (sustenance) is not sufficient to differentiate human moral behavior from that of animals. Knapp argues that early Confucians disassociated *xiao* (filial piety) from *yang* by emphasizing *jing*; yet early medieval authors of filial piety tales, while stressing *yang* as *xiao*, "modified *yang* by heralding the relatively new concept of *gongyang* (to respectfully nurture)," which "combines the concepts of feeding (*yang*) and giving respect (*jing*), thereby enabling one to display esteem for parents through the manner in which one meets their physical needs" (pp. 113–114). This is evidenced by the stories in which protagonists gladly endured various types of hardship and deprivation to "furnish their parents with luxurious food and clothing" (p. 136). The argument, and the examples used in the chapter, actually do not conflict with the definition in *The Analects*. In the early medieval period the term *gongyang*, as Knapp notes, was often used to "describe Buddhist offerings that nourished either the mind or body" (p. 114). Perhaps the creators of these tales embraced the term to convey their understanding of the Confucian concept of filial piety. Nevertheless, Knapp correctly asserts that reverent-care motifs in early medieval accounts placed an immense emphasis on the superiority of parents and inferiority of children. In order to ensure that family fortunes remained intact, authors urged junior members of the families to subordinate their own wishes to those of their parents, and to put the collective interests of the families before their personal ones.

The mourning and burial motifs are examined, and Knapp discusses the form and content of filial piety shaped under the particular political and social conditions of the early medieval period. The female filial piety tales in the final chapter unfold to show that women, compared with their male counterparts, had to endure greater extremes to prove their filiality. By examining the important components of filial piety tales, Knapp successfully attests the cultural values revealed in these narratives.

Apart from over 330 filial piety accounts, this book also explores such materials as collective biographies of exemplars, family instructions, primers, unofficial biographies, Confucian apocrypha, apocryphal Buddhist scriptures, and archaeological and iconographical evidence. Yet among this wide range of materials, some texts mix elements of Taoism and Buddhism with Confucianism. Although perhaps beyond the scope of this volume, analysis of the development of these schools of thought and their interconnections might add to our understanding of why Confucianism in early medieval China, at its nadir, achieved political and social significance. Nevertheless, this book will appeal to scholars interested in the study of early medieval Confucianism.

LIMIN BAI
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DAVID CURTIS WRIGHT. *From War to Diplomatic Parity in Eleventh-Century China: Sung's Foreign Relations with Kitan Liao*. (History of Warfare, volume 33.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. xi, 287. $167.00.

Published on the millennium anniversary of the Treaty of Shan-yuan, David Curtis Wright's book appropriately commemorates the sworn oath and covenant between two strong rulers from two empires that clashed in eleventh-century Inner and East Asia. At that historic moment, the Chinese Sung dynasty (960–1276) and the Turko-Mongol Kitan Liao (916–1125) were equal in military strength and diplomatic infrastructure, if not in economic wealth, ethnicity, and size of population. When the Sung was founded in 960, Liao had already declared a state and created an empire that claimed the sixteen Chinese prefectures (including Beijing) and the Korean state of Parhae. The accumulated military hostility between Sung and Liao led to a critical stalemate in January 1005, when continued warfare would have devastated both empires. The Liao emperor, leading an invasion force and accompanied by the clear-headed empress dowager and an astute negotiation team, had arrived at Shan-yuan, only a hundred kilometers from the Sung capital of Kai-feng. The Sung emperor and his capable advisors were also at Shan-yuan to halt the Liao advance.

The covenant negotiated at Shan-yuan presented a diplomatic and political solution to the military clash of the Sung and Liao empires. The bilateral and equal terms of the covenant brought stability and peace for a hundred years, and despite domestic controversies, essentially satisfied the needs of both states to end the war and allow both sides to claim victory for internal consumption. Sung kept the southern strip of land called Kuan-nan, and Liao retained what remained of the sixteen prefectures. Addressing civility and accepting a rhetoric of equality and respect, the two rulers established a fictive family relationship and Sung renamed cities and places that belittled the non-Chinese ethnicity of the Kitans. Sung agreed to make "a gift" of annual payments of 200,000 bolts of silk and 100,000 taels of silver to help Liao with military expenses. The trade established between the two states yielded an enormous trade surplus for Sung, which more than offset the annual payments even when the amounts were increased by sixty-seven percent in 1042. Wright argues that because Sung's long-term objective was to abolish Liao, it violated the covenant by joining the Tungusic Jurchens in an alliance that crushed Liao in 1125. The Jurchens themselves set up the Chin dynasty on Liao territory, and soon the Sung lost its own northern region to the new state. Wright contends that the relationship between the Sung and Jurchen Chin dynasties in the twelfth century was modeled on the diplomatic parity that characterized Sung and Liao relations in the eleventh century.

A fascinating part of this monograph is the unique coverage on the diplomatic organizations and embassies from which the Treaty of Shan-yuan can be observed as merely one episode in the diplomatic history between Sung and neighbor states. Wright has put to-

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gether massive details about embassies, itineraries, gift exchanges, and protocol that were critical to the survival of treaties and maintenance of peace. We learn that Sung diplomats had passed the highest ranked *chin-shih* degree but were only mid-rank officials, and ninety percent of them went on only one mission to Liao. The sinicizing Liao was not easily deceived by Sung maneuvers in matters of protocol, as can be seen in the squabbles that immobilized the negotiation process over seating arrangements and the height of the chairs.

By mining all the institutional histories and other primary sources and recent scholarship, Wright has produced the most comprehensive study to date on the Treaty of Shan-yuan and opened up windows for us to observe personalities and cultural practices in East Asian diplomatic history. Indeed, Wright's explanation of parallel Sung and Liao world orders allows us to observe the significance of rituals in drafting treaties and executing them. This monograph, complete with valuable maps and glossary, will please both specialists and generalists. It has certainly poked holes into the "conceptual centrality" of the Chinese empire, an ideal long perpetuated by traditional Chinese historiography and a concept dominant in John Fairbank's influential construction of the traditional Chinese world order, where China accepted no other state as an equal in moral and military strength.

Wright has made a sound case to understand the diplomatic history of Sung and Liao relations as the one exception to this "conceptual centrality." I wish he would go further in the analysis and engage with the Jurchen Chin in the twelfth century, and even beyond that, to include the Treaty of Nerchinsk in 1689 with the Russian Empire. The latter was a ground-breaking treaty signed with a Western power that regulated borders and trade without annual payments from either party. Supposing that the Manchu Ch'ing emperor and advisors at the time of the Opium Wars had the memory of these "equal" treaties, could the nineteenth century and imperialism have run a different course in the shaping of modern China?

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ON-CHO NG and Q. EDWARD WANG. *Mirroring the Past: The Writing and Use of History in Imperial China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2005. Pp. xxiii, 306. $50.00.

Its modest length is deceptive, for this book offers a comprehensive, engaging, and nuanced survey of historical practice in traditional China while eluding the pitfalls common to works with multiple authors. On-cho Ng and Q. Edward Wang draw on recent Chinese, Japanese, and Western secondary scholarship to survey two millennia of historical writing and criticism, starting with the classical period and continuing into the Qing dynasty. Their book is chronologically organized around the major dynastic epochs to highlight the "dominant modes" for each period and the impact of political and cultural developments on historical practice (p. xxii).

Similar works in China and Taiwan tend to be written by teams of scholars, creating unevenness in quality. The two-author arrangement here compares well to the better single-authored works in Chinese, such as the trilogy by Du Weiyun. But the authors go beyond mere synthesis to offer fresh insights, such as astutely differentiating European conceptions of "objectivity" from Chinese notions of "straightforwardness" or forthrightness (p. 22). Ng and Wang should also be commended for avoiding the imposition of Western terms and expectations on Chinese historical practice.

However thorough, the study still begs certain questions. Two dynasties, the Han and Song, emerge as peaks of creativity that generate histories monumental in scope, rigor, and elegance. They also maintained vigorous traditions of private scholarship, as symbolized by Sima Qian and Ban Gu of the Han and Sima Guang and Ouyang Xiu of the Song. The possible links between the creativity of historians and the state's retreat from scholarship are intriguing.

In times of heightened government involvement in historical compilations, like the early Tang and Qing, private writers were often forced into criticism by necessity. Without diminishing the masterpiece of Liu Zhiji on historical criticism, he admittedly had limited options as private scholar due to a highly prolific Tang government. A parallel case occurs in the Qing, where state subsidy of scholarship produced throngs of historians but no epic history (p. 258). Part of the lasting appeal of Sima Qian and Ouyang Xiu lies in the conviction of their commentaries, the subjective excursions of single authors. History by committee, the fate of dynastic history after the Song, cannot compare. Another problem for the late Ming and early Qing relates to the emergence of fiction. The epic histories of early and middle empire were well-narrated stories in a world without fiction. In all likelihood, the new competition only diminished history's appeal.

Understandably, some omissions were necessary to limit the book's length, but the slight of "memorabilia and anecdotes" is regrettable. A brief introduction occurs in earlier chapters, but there is nothing in chapter five on the Song, the period when anecdotes (*xiaoshuo*) and memoirs (*biji*) evolved into separate genres. Legendary anecdotists like Hong Mai and Zhou Mi shaped mainstream histories as independent voices on their times, a reflection of the diversity of Song historiography.

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BRIAN R. DOTT. *Identity Reflections: Pilgrimages to Mount Tai in Late Imperial China*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 244.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2004. Pp. xiv, 358. $50.00.

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The subject of Brian R. Dott's book is pilgrimage to China's most sacred mountain, Taishan (Mount Tai), a natural wonder that has been the focus of imperial legitimation, Daoist ceremony, popular pilgrimage, and literati belles-lettres since the late B.C.E. periods. The author poses questions of religion, history, anthropology, sociology, ethnography, cultural studies, and, of course, sinology. His creative juxtaposition of so many discourses offers new insight for all of them, but particularly for research on the period Chinese historians name "late imperial" (primarily the Qing dynasty, 1644–1911).

Dott is not the first sinologist to recognize the universal significance of Mount Tai, the 1,545-meter peak in a range of mountains that occupies 436 square meters in central Shandong Province, near the modern city of Tai'an. Since its publication in 1910, Edouard Chavannes's *Le T'ai Chan: Essai de monographie d'un culte chinois* has been the magisterial study of the mountain and Daoism associated with it for Western readers. Shorter works like Dwight Baker's *T'ai Shan: An Account of the Sacred Eastern Peak of China* (1925) and dozens of articles or book chapters have made accurate information about the mountain, its purposes, ceremonies, and famous pilgrims readily available. It is widely known, for instance, that worship of deities occurred on the mountain, and that the mountain itself was a supreme god who controlled human fate. The most important imperial rituals, the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices, could be performed only on Mount Tai. Of China's five sacred peaks of Daoism and the four that were associated with Buddhism, Taishan was supreme. Dott provides the reader with this information, but he quickly moves his study to pilgrimage, focusing on cultural geography; female pilgrims and their association with the more benign, female deity of Mount Tai, Bixia Yuanjun, daughter of the supreme lord of Taishan; imperial pilgrims; and literati writings.

Dott titles the first part of his study "Cultural Stratigraphy." This ambiguous phrase is probably intentional. I take it as the author's way of alerting the reader that he intends to explore and stretch each subject with which Mount Tai is associated. Divided into ten subsections, this part of the book informs the reader about the kinds of monuments found on the peak; *feng* and *shan* rituals; and the mountain's most famous early pilgrims, including Han Emperor Wu, Song Emperor Zhengzong, eighth-century poets Li Bo and Du Fu, and perhaps even Confucius. Dott briefly writes about the mountain's associations with what he calls mysticism, basically Daoism, and he explains the profound links between the Lord of Mount Tai, Emperor of the Eastern Peak, who can cause death and who is widely believed to govern the levels of purgatory and hell, and the benign Bixia Yuanjun. The subsection on "Hierarchies of Sacred Spaces" explores the mountain in the context of more global discussions of space, peak, and pilgrimage: *axis mundi*, following Mircea Eliade's definition, a sacred peak as defined by John Eade and Michael Sallnow, a pilgrimage site according to rubrics of James Preston and Victor Turner, and, here and elsewhere, as a multivalent symbol as explored in Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt's *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture* (1999). The present generation of China scholars has realized the merits of dialogue with theorists who draw their material from outside of China, but too often their exploration is superficial. One senses that Dott is himself engaged with the flow of ideas of each theorist whose work he cites.

Part two begins with a fascinating exploration of female pilgrimage. Using diaries, pictures, popular literature, and personal interviews, Dott shows Mount Tai to be not only a place where women of all segments of Chinese society, from peasant to aristocrat, have come to seek the aid of Bixia Yuanjun in conceiving, but also a rare place where a woman can temporarily escape the limitations of Chinese social norms. Balancing the view into the private world of women are statistics about female pilgrimage societies and female agents of Bixia Yuanjun. Here the study joins work by Susan Naquin, Evelyn Rawski, and James L. Watson as model Chinese scholarship that blends social history and popular religion. The second chapter of part two focuses on emperor pilgrims Kangxi and Qianlong, who journeyed to Mount Tai three and nine times, respectively, and several times made the ascent on foot. Here Dott draws evidence from paintings of imperial tours, writing on rocks, poetry, and imperial records. Last in part two, the author studies Chinese poetry and other writings about Mount Tai and pilgrimage to show how the peak's image was conceived and defined, primarily after the sixteenth century. The book also includes an appendix containing past and present information about each structure on the mountain and several maps.

Today, Mount Tai is one of China's most popular tourist sites. It is a subject that lends itself to dramatic views and hyperbolic prose. Perhaps this book's greatest strength is that it draws Mount Tai far beyond the obvious, using it rather as the setting for discussion of so many aspects of humanistic studies.

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PETER ZARROW. *China in War and Revolution, 1895–1949.* (Asia's Transformations.) New York: Routledge. 2005. Pp. xviii, 411. Cloth $132.00, paper $39.95.

The period from 1895 to 1949 is perhaps the most complicated era in the history of modern China. It marked the beginning of China's search for a new national identity and the end of the 2000-year-old political system. Over roughly half a century, the imperial system was replaced first by a republic and then by a socialist regime; Confucianism, which had served as the keystone of Chinese civilization, was discredited and succeeded by nationalism and other political ideologies. At the same time, China fought a number of wars, including the First Sino-Japanese War and the eight major powers' military expedition to China in response to the

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Boxer Rebellion. The Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 was fought on Chinese territory while China was also involved in World War I. From 1916 to 1928 Chinese warlords fought among themselves; then followed the all-out war between China and Japan from 1937 to 1945 and the four-year civil war between the Chinese communists and nationalists after Japanese surrender. Peter Zarrow's new book is not only remarkable but an extremely useful and timely guide through this period. Well written and well argued, the book is organized by both narrative stories and thematic chapters. Using methodologies of the social sciences, cultural studies, and empirical historicism, Zarrow successfully and brilliantly explains to readers the major events and intellectual developments, turning points, and key players and their roles in creating a modern China.

Part one of the book consists of seven chapters that deal with the period 1895–1919 and focus on the political and cultural background of the reform movement as well as social changes in the later Qing period and the 1911 Revolution. The author correctly identifies the 1911 Revolution, in which intellectual radicalism played a defining role, as a pivotal event. Part two, also containing seven chapters covers the period from 1919 to 1937 and examines the rise of nationalism as well as nationalist and communist ideologies. Zarrow argues that during this period the Chinese state was dramatically reconstituted through the emergence of two important political parties and broad-based popular social movements, and he successfully demonstrates why the nationalist Nanjing decade was a success. The three chapters in the third part, which cover the period from 1937 to 1949, are devoted primarily to the war against Japan and the civil war. This part of the book is surprisingly weak because the author has chosen to ignore many of the fascinating issues that could have been explored.

The book's great strength is Zarrow's skillful explanation of the key events in a broad political and intellectual framework. The book also includes many wonderful and extremely useful maps, tables, and figures. However, if the author had explained the history under discussion both from a China-centered approach and through the method of international history, it would have made his argument more coherent and systematic. Given the strong presence of foreign powers in China and the Chinese government's motivation to join the world community as an equal partner, readers would have benefited from more attention to China's internationalization and its foreign policies. Moreover, careful readers will find some errors or confusing statements in this book. For instance the dates for the Han dynasty, given as 209 B.C.–A.D. 206, should read 206 B.C.–A.D. 220 (p. 23). Mao Zedong's birth date is given as 1891 although he was actually born in 1893 (p. 277).

Nevertheless, these minor errors do not undermine the great appeal of this book. All scholars owe a great debt to the author for undertaking the huge task of writing such a richly textured and informative history of modern China.

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SHIH-SHAN HENRY TSAI. *Lee Teng-hui and Taiwan's Quest for Identity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2005. Pp. xviii, 271. $65.00.

Biography has returned to Taiwan Studies, as Shih-shan Henry Tsai's balanced, sensitive and elegantly written account of the life and times of the Republic of China's former president Lee Teng-hui clearly demonstrates. This fine work can be added to the list of recent and very important books that include Jay Taylor's clear-eyed and balanced study of Chiang Ching-kuo, *The Generalissimo's Son: Chiang Ching-Kuo and the Revolutions in China and Taiwan* (2001), Hoyt Tillman's translation and framing of the Taiwanese magnate Chin-Ching Huang's *Business As a Vocation: The Autobiography of Wu Ho-Su* (2002), and Sophia Wang's close-to-the-subject portrait of the architect of the Taiwan's modern-day development, *K. T. Li and the Taiwan Experience* (2005).

Tsai charts out Lee's life within the larger context of Taiwan's dramatic history, a history that began when the island was a colony of the Dutch East India Company (the VOC). It is now the last bastion of the state that calls itself the Republic of China. Tsai has a solid command of time and place and also a certain pride in his homeland, as well as academic and family connections to it. This deep sense of Taiwan's history as part of his personal experience is an important element in the book.

Another virtue is the author's deep knowledge of President Lee: his background, his writings and his formal record as an official. There is a basic reason for this virtue, and it is the great edge that many a modern-day biographer of people in his or her time has: the biographer has interviewed the subject at length and can ask him what he thought when decisions were being made and then implemented. Tsai has asked probing questions and the deep sense of who the man is emerges in each chapter.

Each stage in Lee's life is spelled out in detail and is carefully set or framed by the major events swirling around him. Lee grew up in a Japanese-controlled Taiwan in a family that lived along the northeastern coast in Sanchih between the small port of Tamsui and the provincial and then colonial capital of Taibei. He attended the Presbyterian Church on Taiwan's school in Sanchih and Taibei and then went on study agricultural economics at Kyoto University

In the chapters that follow, Tsai takes Lee back to a war-decimated Taiwan in the hands of the Kuomintang-controlled Republic of China (ROC) and follows him to the year after he had served as the ROC/Taiwan's president. We first see him at Taita, National Taiwan University, learning a new language—Mandarin—and virtually inventing the curriculum he studied with a few

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other students. Lee was both a good student and a man who knew how play the *kuan-hsi* (networking) game well. His career and his graduate education demonstrate this. He attended Cornell University to pursue a Ph.D. in his field. He received that degree in 1965 and, upon his return to Taiwan, it was clear that his career was now on a faster track. Tsai lays all this out, and we see the narrative of Taiwan's rapid development and the narrative of Lee's rise to the top not only parallel but are now beginning to merge.

Chiang Ching-kuo, the president of Taiwan, needed talented Taiwanese in the government as proof of his long-awaited effort to Taiwanize the largely mainlander (*waisheren*) ROC government. Within a few years Lee was mayor of Taipei, the governor of Taiwan, and the nation's vice-president, and after Chiang's death in early 1988, he assumed the presidency. The final chapters of the book trace Lee's presidency and the dramatic and if unsettling years that followed wherein Lee remade himself once again, this time as an icon of the reimagined Taiwan of the new millennium.

This is a rich and generous book that, despite its author's close relationship to the subject, presents Lee Teng-hui flaws and all. It shows how complex and tangled a background Lee possessed and how deep ran the passions for and against Lee and his presidency. Tsai has given us a balanced and a knowing account. It is so well written that certain passages can be savored. For example, it conjures up northern Taiwan with is towns and temples and riverine landscapes, and these passages allow one who knows the area to see those sights in his mind. But more than this, Tsai gives the reader a deep sense of an important man, a nation-changing man in his time and his place. China hands, Taiwan hands, students of Japanese colonialism, and students of political history will all find the book interesting, enlightening, and emotionally involving.

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EIKO IKEGAMI. *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture*. (Structural Analysis in the Social Sciences.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 460. $36.99.

This book is an ambitious work in terms of its historical sweep and its theoretical claims. It will surely provoke challenges, as well as cheers, from readers in diverse disciplines. Scholars have long noted developments in the Tokugawa period that transformed Japan from a medieval society into a modern nation. These included decentralized but well-integrated political networks; extensive trade routes that fostered broad commodity markets and urbanization; and the rise of commercial publishing. However, Eiko Ikegami argues that scholars have largely overlooked the important role aesthetic associations played in (re)creating social identities and political culture.

Ikegami's thesis is that the systematic social connections established by persons involved in various aesthetic practices in proto-modern Japan created new spatial/cognitive spheres or "aesthetic publics." These aesthetic publics provided a place where, for a while, participants could shed their official social identities within the rigid hierarchical structure imposed by the Tokugawa regime. Largely unpoliced by the government, they provided a place where people could enjoy interaction with other social classes. Such "aesthetic socializing" required civility, which "flourishes best in an intermediate zone of social relationships that lies between the intimate and the hostile" and "govern[s] social relations across differences in rank and status" (p. 78).

Ikegami's thesis is suggestive, but her argument is problematic. In the 1970s, Ogata Tsutomu and others first distinguished and labeled linked verse and the tea ceremony as *za* art forms. Ideally, in *za* arts, the collective aesthetic act—creating a linked verse sequence or making tea—was itself the goal, rather than the finished poetry sequence or cup of tea. What Ikegami does not adequately explain, though, is how religio-aesthetic ritualized performances became secularized engines of social and political change. Already in the late medieval period, for instance, linked verse sequences were performed by socially mixed groups (e.g. Buddhist priests, samurai, marginalized itinerants) for various ritual purposes, including pacification of the spirits of the dead, warding off disease, and accruing and transferring karmic merit.

Several unresolved tensions in Ikegami's argument deserve mention. First, were the aesthetic publics public or private? Ikegami defines civility as "the cultural grammar of sociability that governs interactional public spaces" (p. 19), while claiming that "aesthetic activities in the Tokugawa period were regarded as pleasurable and private rather than as sacred and religious" (p. 134). Second, civility is characterized by reserved affective displays, yet Ikegami also claims that participants in *za* arts experienced "an intense emotional rapture of synergy at the site of production" (p. 4). Ikegami makes much of "new sensibilities" born in the Tokugawa period, yet she has no theory to explain how these affective shifts led to structural sociopolitical changes. Hers is not a convincing history of emotions, nor of the shift from a religious to a secular aesthetic.

Two age-old problems in the social sciences—the role of collective ritualized emotion in social maintenance and in change, and the rise of the individual—haunt Ikegami's study, while the specters of unacknowledged ancestors (Emile Durkheim, Arnold Van Gennep, Victor Turner, Jürgen Habermas) hover in its shadows, silences, and incongruities. Ikegami's description of aesthetic publics, for instance, sounds hauntingly like Van Gennep's description of the spatio-temporal liminal state in rites of passage. Her appeal to an "emotional rapture of synergy" recalls Durkheim's "effervescence." Van Gennep saw collective rituals as effecting changes in the social identity of individuals and cohorts, not in social structure, while Durkheim em-

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phasized the role of collective rituals in strengthening or re-establishing social relationships. Neither saw collective religious rituals as generating structural change—precisely what Ikegami wants to claim for aesthetic publics in early modern Japan. Turner's name is also never invoked by Ikegami, yet his utopian hope for the transformative power of the collective sense of *communitas*, generated precisely in liminal situations where social hierarchies and identities are dissolved, is palpable in Ikegami's writing.

Ikegami's debt to Habermas's *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (1989) is also clear, even as she seeks to differentiate her theory from his. Significantly, she argues that we "have to probe deeper [than Habermas did], to the level of ontological reconstitution of identities and cultures" (p. 58). Ikegami's language here is puzzling, for who today seriously speaks of individual or collective identities, let alone cultures, as "ontological?" Yet she is adamant that "the aesthetic enclave publics had the ability to create alternative realities" (p. 36). So, too, one might counter did mass pilgrimages (e.g., *nuke-mairi*) or eschatological movements (e.g. *ee ja nai ka*) in the Tokugawa period. But again, rather than grappling with these historical phenomena, which would complicate the story she wants to tell, Ikegami summarily dismisses religion as "sacred madness," "collective hysteria," and "a dangerous subversive magical power." These are contrasted to the "techniques of civilized socialization" (p. 110). The obvious problems here notwithstanding, this is an important and challenging study.

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LAURA HEIN. *Reasonable Men, Powerful Words: Political Culture and Expertise in Twentieth-Century Japan.* (Twentieth-Century Japan, The emergence of a World Power, number 16.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 328. $45.00.

This book is a most unusual and refreshing contribution to the study of modern Japanese history, and provokes the reader to contemplate philosophical issues that relate to every scholar of history in the modern world. Laura Hein has crafted her history by artfully combining several approaches, in place of conventional historical perspectives.

First, she offers us an intellectual history of not one but several economists who were self-consciously united under the umbrella of the great modern economist Ōuchi Hyōe (1888–1980). By analyzing the sociopolitical contributions of an intellectual cohort instead of an isolated individual thinker, Hein reveals to us what usually remains invisible: the mechanisms of intellectual influence, both within the cohort itself, and between thinkers and the wider society, including the state.

Hein is more successful in an empirical sense, in pinpointing the postwar influence of the Ōuchi group on public opinion and policy making, than she is in showing the same in the prewar and war periods. For example, in postwar pensions policy, energy policy, and labor productivity, Hein demonstrates convincingly the Ōuchi group's collective impact on the shape of policy and its reception in society (see chapters six and seven). The power of ideas in shaping public opinion is conveyed through Hein's treatment of Ōuchi and his followers' role in postwar pacifist activism (through the Peace Problems Discussion Group, Beheiren, and the Constitutional Problems Research Group; see chapter five), and she credits them with shaping and building Japan's postwar pacifist culture (pp. 135–137). But we are left wondering why their influence in the 1930s and early 1940s was so peripheral and ineffectual.

Part of the answer to this crucial question must lie in the grey zone between the leftist, socialist inclination of the Ōuchi group, and their adherence to social science as a mechanism of universal applicability. Indeed, this is the core concern of Hein's analysis. Hein indicates where scholars should look for some answers, when she refers to the implications of respective attitudes to the imperial institution (the Rōnō-Kōza Marxist debate of the 1920s and 1930s), and the fact that the Ōuchi group was shielded to some extent by their affiliation with the more conciliatory Rōnō position. While Hein identifies the locus of the problem as the social and political inefficacy of leftist social scientists in the context of the 1930s, a lacuna remains in terms of our understanding of this intellectual collapse.

Second, with the exception of Ōmori Yoshitarō, who died during World War II, all of Hein's subjects are examined as active public intellectuals in a transwar timeframe, exposing their ideas, actions, and efficacy to the sustained scrutiny of a continuous historical narrative. Restoring temporal coherence to the study of transwar public policy in Japan is essential if we are to understand the war era not only for its own sake, but for its ongoing relevance to the contemporary world. While Hein's masterful consideration of these thinkers in times of war and peace takes us from prewar visits to Germany to imprisonment in wartime Japan and on to public prominence as postwar policy advisors and critics, she does not offer trite explanations or excuses for her subjects' wartime actions.

The Ōuchi group is a representative enigma in that its members opposed the thrust of war and then collaborated in its institutional conduct (Hein calls this "technocratic cooperation") even after having been arrested, tried, and imprisoned. Hein entertains us with the absurdities of wartime intellectual life: for example, with the tale of Takahashi Masao, who helped his interrogators by ghostwriting their reports to the head office, receiving a farewell party in return for his labors before being summarily sent off to jail. Hein argues that the postwar reticence of the Ōuchi group to recall their war-era treatment at the hands of the state was motivated mainly by their desire to be effective participants in policy formation and debate (p. 85). It is here, how-

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ever, that the deeper implications of Hein's work rise to the fore.

Third, it is clear that while researching and writing this book Hein has had an eye on her own contemporary political environment (and the predicament that we all share). The nexus between social scientific objectivity and ethics is the analytical refrain of this book. In examining Ōuchi and his colleagues, Hein is holding up a mirror to the postmodern, economic rationalist ethos that permeates the management of the academy in the twenty-first century. Hein's main point regarding Ōuchi resonates with us all. When she notes that for the Ōuchi group "dispassion was a methodology, never a goal" (p. 11), she evokes the fallacy of value-free scholarship, and the basic fact that for Ōuchi and his group, economics always embraced an ethical objective. While the objectivity of one may have undermined the subjective substance of the other in postwar memory, Hein maintains that there has never been anything inevitable or inherent in the divorce of successful economic policy from ethical social policy in the construction of Japan's economic miracle, and that to believe so is simply ahistorical. In her intellectual history of the sociopolitical contribution of a group of economists in modern Japan, Hein has reminded us of the ethical poverty that ensues from scholarship that aspires to be value-free.

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WALTER E. GRUNDEN. *Secret Weapons and World War II: Japan in the Shadow of Big Science*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2005. Pp. xi, 335. $39.95.

The literature on Japan's war in Asia and the Pacific has expanded well beyond the realms of diplomacy, military operations, tales of atrocities, and debate over the atomic bombings. That is a welcome trend, for the Asian region in World War II still plays second fiddle to the lead of the European theater in the historiography. Walter E. Grunden's important study of the Japanese failure to develop a viable scientific program for use in the conflict will help rectify such eurocentrism (as well as the prevailing American-centered perspective) by integrating the Japanese side into research on the workings of war, society, government, and science. Before delving into the details of Japan's scientific endeavors in each chapter, Grunden discusses the Russian, German, British, and American technological efforts in the fields of atomic, electric, aeronautical, and chemical and biological weapons. This points to ways in which further multinational research will fruitfully set the war in its truly global context. In addition, Grunden draws on Japanese sources to great effect, despite the efforts of Japanese officials to cover up postwar investigations into the horrors of Unit 731 and other atrocities. His is a careful study that addresses the cardinal reason that Japan did not—indeed, could not—win: it simply lacked the resources. Those resources included not only raw materials but the proper and creative coordination of the scientific establishment with the war effort.

The author's reasonable theme is that despite dreams of scientific glory on the battlefield, government bureaucrats, interservice military rivals, and even academics lacked appropriate organization, and thus all stymied the development of "Big Science" in Japan. At first blush, this argument seems odd for those familiar with Japan's recent history. How could a nation that rose to postwar dominance in electronics, automobiles, and other industries through the intimate relationship of government bureaucrats, politicians, producers, and labor have so lacked similar networks during the war, especially regarding the crucial sector of advanced military weaponry? In his opening chapter, Grunden answers by casting blame all around; on narrow-minded bureaucrats, on military leaders who jealously guarded their turf, and on a hierarchically structured scientific community inept at political intrigue. Surely the lack of resources and a manufacturing base restricted by war (and inconsequential anyway, in relation to the United States and European nations) hampered the science effort. Still, considering the great hopes for a nuclear power and weaponry program, infighting and poor planning needlessly trumped resource and industrial deficiencies. It seems evident that Japan learned from the wartime mistakes of bad organization.

Producing rockets, missiles, and biological and chemical agents (the subjects of succeeding chapters) to attack the enemy or prolong the war might have been feasible. Thus, of surprise to scholars conditioned to thinking of Japan as a postwar technological giant might be the lack of new and truly effective weapons that could have altered the course of the war. Efforts to make a "death ray" to zap enemy planes and ships appeared ludicrous (although the research paid dividends after the war), and there was little hope on the missile front until the end of the conflict, when these weapons were employed mainly on suicide missions. Grunden makes a good case, however, that chemical and biological warfare may have amounted to a significant contribution from the science establishment, but like the other secret weapons, they came too late. There is a twist to this potential success, however, for these weapons were also made possible by a seemingly complete lack of moral restraint in testing them on human subjects. Cheap to produce, germ and chemical agents might have given Americans pause. They certainly raise the uncomfortable issue of how Japan transitioned from war to peace. That is, many of the scientists who had focused on killing the enemy with death rays, gas, and anthrax later contributed basic research that resulted in the sale of televisions and pickup trucks to former enemies turned friends.

Grunden is too sober to go down the road of conjecture that, had secret weapons existed, the end for Japan might have been any different than unconditional defeat. Winning the war was out of the question, although the country might have caused considerably more damage in China had such weapons been avail-

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able. He does come close, though, to telling a story that, in the end, does not really matter. Big Science failed to be a significant factor in Japan's fate, so why focus so much attention on it? One reason is to show that World War II served as a springboard to the Japanese high-tech juggernaut of today. Beyond that legacy rests the importance of telling us about Japan itself and the impact of science in wartime in particular. Grunden has succeeded on these scores.

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E. BRUCE REYNOLDS. *Thailand's Secret War: The Free Thai, OSS, and SOE during World War II.* (Cambridge Military Histories.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 462. $85.00.

On December 12, 1941, after the Japanese attack on Thailand, Luang Phibun Songkhram, the prime minister, agreed to an alliance with Japan, and on January 25, 1942, he declared war on Great Britain and the United States. The history of the Thai-Japanese alliance has been examined by E. Bruce Reynolds in an earlier book, *Thailand and Japan's Southern Advance, 1940–1945* (1991). His new book is a very detailed study of the competition among the intelligence services of the United States, Great Britain, and Nationalist China to influence, manipulate, and control the anti-Japanese Free Thai underground for their own purposes. The United States was interested in building up its contacts with the region, strengthening its regional trade and diplomacy. The British wanted to regain their colonial position and to punish the Thai for their alliance with the Japanese, which had enabled Japanese forces to move quickly into Burma, Malaya, and Singapore. Nationalist China would have liked to expand its presence to the south, linking up with the large Chinese community in Thailand. These different, competing policies greatly affected the organization and progress of the Free Thai movement.

The response to the Thai-Japanese alliance and the Thai declaration of war against the Allies was immediate in Washington, London, and Bangkok. In Washington, D.C., the Thai minister, Seni Pramot, refused to convey the declaration of war to the U. S. government, offering instead to cooperate in the organization of a Free Thai movement drawing on Thai students stranded in the United States. In London, members of the Thai royal family, led by Prince Suphasawat, similarly offered their support to local Thai students. Their plans attracted the interest of the British Special Operations Executive (SOE). And, in Bangkok, Pridi Phanomyong, who had been transferred from Phibun's cabinet to the position of regent for the absent king, began to seek supporters for a Free Thai government in exile, possibly based in India. Unable to contact the Allies directly, he sent an envoy, Chamkat Phalangkun, to China. Each of the three allied intelligence agencies—American, British, and Chinese—moved to coopt the Thai and open their own contacts with Pridi in Bangkok. This was not accomplished by the Americans and the British until August of 1944. The Chinese-backed Free Thai group never made it to Bangkok.

Much of the text is given over to the internal politics of the various agencies and personnel in each of the three governments considering support for the Free Thai. Personal conflicts and turf battles occupied the time; the debates over planning, responsibility, and leadership pitted ambitious leaders and factions against each other. After both the Americans, through the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and Detachment 404, and the British through the SOE and Force 136, succeeded in setting up contacts in Thailand, there remained issues of cooperation and, after the collapse of Japan on August 15, 1945, matters of peace. The British were still seeking revenge, the Americans a regional ally. The Thai preferred the American approach, and the British had to compromise over peace terms. The epilogue considers the impact of World War II on future developments in Thai politics, particularly the role of the Thai military in the government.

Most of the sources for Reynolds's study are in English, and the details of American and Chinese military bureaucratic conflicts do reveal much about the personalities of the people involved and the issues they defended. The information about internal British conflicts is limited, much of it probably sacrificed to the discussion of British and American policies and competition. Apart from the conflicts between Seni Pramot and Lieutenant Colonel Khap Khunchon, the Thai military attaché, Chamkat's remarkable mission to China, and Pridi's problems at the end of the war, the reader does not learn much about the internal politics of the Free Thai movement.

Reynolds clearly enjoys a good story. His detailed narrative of American, British, and Chinese government policies, officers, and other personnel reveals a surprising depth of personal conflict. There was minimal cooperation; every individual who stood out immediately attracted an opposing rival waiting to cut him down. Little mention of the terrors of war, apart from the Allied bombing of Thailand, is made. Thailand escaped the worst of the war's impact, but one can wonder at the frustration over the bureaucratic infighting and its impact on the Free Thai, who often found their goals and plans overrun by the Allies. In the end, the dominance of the United States as a Thai ally was established, as was its role in Thai politics of the late 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s.

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SETH JACOBS. *America's Miracle Man in Vietnam: Ngo Dinh Diem, Religion, Race, and U.S. Intervention in Southeast Asia, 1950–1957.* (American Encounters/Global Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 381. $22.95.

Some of us who attended high school in the 1950s may remember a civics class where we were required to read

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the famous news magazine and take weekly "*Time* quizzes." I distinctly remember being taught that President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam was a stalwart defender of the Free World. The fact that I can recall this heroic portrait of Diem after fifty years have passed probably means that factors unrelated to Henry R. Luce's version of events were at play. As Seth Jacobs shows in this book, both the Eisenhower administration and powerful private interests worked to sell Diem to the American people. Their propaganda sustained American support for Diem until late in 1963, when he was overthrown and murdered.

Jacobs has written a cultural history of Cold War America's embrace of Diem. He finds that most policy makers, including President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, were largely ignorant of Vietnam and its peoples. Into this mental void moved stereotypical images that drove them to exalt Diem far beyond his modest talents. If he was a Catholic in a largely Buddhist country, that was all to the good. In the mindset portrayed by Jacobs, Catholicism meant anticommunism, while Buddhism signified resignation, passivity, and susceptibility to Red blandishments. If Diem was isolated and authoritarian, that, too, could be excused. The American foreign policy establishment, Jacobs argues, viewed East Asians as the childlike protégés of two adults fighting for custody. In this battle, communism faced off against freedom, and children had to be shielded from making bad choices. If Diem was a dictator, he was so out of necessity, not by choice. And if he was Christian, that was not a problem for the administration. In fact, Dulles and many others viewed Christian allies like Chiang Kai-shek and Synghman Rhee as guarantors of a pro-Western, anticommunist order on Taiwan and in South Korea.

Jacobs describes these arguments and attitudes as ethnocentric and racist. In fact, he tosses the latter term around far too often. He rarely identifies attractive or even viable democratic alternatives to Diem. South Vietnam was a state (not a nation) emerging from a bloody colonial war, and it was harassed by subversion on every side. It was overwhelmed by refugees and terrorized by guerrillas for much of its history. To ascribe South Vietnam's miserable history solely to American racism and to Diem is both unfair and illogical.

Jacobs's book is highly readable; he writes with verve, even passion, as he takes us on a tour through the "Vietnam lobby." Jacobs shows how Dr. Tom Dooley popularized the image of Vietnam as the stage for a struggle between communist perfidy and Catholic virtue. Substantial sections of the book are devoted to the influential pro-Diem policies advocated by Senator Mike Mansfield, and by private groups such as the American Friends of Vietnam. Running through Jacobs's narrative is an indictment of American attitudes and policies as misguided, arrogant, parochial, and blind.

I share many of Jacobs's concerns. The problem, however, is that Jacobs overstates his case. He virtually ignores North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front; they appear in his pages as mere background players. While Diem's evil acts are described in lavish detail, Jacobs rarely mentions the murder and terror that contributed to South Vietnam's destabilization. The tactics perfected by the communists in their war against the French cannot be blamed on Dulles or Mansfield. As a historian, Jacobs is thus guilty of the same American ethnocentricity he so often ascribes to U.S. policy makers. Everything, it seems, was the fault of ill-informed Americans, or of Diem, their protégé. Still, Jacobs's book is well researched and a very good read. If one overlooks its accusatory tone of moral superiority, there is much here that will be of interest to scholars and other readers.

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Iqtidar Alam Khan. *Gunpowder and Firearms: Warfare in Medieval India*. (Aligarh Historians Society Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 263. $35.00.

This book does not live up to its subtitle. It does, however, deserve a place beside the works of David Ayalon, John Francis Guilmartin, and Kenneth Chase as a fundamental contribution to the study of the development, distribution, and effects of firearms in late medieval and early modern times. It is unfortunate that this book did not appear in time for Chase to incorporate Iqtidar Alam Khan's findings into his global treatment of the subject.

Like most of the Aligharh historians, Khan brings a mastery of the relevant Persian texts to his work; the book culminates thirty years of work on the topic. Unlike most of his colleagues, Khan makes good use of contemporary scholarship beyond South Asia. He uses this knowledge to demonstrate the use the Chinese *h'uo chiang*, a bamboo tube used as a fire projector as one of the first gunpowder weapons (though not a firearm) employed in South Asia. He thus demonstrates the vital importance of integrating the study of all the regions of Eurasia, especially during the Mongol period.

In addition to the chapter on the appearance of gunpowder and firearms in India in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in which that identification occurs, the book addresses the development of artillery in India during the fifteenth century, the response to the arrival of European ordnance during the sixteenth century, and artillery and small arms in the Mughal period, with two chapters devoted specifically to the matchlock musket. The text has three technical errors, two in the use of English vocabulary. Khan employs the term mortar, which refers to a high trajectory weapon, to translate the Persian *top*, *kazan*, and *deg*, which his own illustrations as well as technical evidence indicate clearly refer to low-trajectory heavy cannon. He uses handgun to mean not pistol but all infantry firearms. The third error concerns his extensive discussion of the use of muskets from horseback. The musket was never a practical weapon for use on horseback; the troops Khan mentions were presumably dragoons.

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Khan devotes considerable attention to what this reviewer has called the gunpowder empires hypothesis, the argument first propounded by V. V. Bartol'd and developed by Marshall G. S. Hodgson and William McNeill that the diffusion of firearms led to political consolidation. Hodgson specifically argues that the expense of siege weapons gave the principalities wealthy enough to afford them a significant advantage, permitting them to absorb smaller principalities whose independence had depended on fortifications. Khan argues that the effective use of siege guns facilitated the expansion of the Lodi and Bahmani kingdoms and the Sultanate of Gujarat in the late fifteen and early sixteenth centuries. His argument is convincing but actually contradicts the gunpowder empires hypothesis because the Lodi and Bahmani states swiftly fragmented and Gujarat remained a provincial principality until the Mughal conquest. Clearly the additional leverage of gunpowder siege weapons was not sufficient to sustain a large, durable polity. As Khan indicates, infantry firearms did not become important in India until 1526; their use, in conjunction with field artillery and mounted archers, led to the series of victories which eventually convinced the opponents of the Mughals to avoid battle and prefer sieges. He does not address this reviewer's evaluation of the gunpowder empires hypothesis in the Mughal context.

In his treatment of the Mughals, Khan accepts the view that the Mughal Empire was a highly centralized bureaucratic empire and argues that infantry firearms helped to make it so. He regards this as a settled issue; for the Aligarh historians it may be, but other scholars disagree. The evidence for the role of the matchlock rests on two points: the military effectiveness of the matchlock in battle, especially against peasants, and Mughal efforts to increase the number of infantrymen with firearms from Akbar's reign forward. Khan offers no direct evidence of a connection between centralization and the use of firearms. The utility of infantrymen with firearms in sieges and the difficulty and expense of maintaining effective cavalry forces in India appear sufficient to explain the continued efforts to recruit more infantry.

The last substantive chapter addresses the role of small arms in peasant resistance to Mughal rule. Evidence of Mughal efforts to prevent rural production of firearms supports Khan's argument that Mughal efforts to recruit mounted musketeers (dragoons) to deal with rebellious peasants. He assumes the validity of Irfan Habib's findings about the significance of the peasant resistance to Mughal authority, which have not won universal acceptance.

To sum up, some of the author's assumptions and conclusions are open to question, but the value of his work is not.

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OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

Jill Julius Matthews. *Dance Hall and Picture Palace: Sydney's Romance with Modernity*. Sydney, Australia: Currency Press. 2005. Pp. x, 342.

Jill Julius Matthews has hitherto been known in general historical debate for her trail-blazing book *Good and Mad Women: The Historical Construction of Femininity in Twentieth-Century Australia* (1984). She will be henceforth known for this book as well, which transmutes culture change in one city into the broader flows of popular culture production in an increasingly networked and American-dominated world. Matthews's focus is the thirty-year period of relative prosperity between the ending of one economic depression in the 1890s and the onset of another in 1929. This time period corresponds with the consolidation of complex and globally connected urban forms. In Sydney, it is delineated as well by the screening of the city's first motion picture in 1896, and by the first viewing of a full-length talking movie (*The Jazz Singer*) late in 1928. Matthews sees synergies between these developments. Her purpose is in part to describe how modernity was tangibly expressed in everyday city life: through department stores and dance halls, gramophone records, radio, and cinema. In so doing Matthews also identifies the friction points—for example, competition locally and internationally for commercial advantage, to influence the regulatory environment, and to arbitrate the cannons of public taste—that conditioned the emerging popular culture industry. These investigations enable Matthews to engage powerfully with her core purpose: to unravel the multilayered mediations that fashioned the kaleidoscopic essence of early twentieth-century urban culture.

Matthews uses the trope of romance—widespread in the early twentieth century—as a paradigm that encapsulates modern city culture. Her book is divided into three main parts: the Romance of City Life, the Romance of Business, and the Romance of Civilization. In the first part, two chapters situate Sydney as a world city and probe representations of "the modern girl" in order to unravel the complexities of modern city work and leisure time. In the second, three chapters examine the massive influence of the expanding movie, record, and radio industries upon popular culture, and the pragmatic adjustments undertaken by the entertainment industry in order to allay concerns about business ethics and American influence. In the third part, two chapters probe the diverse groupings of conservatives, radicals, and progressives within Sydney's social elite that sought to contain or reformulate the entertainment industry.

Matthews's approach is enlivened by vignettes of people, organizations, and groups that highlight her themes. For example, the pervasive influence of U.S. juggernaut Fox is told through the activities of its Australian chief, Stanley Crick, and the lives of J. D. Williams and Stuart Doyle likewise personify the development of the Union/Greater Union picture theater empire. Efforts by progressive reformers to influence film standards are highlighted by Beatrice Tildesley and

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her pursuit of aesthetic perfection through the Good Film League and the Film Society of Australia.

This approach is consolidated by clever word play and conceptual scaffolding. A good example is Matthews's analysis of cinema advertising, which she argues was pursued through an orchestrated "strategy of glamour" that tapped the lifestyles of Hollywood stars and was balanced by championing "glamorous charity" in order to harness community goodwill through movie-club charitable fund raising. Less successful is Matthews's attempt to anchor her general arguments about cultural transmission and adjustment to the particularities of a city case study. She should not be criticized for pursuing a bold cultural history agenda and eschewing the specialist preoccupations of urban historians. But there remains scope for others to extend her arguments by exploring the dynamic relationship between culture and place.

Matthews's timid use of Miriam Hansen's term "vernacular modernism" is a case in point. I look forward to analysis that fully applies this term to the altering forms and freighted symbolic meanings of gramophones, radios, dance halls, cinemas, and home interiors, and which in so doing draws on cross-disciplinary research on vernacular architecture and material culture in the manner of Henry Glassie. I also look forward to further analysis of modern manners through the prisms of material space, imagined space, and ritual space. Gaston Bachelard and Victor Turner would surely have a place in such an undertaking.

In Matthews's capable hands Sydney's romance with modernity ranges across gender and social class in order to tease out the changing dreams and actualities of everyday city life during the early twentieth century. Both the dreams and the actualities were conditioned by contending elites: the new "magnates" of modern business, and the city's established elites who claimed to represent public opinion. Matthews demonstrates that this interplay mediated modernity and thereby redefined both popular culture and public opinion in globally connected cities such as Sydney.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

EDWARD P. KOHN. *This Kindred People: Canadian-American Relations and the Anglo-Saxon Idea, 1895–1903*. Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2004. Pp. 254. $75.00.

Edward P. Kohn's book focuses on Canada-related aspects of the much-studied Anglo-American rapprochement of 1895–1903. Canada's role in the rapprochement gets attention; the way the rapprochement affected Canadian-American relations is considered; and the North American significance of the idea that the English-speaking peoples of the North Atlantic region were united by a common Anglo-Saxon heritage receives particularly close scrutiny.

Canada's role in the rapprochement was both diplomatic and ideological. Although Britain was formally in charge of Canada's foreign relations, British authorities had since the Treaty of Washington (1871) been consulting the dominion in areas in which it had an interest. They continued the practice in their end-of-the-century negotiations with the Americans, particularly over the difficult Alaska boundary issue, with the result that Canada had an important, albeit not determining, place in the outcome of those negotiations. Canada also participated in the shaping of the Anglo-Saxon idea. Seeing association with that idea as allowing identification with leading international actors, Canadians took up the task of articulating and broadcasting it with as much enthusiasm as the British and Americans.

The rapprochement's effect on the Canadian-American relationship was both negative and positive. Canada, vigorously holding to a view of the Alaska boundary the United States could not accept, complicated the process of British-American agreement, and when the United States responded—with British acquiescence—in what Canadians perceived as a heavy-handed way, much tension and difficulty ensued. On the positive side, the rapprochement removed lingering Canadian worries that strained United States-British relations might provoke a U.S. attack on Canada; it also moved the United States into position—in its own interest—as the principal guarantor of Canadian security.

The North American significance of the Anglo-Saxon idea is seen as fundamental. It gave Canadians and Americans "a way to moderate resentment and to emphasize their common destiny upon the continent and their mission throughout the world" (p. 8). In spite of the fact that Anglo-Saxon ideology "became increasingly anachronistic" after the Alaska settlement of 1903 (p. 11), it had a central role in altering Canadian, American, and British perceptions of one another and in making each see its counterparts as members of the same international family. The community sensibility that resulted survived Anglo-Saxonism's own relatively short life and prepared the way for the great wartime alliances of the twentieth century.

Much in Kohn's discussion is valuable. His examination of the Anglo-Saxon idea amplifies understanding of an important dimension of the rapprochement: no previous consideration of these events has explored that dimension so extensively. It also does much to explain how essentially interest-driven actions could be made to seem matters of the highest morality and rectitude. The richness and variety of the material adduced is a particular strength: readers will find in these pages an especially textured demonstration of the manner in which notions of cultural and racial community were assembled and put to work in a highly politicized setting.

Not all the problems inherent in a study of this kind have been avoided. It is misleading—as Kohn's own material makes clear—to present Canada as aiding rapprochement: the sand it threw in the diplomatic wheels was real, and though the British and the Americans got what they wanted in the end, Canada's role in bringing

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that result about was negative rather than positive. The claim that "Anglo-American understanding depended on North American concord" (p. 202) is warranted, but to argue that "Canadians and Americans searched for an area of common ground and found it in Anglo-Saxonism" (p. 202) overlooks the measure in which "agreement" between the two was a matter of Canada's rather reluctant and grudging acceptance of the logic of its geographical position. Questions can also be raised about the extent to which adoption of a shared Anglo-Saxon ideology left the Canadian-American relationship smooth and untroubled: Kohn himself points to tension after 1903, and he draws attention to the role played by anti-Americanism in the free-trade-defeating general election of 1911. The claim that "Anglo-Saxonism and the Anglo-American rapprochement placed Canadian-American relations on a more equal footing and ensured Canadian security" (p. 203) paints too unqualified a picture. The Anglo-Saxon idea itself needs closer attention: how it functioned is clear; the degree in which it was produced to serve that function, and to naturalize and legitimate steps taken for other reasons, is not.

This interesting book is informative in terms of its main themes and provides a useful reminder of the measure in which relations among states and nations count. Its argument is sometimes hard to follow, but it is generally sound. Readers will learn much.

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PETER L. TWOHIG. *Labour in the Laboratory: Medical Laboratory Workers in the Maritimes, 1900–1950.* (Studies in the History of Medicine, Health, and Society, number 23.) Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 241. $70.00.

This short book (166 pages of actual text) expands the medical gaze to include laboratory workers in the first half of the twentieth century. Focusing on the Maritimes, in particular the Pathological Institute in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and the Bureau of Laboratories in Saint John, New Brunswick, but including labs in the rest of Canada, Peter L. Twohig has written a readable and fascinating study examining what was largely a female work force. In addition to the introductory essay, there are five chapters, the first two tracing the development of the laboratories, followed by three focusing specifically on the workers: who they were; the work they did; and how they were recruited, their workplace mobility, and the wages paid.

The gendered aspects of the workers and their responsibilities are seen in the division between hospital lab technicians, mostly female, and university medical science lab technicians, almost all male. The situation of the women is familiar. If unmarried and living with family, a worker's wage reflected the assumption that she did not "need" money in order to live; if she lost that familial connection, wages increased but only to insure that she would stay at her job. More fascinating are the male laboratory workers at Dalhousie University who suffered a similar fate but for different reasons. University officials simply could not see the jobs that young men did in the labs as a career. Men were expected to leave when they married and find a more fitting, better-paying job. Rather than pay married men a family wage and thus keep them as workers, University officials were willing to go through the expense of training replacements. Notions of what a married man's work should be preempted financial efficiency.

To date, a strong theme in medical history and in the history of workers in the twentieth century has been the specialization of tasks, which some scholars have argued is a part of modernity. Twohig's study challenges that assumption using the laboratory workers as a case study of a case in point whose members constantly crossed boundaries between one job and another, one task and another: what he refers to as multitasking. The technician's job could and did include the mundane and the skilled: cleaning glassware and performing complex tests and clerical duties. The skilled aspects led to the formation of the Canadian Society of Laboratory Technologists (CSLT) in 1936 to improve the standards of entry into lab work and also to lobby for some kind of recognized professional standing. Both were difficult to achieve. Given the variety of ways individuals entered lab work, standardization of entry was difficult to enforce. Training curricula were established but varied remarkably across the country reflecting local needs and customs and what Twohig refers to as "the enduring idiosyncratic nature of health care in Canada" (p. 102). As for professionalism, since the CSLT was in many respects subject to the interests of the Canadian Medical Association, its ability to represent its members was limited.

Twohig's discussion of professionalism acknowledges the slipperiness of the concept, and he does not waste time in trying to judge whether lab workers were professional or not. What he does do is probe how lab workers undermined the professionalism of other groups. For example, many lab workers were nurses whose part-time involvement in the lab took them away from the perceived role of nursing—involvement with patients—and thus from their distinctiveness as nurses. But one can only take the supposed decline in status or distinctiveness so far. Not mentioned is that while nurses crossed over to lab work, technicians did not cross over to traditional nursing duties.

With respect to lab work, physicians emerge as the less skilled. The work of the laboratories was only as good as the specimens collected for testing and it would appear that physicians were not particularly adept at taking and sending them in a way that insured their arrival in an appropriate condition. Clearly physicians failed the test of multitasking. While Twohig argues that this did not effect the strict demarcation between the physical work of the laboratory workers and the intellectual work of physicians in interpreting the results of lab tests, for some in medicine the tests undercut the interpretive scope of the physician, thus lessening the

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need for his skill. The laboratory was becoming the center of medicine's authority in the twentieth century, so much so that clinicians were, at times, concerned that their students were losing the skills of diagnosis, depending too much on the test results to tell them what was wrong with their patients. But the focus on lab work and the science of medicine would only increase over time. As Twohig concludes, while the laboratories were not places of innovation in medicine, they underscored medicine, and they were part of its foundation without which the visible health workers could not practice.

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HELEN C. ROUNTREE. *Pocahontas, Powhatan, and Opechancanough: Three Indian Lives Changed by Jamestown*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 292. $29.95.

In May 2006, eighteen months of public festivities will inaugurate the four hundredth anniversary of Jamestown's founding. Multiple new publications and movies have prepared the way for the upcoming celebrations, including *Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma* by Camilla Townsend (2004), *Love and Hate in Jamestown: John Smith, Pocahontas, and the Start of a New Nation*, by David A. Price (2003), *The New World* (2005), an adult movie version of the Pocahontas/John Smith romance, and an anniversary edition of *Pocahontas*. But in this rising field of recent new work, it is Helen C. Rountree's book that most deserves our attention. Her work shifts scholarly attention from Pocahontas to a more complicated and nuanced narrative, framed by the lives of three indigenous people: Pocahontas, Powhatan, and Opechancanough. All three were central to understanding what happened at Jamestown, and by restructuring the narrative around their lives, the author incorporates indigenous voices. These voices have been difficult to hear and yet directly affect the perspective from which we choose to study the meeting of divergent cultures.

Rountree shifts the focus from Pocahontas to Powhatan, and to his barely remembered but equally important younger brother, Openhancanough. Much of this book carefully investigates the ways in which Powhatan enhanced his own power in the Chesapeake region, creating a powerful confederacy from diverse communities. Women's power declined as Powhatan increasingly decided who would be placed in positions of authority. Powhatan's ascendancy thus jeopardized traditional roles in these matrilineal communities. By the time that the English invaders arrived, Rountree shows us that Powhatan held sway over many of the waterways in the Chesapeake region.

For Rountree, Indian life was far from static, and Powhatan's decision making was shaped by confidence in his own power. In the winter of 1609, when disease and hunger effectively reduced the Jamestown colony from 214 to 60 souls, Powhatan mistakenly believed that Jamestown would fail of its own accord. He did not understand that people were willingly sacrificed by the Virginia Company and that England's demographic surplus insured a continually larger invasion of English settlers. Rountree rescues Powhatan's much-maligned younger brother from oblivion and situates him in an impossibly difficult situation as Jamestown expanded, aggressively incorporating the fields of Indian women. Rountree shows us how Openhancanough's skills as an effective diplomat and resistance leader often helped assuage the increasingly tenuous situation of Native people. Ultimately, she suggests, it was Pocahontas who played the least influential role in determining how the encounter unfolded. Pocahontas was barely remembered by her contemporaries; her brief life and her even shorter notoriety in England faded with her early death.

Rountree's impeccable credentials have created an exhaustively detailed version of the interaction between Indians and the English invaders. Her previous work has shaped this new monograph, particularly her research about the Indians that occupied Virginia's tidewater in *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture* (1989) and her ethnohistorical account of the changes that engulfed them following the seventeenth century, *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia through Four Centuries* (1990). She appears to have uncovered every written record and archaeological study, but her approach in this book differs from that of previous works. Here Rountree uses sixteenth-century sources as a starting point, each document serving as a reciprocal and multiple interrogator. Ralph Hamor informs John White: verifying, refuting, and complicating Smith's narrative. The entire body of primary source material functions in the same way. Another notable inclusion in this monograph is Rountree's superb visual evidence. The author has carefully selected her illustrations, using maps to directly support her narrative. For instance, when Rountree tells us that English expansion jeopardized Native farmers, we can see how this played out in the appropriation of Native farmland. A map shows how the English takeover effectively incorporated the most viable farmlands in this delta region, directly affecting women's wealth and the food supply of their villages (p. 188).

Rountree's comprehensive writing style and insightful analysis makes this one of the most important texts about early events in the Chesapeake. The richness and exhaustive nature of the sources guarantee that it will become a standard reference book that historians can consult to confirm the accuracy of events and to better understand the nature of indigenous power. Rountree's work should be central to how the story of Jamestown can be retold from a new perspective.

SUSAN SLEEPER-SMITH
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ROGER M. CARPENTER. *The Renewed, the Destroyed, and the Remade: The Three Thought Worlds of the Huron and the Iroquois, 1609–1650*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 2004. Pp. xxii, 179. $27.95.

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A "thought world," Roger M. Carpenter tells us approximately one-third of the way through this short book, "encompasses a culture's logic, ontology, epistemology, and values." In short, "it can be defined as a culturally adapted mode of thought" (p. 47). The term, but not the definition, comes from Calvin Martin. And like Martin—in books such as *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade* (1978) and *The Way of the Human Being* (1999)—Carpenter places great emphasis on thought worlds in explaining human behavior. The vastly different fates of the Five Nations Iroquois and the Hurons in the seventeenth century, he argues, may be traced to the ways in which their culturally determined modes of thinking allowed them to respond to the challenges of the European invasion.

The Five Nations and the Hurons were closely related leagues of northern Iroquoian-speaking peoples for whom themes of renewal were central cultural tropes. Iroquois and Hurons shared origin stories that were less about beginnings than about renewal. In their daily lives they renewed their landscapes by periodically relocating their villages and cornfields, renewed their communities by ritually killing or adopting war captives, and renewed their polities by requickening the traditional names of deceased chiefs.

The shared Iroquoian thought world of "the renewed," Carpenter argues, contained a set of technological limitations—or rather limits of "technological imagination" (p. 93)—that made it virtually impossible for people to envision anything completely new. Iroquoians could, he says, sit in a cold drizzle and imagine being warm and dry, but they could not imagine inventing easily dryable garments made of woolen cloth; they could imagine how good it would be to be able to cut down an ancient tree, but they could not imagine crafting an iron axe to make the job possible. These startling assertions lead one to wonder how Native people ever came up with such technological marvels as the snowshoe, the birchbark canoe, the fishing weir, or, for that matter, the Iroquois Great League of Peace. But for Carpenter, the unprecedented novelty of contact with Europeans—and their woolen cloth, iron axes, and deadly diseases—necessarily threatened the entire destruction of the Native thought world.

This, says Carpenter, is precisely what happened to the Hurons. The demand for European trade goods led to the rapid transformation of Huron hunters' relationships with the beaver, who ceased being understood as an other-than-human person demanding respect and renewal and became instead a disposable commodity. Even more destructive of the Huron thought world were French Jesuit missionaries, who, with their control of trade goods and weapons and their relentless assaults on basic Iroquoian assumptions, left Huron communities demoralized and disunited.

Thus the Hurons—the "destroyed" of Carpenter's title—became easy pickings for victorious Five Nations Iroquois war parties in the 1640s because those Iroquois, by contrast, somehow found the means to become "the remade." With their greater and more varied access to trade goods and their refreshing lack of exposure to Christian missionaries, they emerged from the threatened destruction of their thought world to craft a novel form of renewal in a crusade to incorporate "other peoples into their confederacy, which they metaphorically described as the White Roots of Peace" (p. 118).

There are many problems with this thought-provoking analysis, problems that go far beyond a cultural determinism bordering on essentialism. At a distance of three hundred and fifty years, it is difficult to be confident about what a seventeenth-century—much less a precontact—Iroquoian thought world might look like. Such confidence is not enhanced by Carpenter's tendency to slip into easy dichotomies between an Iroquoian thought world of renewal and a European world where "humans, in Christian thought, bore no responsibility for maintaining the earth" (p. 83). Perhaps the most problematic dichotomy is between the supposed unity of the Iroquois and the disunity of the post-contact Hurons. There is little evidence that the Five Nations—just as subject to devastating diseases as the Hurons, just as attracted to consumer goods, just as prone to internal factionalism—acted as a coherent entity in their wars against the Hurons and other neighbors, although warriors from all five nations did apparently work together during the final campaigns against the Hurons. And Carpenter himself admits that, after his book's closing date of 1650, the contrast between the "destroyed" Hurons and the "remade" Iroquois rapidly broke down. By a "twist of irony, the Five Nations found themselves, from the 1660s to the end of the seventeenth century, facing many of the same internal crises that wracked the Huron before 1650," and for both peoples "the impact of technology and Christianity in the end had been the same" (pp. 135–136). Renewal, destruction, and remaking clearly were constant themes in Native American history during the seventeenth century. But just as clearly, there was more to the story than that.

DANIEL K. RICHTER
University of Pennsylvania

BRADFORD J. WOOD. *This Remote Part of the World: Regional Formation in Lower Cape Fear, North Carolina, 1725–1775.* (The Carolina Lowcountry and the Atlantic World.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 344. $39.95.

After years of relative neglect, the fields of North Carolina's early history are once again being plowed. Books by Jon F. Sensbach, Kirsten Fischer, Wayne Lee, and this reviewer and a recent dissertation by Noeleen McIlvenna have increased our understanding of the Piedmont and Albemarle regions as places where settlers marched to the beat of their own drums. North Carolina long remained in many respects a developing frontier where repeated waves of newcomers searched for autonomy from bothersome authorities and where those on the make could rise, and fall, fast. Farmers and

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hunters who came with hopes for family independence and a more egalitarian world repeatedly clashed with men who believed social hierarchy to be the key to realizing their dreams of prosperity. To this recent body of work, but not necessarily in its spirit, Bradford J. Wood adds a study of the Lower Cape Fear region.

Wood's book is a deliberate examination of regionalism. Convinced that North Carolina developed as several rather than one single colony, Wood attempts to show the distinctive character of the Lower Cape Fear as compared with Albemarle and the Piedmont. Settled by some of the very men who helped empty the region of Native Americans in the Tuscarora and Yamassee wars early in the eighteenth century, the Lower Cape Fear quickly proved more an extension of South Carolina than of Virginia. Perhaps as early as five years after settlement, Wood speculates, the area had a black majority. These enslaved workers lived in larger black communities than did their counterparts elsewhere in North Carolina and were ruled with coarse brutality by their outnumbered and fearful masters. Slaves produced the tar, turpentine, pitch, and pine boards on which rested the region's distinctive export industry. Lower Cape Fear plantations were diversified enterprises, Wood shows, generating moderate wealth that fell short of the fortunes made in the South Carolina lowcountry. For enslaved people, this mixed economy created opportunities for autonomy along with painful separations from family and friends. Wood is undoubtedly right about the area's distinctive economy and the unique environment it created for enslaved workers.

Yet for all its distinctiveness, the Lower Cape Fear had much in common with North Carolina's other regions. While Wood clearly does not subscribe to a historiographical tradition that locates class conflict at the heart of historical change, his work nevertheless depicts the Cape Fear as a place where unscrupulous men scrambled up the social ladder in pursuit of wealth and power in much the same way as other elites in Albemarle and the Piedmont. Such men rose by means of fraudulent land acquisitions, control of the county courts, naked venality in the provincial government, and expedient support of the Anglican Church. Wood points to white solidarity in the face of a black majority to explain why the Cape Fear was spared the lower-class rebellions that rocked Albemarle in the early period and the Piedmont during the Regulation; in this he may well be right. But he dismisses the Regulator Rebellion as a regional conflict that little affected Cape Fear elites. This conclusion is puzzling. Precisely because the Lower Cape Fear, as Wood shows, was the most economically developed region of North Carolina and its elites had come to dominate North Carolina's government by the late colonial period, the threat Piedmont farmers posed was deeply felt by Cape Fear leaders. They voted alongside other provincial elites to provide Governor William Tryon with the authorization and funds to march against the Regulators and some even fought as "gentlemen volunteers" with the governor's troops at the Battle of Alamance in 1771. While Wood points to the American Revolution as the decisive moment in the subordination of regional to larger concerns, the Regulation had certainly primed Cape Fear men for just this change.

Wood based his book in part on a huge database of some 29,000 references he gathered from a wide variety of court and county records. He has wrung much quantitative information from these data; I hope that he will make this database available on the internet for the benefit of other researchers. Even though Wood supplements these data with elite letters and diaries, this reviewer missed the kinds of stories about ordinary people that a different mining of court records might have allowed. Nevertheless, Wood's book is a useful addition to a growing body of work on a colony that not only contemporaries but modern historians once thought "remote" and unimportant.

MARJOLEINE KARS
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JAMES E. MCWILLIAMS. *A Revolution in Eating: How the Quest for Food Shaped America*. (Arts and Traditions of the Table: Perspectives on Culinary History.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. 386. $29.95.

James E. McWilliams aims to explore "not only *what* colonial Americans ate but also *why* they ate it" (p. 16). The result is an engagingly written book that examines culinary themes within the larger context of colonial development and, ultimately, revolution. Like colonial history more generally, the culinary history of early America reflected a mixture of Native American, African, and European influences that, upon contact with different physical environments, produced regional variations on a set of common themes.

Much of the book is devoted to elucidating those regional distinctions. In each case, McWilliams pays attention not only to what foods were produced but also to who produced and prepared them and how this was done. He identifies a spectrum of foodways based on the extent to which English culinary practices were modified by New World conditions. At one extreme was New England, whose colonists most closely replicated the English diet of meat, grain, and vegetables by following familiar English agricultural practices. At the other end were the West Indies, distinguished by the evolution of an Afro-Caribbean cuisine invented by slaves required to provision themselves. In between one finds the Middle Colonies, Chesapeake, and Carolina, each with cuisines that reflected different blends of the culinary traditions of their inhabitants.

McWilliams provides a great deal of vivid description—from methods of slaughtering pigs to the complicated steps required to make cheese—but the book is not merely descriptive. Several analytical threads run throughout, tying the information to a broader interpretative framework. One key theme is the prolonged influence of Native Americans on American culinary practices, most clearly seen in the predominance of

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corn as a dietary staple but also in the exploitation of fish and game as sources of protein. More pronounced in areas (such as Carolina) where Indians and colonists heavily engaged in trade, Native American culinary influences diminished in the wake of conflicts (such as the Yamassee War) and the resulting displacement of native populations. Another of McWilliams's themes is the growth of American abundance. Over time, regional economies achieved self-sufficiency in food through a combination of local production and intercolonial trade. Alcohol as well as foodstuffs followed trade channels; in particular, McWilliams argues, the rum trade between the West Indies and mainland colonies fostered commercial networks through which grain, meat, and other products passed.

The rum trade also epitomized a limited trend toward culinary homogeneity in the colonies. Eighteenth-century colonists, no matter where they lived, developed a taste for rum, tea, and other goods that served as emblems of sociability in homes and taverns. At the same time, colonists with the means to do so ate their meals from imported Wedgwood plates, poured tea from imported silver pots, consulted English cookbooks for menu ideas, and remodeled their kitchens in accordance with English architectural patterns, filling them with copper pots and other utensils now deemed necessary equipment for any civilized dwelling. The anglicizing trends that other historians have identified in colonial politics, gender relations, legal practices, and consumption patterns more generally thus had their culinary counterparts.

But food likewise figured in the eventual break with Britain. Americans who knew they could feed themselves contemplated independence with an enthusiasm impossible to imagine had they relied on England for provisions. McWilliams goes so far as to argue that colonists protested the familiar litany of parliamentary measures in the 1760s and 1770s precisely because they were seen as threatening Americans' access to food as well as other material goods. Here the author pushes his interpretation a bit too far, and unnecessarily so, since he proceeds to identify a more plausible—indeed, compelling—link between food and revolution. Recalling the ideological significance of property to virtuous republicans, McWilliams reminds his readers that land was no mere abstraction to eighteenth-century Americans. Most colonists grew the crops and raised the animals that fed them, maintaining an intimate connection with their food sources that modern Americans can scarcely imagine. Even colonists who kept their hands clean and made others do the hard work knew exactly where their food came from.

After the revolution, Americans expressed their culinary independence by rejecting European influences and touting the virtues of their own plain cooking—the dietary equivalent of homespun cloth. Thomas Jefferson's celebrated yeoman farmer (if not Jefferson himself) sat down to simple repasts at which homegrown corn, pork, and turnips might figure prominently, washed down by home-brewed beer. European visitors might scoff at such displays of frugality, but Americans took seriously the adage that "you are what you eat." In this graceful, often humorous account of early American culinary history, McWilliams does likewise in a book that should appeal to a general readership as well as scholars of the colonial and revolutionary periods.

VIRGINIA DEJOHN ANDERSON
University of Colorado, Boulder

MARY SARAH BILDER. *The Transatlantic Constitution: Colonial Legal Culture and the Empire*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 291. $49.95.

Updating Joseph Henry Smith's classic study, *Appeals to the Privy Council from the American Plantations* (1950), Mary Sarah Bilder presents us with an elegant, concise portrait of the debates among lawyers, jurists, and legislators on both sides of the Atlantic over the compatibility of colonial statutes and legal practice with English law. Rather than survey all British colonies in the North American region, as Smith did, Bilder offers a deeper investigation into the arguments, strategies, and personnel at play by focusing on Rhode Island, the mainland colony with the largest number of appeal cases forwarded to the Privy Council in the eighteenth century.

At the heart of what Bilder calls the transatlantic (rather than the imperial) constitution binding England and its colonies were the twinned issues of repugnancy and divergence. Legal literates generally agreed that colonial laws ought not to be repugnant to the laws of England, while at the same time colonial practice might diverge from that of the parent country when local circumstances so dictated. Bilder's important central argument is that in pondering what was legitimate divergence and what smacked of defiant repugnance, English and colonial legal players divided into no neat, fixed groups. Rather, the lack of a clear pattern over the 150 years of conversations and legal rulings (a lack that puzzled Smith) is, for Bilder, the key to the successful "functioning of the empire" up to the 1770s (p. 7). Thus, ambiguity saved and nurtured the transatlantic relationship. Even more critically for our present legal debates, this particular unwritten constitution "worked because it was a constitution of nuanced context, not strict textual construction" (p. 4). Hardly irrelevant to post-1776 developments, the repugnancy principle remained "deeply embedded in American legal culture," shaping lawyerly arguments in the new republic, undergirding the idea of judicial review, and explaining "our commitment to federalism as a conversation between dual authorities" (pp. 10–11).

For Bilder, the charter colony of Rhode Island provides an excellent window for observing the transatlantic constitution at work, whether at the turn of the eighteenth century when English scrutiny appeared to threaten charters, or in the 1730–1776 years when wealthy litigants' appeals to the Privy Council exposed seams of legal difference. Instead of making her story

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one of disembodied, contending theories, Bilder populates her intellectual history with the career arcs, learning curves, and networking practices of those in the small bench and bar in London and New England who developed expertise in handling Privy Council appeals. Moreover, Bilder makes good use of insights from the scholarship on the history of the book, as she is attentive to the significance of legal opinions circulating in manuscript form, the oft-delayed printing of legal decisions, and the degree to which a colony's printing of its laws then made it vulnerable to Privy Council oversight.

Four of the book's nine chapters analyze the seventy or so appeals that Rhode Islanders took to the Privy Council from 1718 to 1776. Some of these were never fully pursued, due to the expense, to the vagaries of litigants' health and fortunes, or to discouragement from legal advisors in London. But Bilder's point is that the resolution of cases says less about the politics of empire than do the process and the substantive issues at stake. We learn about a cluster of eight female inheritance cases; about a seemingly never-ending controversy over whether glebe lands set aside for the "orthodox" minister had any meaning in religiously iconoclastic Rhode Island; and about the commercial and currency issues that came to dominate the imperial relationship in the 1750s and 1760s. Bilder devotes considerable space to these case clusters because Smith's influential study did not pursue the substantive law issues. Again and again, she shows that outcomes created ambiguity and that appeals had the tendency not of raising "direct repugnancies" but of leading to small adjustments in Rhode Island legal practice (p. 110).

One wishes that Bilder, as an able legal historian and nimble writer, had at times broadened her lens to include comparative points about legal culture in neighboring colonies. This could have been done quite easily using secondary literature, especially in the early chapter on "Legal Practitioners and Legal Literates." Here, Bilder takes on the "myth of the seventeenth-century colonies as . . . a world of 'law without lawyers,'" demonstrating that attorneys were active in Rhode Island's courts from at least the 1650s on (p. 15). The contrast with Massachusetts and Connecticut would be quite revealing. On a related note, it is a pity that the scholarly worlds of legal and social historians do not meet often enough: most of the Rhode Island women litigants sketched by Bilder fit the shoes of the inheriting women whom Carol F. Karlsen has identified as targets of cultural anxiety and witchcraft accusations (*The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England* [1987]).

In the field of colonial North America, it can be hard to persuade non-legal historians that they should read the few works of legal history that appear each decade and synthesize their findings into courses and grand narratives. Perhaps a wake-up call lurks in the fact that Bilder's book won the American Historical Association's Littleton-Griswold prize (2005) for the best study on the history of American law and society. Students of the empire, take note!

Cornelia Hughes Dayton
University of Connecticut

Thelma Wills Foote. *Black and White Manhattan: The History of Racial Formation in Colonial New York City*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 334. Cloth $72.00, paper $27.50.

Edmund S. Morgan described his *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (1975) as "both more and less" than a history of one colony's history—and the same is true of this smart, sophisticated analysis of racial formation in early New York. Thelma Wills Foote explores the relationship between racialism and governance in one of colonial North America's largest, most heterogeneous, and most African seaports. Challenging the "apartheid narrative" that too often separates the histories of blacks and whites in North America (p. 13), Foote emphasizes the dynamics that connected the lives of slaves, free blacks, and settlers of different stripes. Emerging racial identities were crucial not simply for subordinating the city's slaves but also for uniting fractious settlers and mobilizing political power.

Foote fruitfully focuses on how racial categories and subject positions were historically created—and challenged—in this volatile, colonial world. The book begins by exploring how New York became both slave-dependent and polyglot. When Dutch traders arrived on the shores of Manhattan, they engaged in complex diplomatic, commercial, and sexual interactions with the region's natives. But by the 1640s, the West India Company determined to establish a permanent settlement producing crops for the metropolitan market (p. 34). By 1664, enslaved Africans comprised a higher portion of New Amsterdam's population (twenty percent) than in any other North American colony (p. 40). As the Dutch adapted to a long-established Atlantic slave system, they did not think about race in the modern sense of innate, biological categories. They perceived differences in appearance and character among human populations as the (potentially mutable) effects of climate and cultural practices. Hence the conversion of Indians and slaves to Christianity was a charged issue: in theory, a way of legitimizing colonial exploitation; in practice, a threat to the human hierarchies that undergirded colonial society (pp. 43–45, 48).

Dutch officials encouraged immigrants from various parts of Europe, in part by offering Protestants liberty of conscience (p. 43). Its polyglot population made the colony vulnerable to English conquest in the 1660s. And English dominance only made the colony more heterogeneous (pp. 53–56). Foote focuses on how elites manipulated racial identities in order to govern and manage this increasingly diverse and notoriously factious populace. "Most studies of racial formation," Foote refreshingly observes, "stress the process of exclusion, often to the neglect of inclusionary processes"

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(p. 92). In a provocative analysis, Foote explores the efforts of colonial elites to redefine and expand Englishness. They promoted the myth of an "Anglo-Saxon race" that included not only Britons but also Germanic peoples, Scandinavians, and even French Protestants (p. 110). And they encouraged cultural anglicization: by the middle of the century, English had emerged as the common language of settlers born in New York, and settlers of all stripes were converting in large numbers to the Church of England (p. 93). Yet even a conception of a shared Anglo-Saxon ancestry, a common language, and a broad commitment to Protestant doctrines did not suffice to unite the colonists (p. 123). For this, Foote argues, the colony's ruling elites turned to the more negative dynamics of racial identification: codifying laws governing slavery, making manumission more difficult, and making free blacks into a pariah class, all in an effort to delineate and naturalize a line between black and white (p. 158).

So, in 1741, the colony's beleaguered ruling faction seized an opportunity to exploit these racial divisions in a classic scapegoating campaign (p. 159). As a series of arsons wracked the city, the governing elite exploited fears both of Catholics as an external enemy and of blacks as internal aliens. They staged trials and prolonged the crisis until criticism threatened to turn this strategy against them (pp. 183–184). Foote's reading of the narrative of the trials published after the fact by the presiding judge is subtle and provocative. The final chapters of the book focus on other challenges to the emerging racial system: the limited ability of runaway slaves to circumvent an increasingly binary association of blacks with slavery and whites with freedom (pp. 195–196) and the opportunities opened up by the British occupation of the city during the colonial rebellion of the 1770s (p. 226).

This ambitious, compelling study is not without flaws, including some disconcerting factual errors. For instance, the Latin text in the frontispiece is interpreted as referring to the West Indies (p. 3) although the image itself makes clear that the reference is to West Frisia. Still, the book's contributions are substantial. Its strengths are nowhere more apparent than in the brief concluding remarks on the "contradictory gap" between the new American nation's founding ideals of liberty and equality and its long reliance on African slavery and colonial conquests. Ranging from the early years of the republic to the civil rights and colonial liberation movements of the 1960s, Foote's reflections are unflinching and unsentimental. Long outlasting the institution of slavery, which was abolished in New York in the early nineteenth century, the colonial color line is still with us.

JOHN WOOD SWEET
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

PHILIP DRAY. *Stealing God's Thunder: Benjamin Franklin's Lightning Rod and the Invention of America*. New York: Random House. 2005. Pp. xviii, 279. $25.95.

Philip Dray's elegant little book accepts historian I. Bernard Cohen's contention that Benjamin Franklin was first and foremost a scientist. If Franklin had a "core," it was reflected in his unflagging desire to comprehend the orderly laws that governed the physical world. According to Dray, Franklin was not just a practical tinkerer who sought to improve the lives of ordinary people by inventing bifocals, a more efficient stove, a glass armonica, or a lightning rod. Franklin was a first-class theoretician, who was committed to the scientific method as delineated in Isaac Newton's *Opticks* (1704) and who understood—and proved—the relationship between lightning and electricity. Employing a style that even the most unscientific lay person can understand, Dray explains the profound significance of Franklin's scientific endeavors.

Dray is at his best when he makes a case for Franklin as a theoretical scientist whose name should rank only slightly below that of a Galileo or a Newton. If Newton had shown that "gravity was a unifying, binding force between earth and the heavens," Franklin explained the functioning of another elemental force of nature (p. 77). It was Franklin who suspected that electricity was not simply a substance, but that it was composed of tiny particles representing "two *qualitatively* different types of a single fluid that displaced each other" (p. 49). Franklin was also the first to suggest that the Leyden jar itself, not the water inside it, stored electricity and facilitated its passage from one object to another. He also discovered that lightning did not, as observers had always assumed, descend from the sky. Taken as a whole, Franklin's experiments "stripped nature's most fearsome phenomenon of its mystical provenance" (p. 82). His *Experiments and Observations on Electricity, Made at Philadelphia* (1751) was brilliantly conceived and written in accessible language, thus making it one of the most well-read scientific treatises of its day. Translated into French, German, and Italian, it was "immediately popular," becoming "one of the most reprinted and talked about books of the age" (p. 79). While the slender book was an international tour de force, it also gave England's mainland colonists an achievement they could point to with pride. That a lowly, self-taught son of a colonial candle maker could have accomplished what the greatest scientific minds of the Western world had not, surely contributed to the development of a sense of American nationalism.

Drayton perceives of Franklin as a—perhaps the—representative Enlightenment figure. At the same time, however, he reminds us that Franklin was not immune to the seductive lure of the mythological qualities surrounding lightning that had captured the imagination of philosophers and kings throughout the ages. Despite his secular bent and his scientific approach to the world, Franklin was as credulous as anyone when it came to stories of "lightning pictures," whereupon people who were struck by lightning supposedly sported a mirrored imprint on some part of their flesh that displayed their immediate surroundings at the moment they were hit. Moreover, Franklin's contemporaries viewed him not

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just as a man of science but as something of a sorcerer, who could tame the lightning and use it for his own nefarious purposes. Despite its vaunted rationalism, the age of Enlightenment was a fluid world, where people at all levels moved easily between the scientific and the superstitious, faith and skepticism, the profane and the secular.

Franklin never confined his scientific inquiries to electricity. Dray faithfully recounts his subject's other achievements, including an amazing array of "firsts." He occasionally gives the good doctor a more ubiquitous presence than even he deserves. An analysis of the debate over the age of the earth and the possibility that some species had become extinct, for instance, puts Franklin on the sidelines at best. While Franklin was arguably a multifaceted man whose achievements reflect a modern understanding of the world, he was not at the center of every controversy. Indeed, given his many irons in the fire, he would hardly have found the time.

When it touches on matters not directly related to science, Dray's book falls a little flat. It portrays Franklin's early years in Philadelphia, for instance, as an almost uninterrupted triumph, virtually ignoring the numerous failures he experienced before he finally landed on his feet as the proprietor of his own print shop and the editor of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. Similarly, its assertion that "independent Americans moved relatively smoothly from revolution to the task of creating a democratic government" surely merits a few qualifications. Dray also overstates Franklin's role at the Constitutional Convention and understates the depth of hostility toward Franklin in his own Philadelphia. Nevertheless, this is a "must read" for anyone who wants to understand the man who tamed the lightning and won international fame for himself, and his "country," as a result.

SHEILA L. SKEMP
University of Mississippi

GARY B. NASH. *The Unknown American Revolution: The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America*. New York: Viking. 2005. Pp. xxix, 512. $27.95.

When a synthesis elicits *fatwas* from two giants of the profession (Gordon S. Wood and Edmund S. Morgan) in two of the most popular magazines that review history (*New Republic* and *New York Review of Books*), you know the author is onto something. The volume that raised all these hackles is Gary B. Nash's *The Unknown American Revolution: The Unreal Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America*. No one has done a better job than Nash does here of proving Carl Becker's point that the War of Independence was a struggle not only for home rule but over who should rule at home.

Nash loves people who love freedom. For instance, he reprises his widely assigned mini-biography of Thomas Peters, who was kidnapped in present-day Nigeria and sold to French Louisiana. Peters somehow ended up in Wilmington, North Carolina, where he became an enslaved millwright, then escaped to a British fleet that sailed up the Cape Fear river in 1776, fought in the Black Guides and Pioneers throughout the war, evacuated New York City with the British (and with more than 3,000 other former slaves) in 1783, and settled in Nova Scotia. Suffering continued discrimination there, he traveled to London and helped persuade Parliament to let the black loyalists resettle in Sierra Leone. Legend has it that he waded ashore signing "The day of jubilee is come" only to die a few months later (p. 428).

Nash's book refutes Bernard Bailyn's notion that the "contagion of liberty" first developed in white male Patriots and then spread to women and nonwhites. It was in 1733 that a group of New York widows declared, "We the widows of this city protest the failure to invite us to court. We are housekeepers, pay our taxes, carry on trade and most of us are she Merchants" (p. 135). Long before the Stamp Act protests, the "hunchbacked, dwarfish" Philadelphia vegetarian Benjamin Lay "made homespun clothes to avoid materials made by enslaved Africans . . . smashed his wife's teacups to discourage the use of slave-produced sugar," splattered fellow Quakers who resisted his abolitionist crusade with fake blood, and kidnapped a white child in order to give the "slave-keepers" a taste of their own medicine (pp. 39–40). Nash's painstaking documentation of case after case of insurgents confronting oppressors resembles the equally relentless accounting of plebian insurgency in Herbert Aptheker's *American Negro Slave Revolts* (1963). Like Aptheker's compilation, Nash's will seem, to some students, tedious. Yet this technique of piling on the stories may be the only antidote to Founding Fathers hagiography.

Nash had to know that focusing on the revolution's lesser-known freedom fighters, to the virtual exclusion of the famous ones, would annoy scholars accustomed to doing just the opposite. His book is not comprehensive and does not claim to be. The terms "discursive" and "bourgeois public sphere" appear nowhere in these 455 pages. Nor is a "Nash thesis" launched. Nash never tries to make us believe the people he quotes spoke for all Americans. And some aspects of the book are disappointing; it contains too many minor errors (I counted more than two dozen).

Maybe, just maybe, Wood and Morgan, who completed their reviews shortly before Hurricane Katrina hit the Gulf Coast, wish they could revise their rosy estimates of the society that emerged from the War of Independence in light of what those Category 4 winds laid bare. Nash's synthesis will require no such revision.

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CAROL BERKIN. *Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2005. Pp. xviii, 194. $24.00.

The title of Carol Berkin's book clearly introduces the important facets of her work. One is the reminder that where and when there were Founding Fathers there

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were also Founding Mothers. The second is the nod to "Republican Motherhood," a concept presented in Linda K. Kerber's *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (1980) and parsed by many historians since then. Finally, as indicated by its subtitle the book includes not just the republic's mothers but also the other women who contributed to and were affected by the American Revolution's war and, to a lesser degree, ideology. Berkin utilizes much of the scholarship about women in late eighteenth-century America that has been produced over the past twenty-five years and presents a synthesis that is eminently readable and useful.

Berkin both continues and challenges the traditional view of woman as helpmate. She notes that most women continued to operate in men's shadows as they helped maintain the properties and positions of those men during the revolution. Berkin, however, also redefines helpmate as someone other than a shadowy, subordinate figure, especially in what was a home-front war. If the helpmate was essential to preserving the home, and the home became the seat of war, then the helpmate proved essential to the course of war. America was the home of revolutionaries, loyalists, Native Americans, and African Americans. Women in all those groups worked and fought to protect or better their peoples' and their own places in that home. Some did so through political and economic actions such as petitions, boycotts, and fundraising. Many assumed additional duties so as to release men for military service, while others followed armies to care for the men or spy on their movements. Still others used the war to challenge white male hegemony in its many forms.

Berkin summarizes not only what women contributed to the revolution but what the revolution did for them. She notes the paradoxical nature of that effect, explaining how the enlarged sphere of the helpmate during the war shrank into a more domestic one afterward. Women were somewhat empowered by the revolution, but where they could exercise that power was restricted. Such analysis provides the essential context for what is the heart of the book: the vignettes of individual women. These stories are important not just as evidence for generalizations but because they name women. As Berkin mentioned, after the war the heroines "returned to their kitchens and parlors, to nurseries and gardens—and to the anonymity their society considered appropriately feminine" (p. 146). Such anonymity led historians to neglect them. Then, when scholars started to acknowledge them, it was often only as groups and numbers. Naming, in effect, gives them faces.

In many ways this is a gem of a book. Its bow to Elizabeth Ellet's *Women of the Revolution* (3 vols., 1848–1850) and account of how women's contributions to American independence were acknowledged in the early republic and then almost ignored by professional historians until the 1970s constitute a succinct introduction to the early historiography of the subject. The synthesis of many major writings since then provides a fine vista of the current field. Berkin also incorporates additional research, primarily out of published primary sources, in the clearly written text. Yet there are a few flaws. Dedicating half of the chapter on generals' wives to Frederika, Baroness von Riedesel, is somewhat puzzling given the home-front focus of the book, although it does serve the helpmate argument and acts as a pivot for a shift from the revolutionaries to the loyalists. The chapter on Native American women lacks breadth on Indian women in general and depth for a few of the highlighted individuals, such as Queen Esther Montour. Finally, the system of notation is faulty. Sometimes material in a paragraph is not annotated for that paragraph. Instead the source appears in a compound endnote one or two paragraphs later. This is irritating when one tries to match numbers or statistics in the text to sources in the notes (as, for example, on pp. 51–52). This may have been an editorial decision based on publishing costs and the desire to appeal to general readers, but more thought should have been given to the cost in clarity.

Putting quibbles aside, this is an interesting book that will garner a wide readership. It should work well in undergraduate classes on the American Revolution or surveys of women's history. Berkin's work is also a worthy source for scholars interested in seeing where we have been and where we still need to go in studying women and the American Revolution.

HOLLY A. MAYER
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CONRAD EDICK WRIGHT. *Revolutionary Generation: Harvard Men and the Consequences of Independence*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 298. $34.95.

If you were the principal scholar behind a collection of biographical sketches such as a volume of Sibley's Harvard Graduates, how would you make the data collected valuable to a larger audience than dedicated alumni? Conrad Edick Wright has met the challenge by combining life-cycle and life-course approaches to tell the story of the cohort of young men who composed Harvard's entering classes of 1771–1774, those who experienced eastern Massachusetts' involvement in the American Revolution. The significance of this cohort, he maintains, is that their lives, individually and collectively, were altered by the revolutionary experience to a degree that set them apart from their predecessors at Harvard.

The most startling differences in life course occurred for those who were killed in the conflict and those who chose loyalty to the crown. For these men, the American Revolution either denied or totally altered their futures. Only seven of the 204 members of these Harvard classes lost their lives while under arms. Twenty-eight chose loyalty to the crown, and their common fate was to suffer for their choice. They were marginalized in British society if they left America, and their political, clerical, or business aspirations were largely denied

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if they remained at home. For the civilian patriots among the classes, revolutionary and postrevolutionary changes influenced their futures. Most members of this cohort settled into lives that were comfortably mediocre: moderate prosperity, local respect, and social position. What they had in common was that the turmoil of the revolution caused most of them to get a late start at family and career formation, which in turn shortened what Wright calls their "age of responsibility" (p. 136). Alumni who aspired to leadership in their fields faced daunting challenges. Financiers and merchants expanded their business universe to the early American frontier and international trade, because traditional settlement patterns and markets no longer sufficed in the aftermath of revolution. Those in the professions who wanted to mentor newcomers no longer could simply take them on as apprentices. Now they had to found and join professional schools, professional associations, and private societies to preserve standards and protect their own status. Aspiring civic leaders at the state and national levels found more opportunities than in provincial America, but the decline of deference in the wake of the revolution brought greater competition and greater suspicion of the elite. As a result, a smaller percentage of these classes found success in politics, and those who did came from humbler origins than their predecessors. Moreover, all who embraced politics found themselves in a new universe of partisan competition largely driven by ideology. A similar divide appeared in religion, for the long simmering differences between orthodox and liberal interpreters of Christianity began to formalize in the decades after 1780. Many Harvard alumni chose orthodox Congregationalism, but those who chose Unitarianism outnumbered them. Of the thirty-five members of these classes who aspired to be clergymen, only twenty-seven actually received calls, and one-fourth of these relationships did not work out. It was harder to become an established minister after the revolution than before, but most of those whose tenures ended prematurely engaged in mundane rather than ideological disputes with their congregations.

If Wright's cohort of prerevolutionary Harvard students differed in life course from their predecessors, there was much continuity in their life cycles. He discusses them as they move through eight stages from early childhood to late old age (he makes clear his methodology in a brief appendix). For each stage we learn the behaviors and expectations appropriate to genteel males and are provided with examples of how this generation of Harvard students met (or failed to meet) them. Drawing on a considerable array of appropriate secondary studies, Wright describes child-rearing patterns, schooling, the choice of college or work, the life of the college student, career choices, choices regarding marriage and family, as well as the responsibilities of full adulthood and the decline into old age. All of these topics are the subject of specialized studies, but Wright discusses them briefly and cogently and illuminates them with the experiences of real people. It is this last technique that generates one of the few criticisms I have of this study. Wright too often focuses on the same people to illustrate his generalizations. No doubt this stems from the availability of information, but the biographies of about a dozen graduates such as John Trumbull (the artist) and Fisher Ames tend to dominate the narrative. My other concern takes the form of a question. If the lives of men in the classes of 1771–1774 were affected by the revolution, why were not those of some or all of the classes from 1775–1783? Would Wright's conclusions be modified or reinforced by analysis of this larger sample?

David W. Robson
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Joseph S. Tiedemann and Eugene R. Fingerhut, editors. *The Other New York: The American Revolution beyond New York City, 1763–1787.* (An American Region: Studies in the Hudson Valley.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 246. $60.00.

Revolutionary New York's remarkably heterogeneous population fulfilled every aspect of John Adams's three-part assessment of the revolutionary populace. One group wagered everything to win independence from Britain; another took similar risks to defeat colonial insurrectionists; and a third hoped to survive the war by not joining either side. Although historians have explored how New Yorkers participated in the American Revolution, much of that work has focused on people who lived in New York City or Albany. Most New Yorkers, roughly ninety percent of the population at the time of the revolution, lived not in cities but in the countryside. To correct what they see as an imbalance in the historiography, evident in the literature on nearly every other northern state as well, the editors and authors of this collection study how the American Revolution changed the lives of people who inhabited the state's vast rural landscape. To be fair, historians have been studying the impact of the revolution on rural New Yorkers for some time. Indeed, all the authors in the collection have written on rural New York and the revolution, and they cite an extensive literature. This book, however, puts the stories of these regions during the Revolutionary War into a single volume.

The book is divided into three sections that move from the downstate region north to the Hudson Valley and, finally, to the far reaches of the state. In the first, Edwin G. Burrows, Joseph S. Tiedemann, John G. Staudt, and Phillip Papas describe the revolution in Kings, Queens, Suffolk, and Richmond counties. In the second, Jacob Judd, Thomas Wermouth, and Stefan Bielinski examine events in the Hudson Valley. And in the final section, Robert W. Venables and Paul R. Huey outline the rebellion on the eastern and northern edges of New York. Even though most of the authors begin their narratives before 1763, they tend to adhere to a traditional periodization and follow the more conventional notion that the national revolution gave greater

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meaning and credibility to ongoing local movements even if they started before 1763 and ran long after 1787.

The essays follow a structural pattern. Before discussing their region specifically, each author outlines the geography of the county, enduring political alliances, and the racial, religious, and social make-up of the population. Not surprisingly, that populace was incredibly diverse, a characteristic the authors rightly highlight. For example, New Yorkers owned nearly nineteen thousand slaves when the revolution ended and, although some New Yorkers argued for immediate manumission, slavery persisted into the nineteenth century. Similarly, even though some Native American groups sided with the revolutionaries, at the end of the war they all faced a new colonial threat posed by the United States and the state of New York. But keeping with conventional time constraints prevents some of the authors from exploring fully how independence for some inhabitants of the region led to further subjugation and even extermination for others.

New Yorkers also characterized themselves and others through their religious beliefs and their relationship to the land. Anglicans, Quakers, Dutch Reformed, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Methodists all vied for souls. In nearly every essay, the authors demonstrate how colonial New Yorkers' religious differences exacerbated lingering political or social disputes. The revolution heightened the inherent relationship between religious beliefs and political alliances and left New Yorkers roiling in turmoil. Social discontent matched religious upheaval. Rural New York contained some of the largest landed estates and one of the largest tenant populations in the mainland colonies. While some tenants farmed the land contentedly, others disagreed with what they saw as the economic, social, and political constraints of a system designed to funnel goods, resources, money, and power from tenants to landlords. Rebel tenants resorted to violence after they had exhausted peaceful approaches to the problem. As a result, tenant rebellions rocked the Hudson Valley in the twenty years before independence, and those conflicts continued through the revolutionary period. Unfortunately, the authors studying regions shaken by insurgency during the revolution chose not to discuss the events extensively.

After setting the colonial background, the contributors describe how rural New Yorkers reacted to British attempts to exercise greater control over the colonists. Not surprisingly, in such a varied community, not every British act affected every New Yorker to the same degree. Some New Yorkers reacted more violently to the Townsend duties or the Coercive Act than to the Stamp Act. Freehold and tenant farmers, for instance, found restrictions on their trade that resulted from colonial boycotts far more burdensome than the Stamp Act. Thus, boycotts of British goods laid the groundwork for loyalism among some farmers because they limited their economic opportunities. Some rural New Yorkers did not act one way or the other until after the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord, while others did not pick a side until after the Declaration of Independence. Other New Yorkers hoped to avoid picking a side at all. While these choices muddied the water in New York, as they did elsewhere, the authors clearly demonstrate how New Yorkers made their longstanding racial, social, political, and religious disputes part of the revolutionary movement and thus part of the new nation. In doing so, they turned the American Revolution into a personal, local event.

Nothing epitomized the local and personal nature of the revolution in New York like military violence. Soldiers and military leaders rejected neutrality; war compelled people to make choices. This was especially so in rural areas, whose inhabitants endured years of depredation as both armies stomped through the countryside, living off the land, taking what they needed, and trying to force locals to join one side or the other. New Yorkers witnessed every aspect of war. Great military battles raged across their fields and traitors almost single-handedly sank the war effort. At the same time, revolutionaries and loyalists practiced a brand of guerrilla fighting that turned much of the once fruitful New York countryside into a frightening wasteland. The contributors are, in general, at their best when recounting the military conflict in their regions and demonstrating how conflict could deteriorate into brutal civil war that pitted neighbors and family members against each other. Invariably, such a high level of military exposure and depredation profoundly shaped people's political alliances.

Taken together, the authors argue that the War for Independence fundamentally changed the lives of rural New Yorkers as new men from the lower ranks of society jumped into the political fracas and claimed long-lasting power. They held power because revolutionaries needed more men to serve in rebel political institutions. Those men increasingly came from lower down the social ladder, and they held on to their positions because, once in power, they and other like-minded men democratized landholding, the basis for political power in New York. Moreover, revolutionaries expanded religious toleration and, so the editors claim, slavery "was put on the road toward legal extinction" (p. 229). While the volume has its limitations, it is a clearly written collection of essays that demonstrates how local populations embraced a broad movement, made it their own, and became a state in an emerging nation.

THOMAS J. HUMPHREY
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RHYS ISAAC. *Landon Carter's Uneasy Kingdom: Revolution and Rebellion on a Virginia Plantation*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xxii, 423. $35.00.

The seeds of this book were planted in Rhys Isaac's celebrated 1982 work, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790*. After making brief cameos throughout that text, Landon Carter, a Virginia planter and slave master, took center stage in the appendix. Isaac's insightful interrogation of a passage of Carter's diary was a last

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act that almost stole the show. Here Carter gets top billing. Those familiar with *Transformation*, or with Carter's published diary, will find a familiar cast of supporting characters (ungrateful slaves and wastrel offspring) and setting (late eighteenth-century Virginia). But differences in the books reflect historiographical transformations that have occurred over the intervening decades. The cultural symbols and rituals that so clearly embodied Virginia society in *Transformation*, are here far more ambiguous and contested. Even Carter's identity is now depicted as unstable and contingent. The diary is examined as a work of imagination as much as of fact. Isaac describes it as an "unedited masterpiece" that "deserves a prominent place in American literature" (pp. 341, xxi).

The book's largest theme concerns simultaneous upheavals: the American Revolution and the "rebellions" within Carter's own household. The coincidence was no accident, as the first episode in the book, the desertion of eight slaves to Lord Dunmore in June 1776, makes plain. This bold "declaration of independence," coming two days before another Virginia planter would present a verbal equivalent in Philadelphia, touched a nerve. Carter ruminated on the event for months, recounting a dream in which one of the fugitives expressed regret and begged for help. The other "revolt" centered on Carter's relations with his children and in-laws. The Boston Tea Party of this domestic insurrection was the 1773 elopement of Carter's daughter Judith with her cousin Reuben (aka "the monster"). After her defiant wedding, Carter disowned Judith. Again, Carter dreamt that the rebel (Judith) appeared before him to ask forgiveness. But, as with the runaway slaves (none of whom ever returned), the reality was otherwise. Through a long campaign of advance and retreat worthy of George Washington, Judith wore her father down. In September 1775, the patriarch capitulated. Carter wrote that he "forced nature into a forgetfulness of Injuries" and allowed Judith (and Reuben) back into his life and his will (p. 51).

Isaac argues that the personal and the political were intertwined in Carter's mind and in his diary. The reconciliation with Judith occurred at a time when Americans anxiously awaited King George's response to the imperial crisis. A supplicant for patriarchal mercy, as well as the bestower of it, Carter hoped the king might also forget past injuries for the sake of imperial harmony. Earlier, as a member of the House of Burgesses, Carter became an ardent patriot. His chosen *patria* however, was not Virginia but a transatlantic "greater Britain." Isaac argues that Carter's political idol (and model) was William Pitt, "the first and last great leader of the pan-Atlantic British nation" (p. 161). It was Carter's (and colonials') unrequited love for Britain that gave the subsequent revolution a tragic cast. This transatlantic "family" tragedy as well as his reading of sentimental novels inspired Carter to narrate the "primal rebellions" within his domestic realm. Yet, while he compared himself to King Lear, Carter had little sympathy for King George. Looking back after independence, Carter reflected, "men can't be kings but they must be tyrants indeed" (p. 326). Carter's slaves, and perhaps his children, would doubtless have concurred.

This book is difficult to summarize briefly. It is far more complex than the preceding paragraphs may suggest. Isaac's argument meanders at length through numerous subjects. These include an examination of master-slave relations, eighteenth-century medicine and natural philosophy, and the impact of print culture on Carter's sense of self (and his writing style). The result is a richly detailed depiction of a past mind and a lost world. The book also offers a thoughtful examination of multiple and interlocking subjectivities: of the historical record, of historical actors, and of the historian. In this spirit, Isaac introduces himself into the text as "the scriptwriter and theater director of a major historical stage show" (p. xix). In his conclusion, Isaac similarly breaches the conventional wall between reader and text, inviting us, as we ponder Carter, to reflect upon our own "violent demands, and violent denials" (p. 334). The revolution, Isaac insists, begins at home.

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Mark E. Kann. *Punishment, Prisons, and Patriarchy: Liberty and Power in the Early American Republic*. New York: New York University Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 337. $50.00.

Mark E. Kann has written a fascinating, thought-provoking, and timely political-historical study of penal thought and practice in the formative years of the United States. The disgraceful state of U.S. criminal justice after decades of the "War on Crime," with world-leading incarcerations rates, millions of persons in prison, millions more under penal supervision of some kind or another, further millions condemned to suffer civil death of disenfranchisement, and appalling percentages of the black male population behind bars: all this cries out for historical investigation. How could things have gone so terribly wrong?

Searching for answers to this question, James Q. Whitman recently turned to comparative history to argue that differences in penal policy between the United States, on the one hand, and Germany and France, on the other, reflected broader differences in the processes of democratization (*Harsh Justice: Criminal Punishment and the Widening Divide between America and Europe* [2003]). According to Whitman's nuanced account, in Europe (respectful) criminal punishments once reserved for the upper classes were extended to all citizens as part of a general societal process of leveling up, while in the U.S. (demeaning) criminal punishments once reserved for the lower classes were extended to all citizens, in a general process of leveling down.

Kann instead focuses on the American political project, highlighting the long-standing disjunction between liberal ideals of self-government and liberty and actual penal practices throughout U.S. history. The

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contrast is painfully acute: a state that derives its legitimacy from protecting the life, liberty, and property of its constituents ends up depriving millions of its constituents of the same. As Kann demonstrates, the difficulty of reconciling liberty with oppression, autonomy with heteronomy, has plagued American penality from the very beginning.

Kann also makes clear that this problem has never been addressed head on, let alone resolved. The Enlightenment's critical project, which elsewhere brought a radical reconception of traditional patriarchal penality in light of new principles of political legitimacy (think of Cesare Beccaria, Voltaire, Jeremy Bentham, P. J. A. Feuerbach), in the United States stopped short of the state practice most in need of critical analysis. In the early republic, the legitimacy of punishment was never seriously in doubt. To the extent that punishment was considered in terms of liberty at all, it was regarded as an obvious and plainly necessary means to preserve liberty (of potential victims) rather than as an obvious and plainly problematic threat against liberty (of suspected and convicted offenders).

Kann's book suggests that to ask how things could have gone so terribly wrong is to miss the full force of the scandal of punishment throughout U.S. history. The history of punishment in the United States is not one of gradual decay; American punishment was rotten from the very start. The question is not what changed, but what remained the same. In fact, extending one's inquiry beyond the American Revolution might reveal further continuity, not only forward to current penal regimes of alegitimate mass incapacitation of disproportionately oppressed groups (as pursued by Kann) but also backward to the age-old practice of household government, or *oeconomics*, which turned on the householder's unlimited discretionary power to discipline members of his household (see Markus Dirk Dubber, *The Police Power: Patriarchy and the Foundations of American Government* [2005]). In this model of criminal law, crime is an offense against the sovereign-householder's peace, and punishment the reaffirmation of that peace.

The Founding Fathers' patriarchal view of punishment—brilliantly captured by Kann through careful readings of rich and fresh primary sources (including prisoner memoirs)—was not only patently discontinuous with the overall political ideology of the time, which has remained the dominant foundational ideology in the United States to this day. Just as remarkable, it was patently continuous with the traditional, pre-republican view of punishment that presumed—and reflected—the punisher's sovereignty over the punished. The American Revolution, in other words, had virtually no effect on American criminal law. As Kann convincingly demonstrates, punishment was in the end not a political problem because criminals were not political subjects, but objects of supervision, discipline, and—if necessary and appropriate—incapacitation. In the end, American penality became a massive exercise in hypocrisy: it denied the problem of legitimizing punishment in a liberal state by redefining it as treatment for those incapable of self-government and, at the same time, hid the spectacle of penal heteronomy behind prison walls, eventually transforming punishment into a bureaucratic exercise in prison management and human nuisance control.

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SEAN WILENTZ. *The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2005. p. xxiii, 1044. $35.00.

In *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850* (1984), Sean Wilentz discovered the heart of American democracy beating in its union halls, not its party caucuses. The theme of that book was the awakening of class consciousness among the city's skilled craftsmen, a process that Wilentz traced through their social organizations, labor presses, and fledgling trade unions. These, and not political parties, constituted "the truly democratic element in the Jacksonian city" (p. 230). When the authentic radical voice of the wage-earner did break into politics through an insurgent movement like the Working Men of 1829, it was inevitably squelched or coopted by the major parties—especially Andrew Jackson's Democrats, who sometimes talked the talk but never walked the walk.

That was then. In this new book, Wilentz offers a magisterial retelling of the American political saga from the Constitution to the Civil War. As *Chants Democratic* emulated E. P. Thompson, here Wilentz pays homage to Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and Wilentz's zestful, action-packed narrative expands and amends the plotline of Schlesinger's landmark *The Age of Jackson* (1945). Like Schlesinger, Wilentz now sees the very lifeblood of democracy, the everyday concerns of ordinary people, coursing through the cacophony of electoral politics: through the endless round of caucuses, conventions, committees, and campaigns that went into determining who governed and how. Eschewing the market revolution paradigm of the 1990s, Wilentz unabashedly accords party politics an autonomous and central role in his epic tale. The great transformation from 1789 to 1860, he argues, was political, not economic: not the commercialization of America, but its democratization.

To explain that process, Wilentz interweaves two threads: the fashioning of political mechanisms to accommodate popular participation, and the rise to power of people who really believed in, and practiced, popular governance: the Jeffersonian Democratic-Republicans and their Jacksonian Democratic heirs. The story began in the 1790s, when Thomas Jefferson, an aristocrat of democratic convictions, allied with what Wilentz calls the city and country democracies—sturdy yeomen and urban radicals—to overthrow the Federalist hierarchy. The same constituencies later rallied be-

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hind Andrew Jackson. But in the 1840s and 1850s, the defense of slavery warped southern democracy toward a reactionary repudiation of majority rule, paving the way for the emergence of the Republicans and the election of Abraham Lincoln.

Muting the overt partisanship that enlivened and sometimes disfigured *The Age of Jackson*, Wilentz stops short of equating democracy with Jackson's Democracy. Seeking balance, he attends to inconvenient subjects like Indian removal (which Schlesinger sidestepped) and tries to give the Whigs, if not the Federalists, a sympathetic hearing. Still, the results sometimes appear more schizophrenic than even-handed. Wilentz can offer a thoughtful, compelling exposition of the Whig Party's appeal to a broad spectrum of the electorate—and follow with a highly colored account of the 1840 campaign, nearly straight from Schlesinger, that reveals the Whigs as cynical manipulators and cutthroat partisans. In Wilentz's phrasing, Whigs might sometimes "purport to represent the people" (p. 487), but Democrats really are the people. On one side Thurlow Weed and his cohorts connive and conspire, while on the other Martin Van Buren remains a true democrat, no matter how unpopular he is and how many elections he loses.

In tracing political lineages, getting from Jefferson to Jackson is simple. The difficult hurdle is connecting Jackson to Lincoln. Given that Lincoln earned his political spurs denouncing Democrats, and given the predominantly Whig and wholly northern antecedents of the constituency that elected him in 1860, the connection is, to say the least, counterintuitive. Schlesinger accomplished it by stressing the antislavery convictions of a cadre of Barnburner Democrats-turned-Republicans and discounting the antislavery avowals of everyone else (Whigs and abolitionists) as insincere or supercilious. Wilentz comes at it differently. For him the main link is not Democrats but democracy itself, the fact of majority rule. Both Jackson and Lincoln headed genuine popular insurgencies against an entrenched existing order, and both could only triumph in a place where the people do, or can, prevail.

As Wilentz admits, democracy is an elusive concept. Unlike pornography, we do not know it when we see it. Locating it requires as much defining as observing, and—especially for a historian who forthrightly merges scholarship with political activism—the risk of injecting partisan criteria into the definition runs high. Hailing 1828 and 1860 as democratic triumphs is easy, but what does one say in 1840—to mention no later cases—when the wrong candidate wins? Is it only democracy when it produces results we want or enlists people we admire? If Wilentz has not conquered this conundrum, he has in this opus at least bravely tackled it. With this book Wilentz succeeds Schlesinger, and before that George Bancroft, as his generation's preeminent practitioner of what Leopold von Ranke called "history from the democratic point of view."

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BARBARA ALLEN. *Tocqueville, Covenant, and the Democratic Revolution: Harmonizing Earth with Heaven*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2005. Pp. xix, 393. Cloth $80.00, paper $25.95.

Alexis de Tocqueville set out to discover the earliest roots of liberty's seeming abundance in America, how expressions of it evolved, and why it was as likely to wither under certain conditions as it was to find new beginnings and thrive. He was one of the first to point out that the promise of liberty in a democracy is not fulfilled when it is regarded only as an electoral exercise. He thought of democracy as an opportunity to enlarge participation and deliberation with the goal of sorting out the separate spheres of private and public life, yet keeping them linked together without damaging one or the other. In their democracy, Americans showed that they were far removed from the apathy marking life in the French communes. Tocqueville saw in the New England townships "activity . . . information and the spirit of innovation . . . a . . . society [which is] always at work" bent on achieving through government "the welfare of a people." Americans were "ardent sectarians and daring innovators." They were uniquely able to combine "the *spirit* of religion and the *spirit* of liberty" (*Democracy in America*, trans. Henry Reeve, ed. Phillips Bradley [1945], Vol. I, p. 95, n. 50; p. 45, italics his).

Tocqueville pondered the chances for the survival of liberty and political life in an exuberantly democratic America and contrasted it with a hesitant France. Americans, he insisted, prized equality above liberty, endowed it with mythic power that drew circles around individual conscience, and subjected it to the stress of achieving and losing material success in a world of relentless competition that marketed public opinion as readily as it extolled the value of consumer goods. In the process individuals became willing captives of the great siren of equality, which never loses it charms but ultimately never satisfies. Barbara Allen tries to get to the bottom of the connections among the elusive character of equality, the power of public opinion to keep it in a state of constant expectation, and the American thirst for material and technological abundance. She is, however, more interested in another thorny problem, captured in Tocqueville's own admission that the invocations to liberty were played out as a necessary fiction, that answered "to the dreams of fancy and the unrestrained experiment of innovators" (*Democracy in America*, vol. I, p. 37).

Allen has a double agenda. One is to reconstitute, on the basis of the most recent scholarship, the history of colonial and postcolonial American religious and political experience. The other is to see how Tocqueville came close to a correct assessment of it and where he went wrong, but not least why his insights command respect. She meets the challenge with some aplomb as she follows the idea of covenant theology into the nineteenth century. She is, as she must be, sensitive and hardly oblivious to denominational differences that

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were to have longer-term consequences. Tocqueville caught a good deal of the spirit of American religious practice and its crossover into the political process, but it would be a mistake to follow Allen all the way and to build a full picture of its singularity on an identification of his perceptions with those that historians bring to light from an analysis of the tiny confines in which American religiosity flourished. The New England colonists saw covenant as a privilege and a blessing. Tocqueville saw it, without believing in it literally, as an opportunity to preserve liberty in its widest sense.

Besides locating Tocqueville's ideas in the context of his own postrevolutionary political culture, which he saw as an unwelcome retreat from the local liberties he associated with the obligations of an aristocratic age, Allen seeks, without once referring to Montesquieu and Rousseau, to see how he nurtured his ideas in the context of New England. Its townships and voluntary associations shaped political apprenticeship that, in her story, owed much to such talismanic figures as Johannes Althusius (c. 1557–1638) and William Ames (1576–1633). It was, she argues, their notions of federal liberty that gave a unique cast to American religious and political life, determined its debates and dissensions, drove citizens on a quest to live up to the concept of voluntarism in the covenant they believed they had with God, and prompted them to seek solutions to such theological questions as grace and predestination. They bore down heavily on the nature of politics in New England, and most of all on the relationship between liberty and authority, how it was to be correctly conceived, through a reasoning process called "curious inquiry," and how it was most effectively to be executed in the public realm. *Foederal* or covenant theology was the pathway along which American ideals of self-government were, Allen claims, to be negotiated from the local to the national level—at which point a full-blown federalist principle emerged to ensure a viable federal union without violating the boundaries of either. For Tocqueville, the union was in any case an accident, less important than preserving a republican form of government.

Tocqueville did not hesitate to ask public officials to act as if they believed in the truth of salvation and thus ensure barriers against skepticism. This was difficult terrain for Tocqueville. He faced dilemmas that he could not resolve when he appeared to extol American conservatism as a welcome departure from the class divisions of a traditional hierarchical society, yet wondered about the effects on a compliant and easily manipulated citizenry by the state, by demagogues, and, not least, by the near insanity of religious zealots. This was the negative side of his admiration for American innovation. Such an admission of the direction that "curious inquiry" might take if its principles were ignored makes one wonder if New Englanders, by placing too much confidence in it, in fact left a mixed legacy. When put in this frame, the dilemma may be seen as deriving from an urge to blunt distinctions between a consensus that had its origins in the search for religious enlightenment and the compulsions of a conformist age.

There is more in this densely written book, which is full of fine moments. Nothing very startling on the question of Native and African Americans is presented. The sections on Islam and Hinduism are somewhat more original, although more thought might have been given to Tocqueville's nascent theory of comparative civilizations, in which he took account of different concepts of property holding as static or dynamic measures of cultural and religious differences. That question was related to another: whether democracy was a particular cultural expression or could cross boundaries, rise above them, and achieve universality.

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ELIZABETH FOX-GENOVESE and EUGENE D. GENOVESE. *The Mind of the Master Class: History and Faith in the Southern Slaveholders' Worldview*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 828. Cloth $70.00, paper $29.00.

This is a powerful study about powerful people. The book's length (792 pages divvied up among five parts and twenty-two chapters), its prose (muscular and pointed), its evidence (dauntingly impressive), its erudition (relentless), even its cover (biblical), all are intended to persuade readers of a central point, one captured by William H. Holcombe in 1861: "The whole Southern mind with an unparalleled unanimity regards the institution of slavery as righteous and just, ordained of God, and to be perpetuated by man" (p. 496). A Swedenborgian, Holcombe would be among the last to deny the diversity of southern thought, but the Natchez intellectual, like Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, saw the mental forest for the trees, insisting on the essential unity of the slaveholding mind.

The study is an elegant and persuasive unraveling of "the mind-set of people who feared that the advantages of capitalism and individualism were threatening to extract too high a price" (p. 3). To get to grips with that worldview, the authors offer deeply thoughtful discussions of the southern elite's attitudes toward pride, courage, duty, honor, chivalry, religion, slavery, freedom, capitalism, revolution, and theology and place the slaveholders in the broadest possible contexts. We learn what they thought about the Middle Ages and antiquity, how they understood the transatlantic revolutionary movements of 1789–1848, and what they thought of non-European cultures, too.

Fear was very much a key. Yes, the slaveholders were fiercely confident men, but they were careful readers of the past because they presided over a society increasingly out of step with modernity. "With few exceptions," we are told, "Southerners pronounced themselves simultaneously progressive and conservative" (p. 225), but the emphasis throughout is on conservatism. Threats loomed everywhere, most obviously to the north but also within.

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Theological liberalism and market capitalism slowly snaked their way into southern slaveholding society, even more than the authors concede.

Rightly, Fox-Genovese and Genovese consider the southern mind first rate. To defend their society, slaveholders read intelligently and widely and while Christianity was in many ways their bedrock, the mind of the class should not be reduced to religion alone. Indeed, their Christian doctrine was as much about reason as faith—hence their careful reading in moral philosophy. The authors pay considerable attention to who was reading what, especially in churches and schools. In fact, the education of the southern mind constitutes a quiet centerpiece of this book.

Fox-Genovese and Genovese acknowledge that, in part, this is a story of slaveholders attempting to "justify themselves to themselves" (p. 382). To be sure, the authors believe the proslavery divines to have been especially "courageous men who defended slavery on principle and believed every word they said" (p. 490), but, like the "slaves [who] cast a critical eye on their masters' pretensions" (p. 117), the authors often do likewise. "Whether from conviction or strategy or both, proslavery ideologues idealized the yeomen in a manner that fit, if awkwardly, into the projection of historical continuity . . . It was a romance that obscured much" (p. 318). And while Fox-Genovese and Genovese believe that proslavery ideologues had the intellectual upper hand in disputes with northern abolitionists, they are careful to point out losses: elite slaveholders "used their scripturally weakest suit—Noah's curse on his son Ham—to maximum political effect. Properly, the abolitionists condemned it as a fraud" (p. 521).

Such a long book grants many voices and it sometimes sounds as though plural, not singular, southern minds were at play. Slaveholders disagreed on quite a lot; some of them were often in two minds on the same topic, so much so that their views on a variety of matters "might appear contrary and frequently were" (p. 133). Indeed, precisely because the authors are less interested in the reception of the slaveholders' argument among, say, yeomen and slaves than they are in the ways that slaveholders generated and then consumed their own intellectual discourse, this is necessarily a book about slaveholders talking to themselves with all of the convolutions, anxieties, and joys that are constituent of how elite classes make their ideology. "We speak of the master class as 'hegemonic,' a term that implies deep social chasms and acute social struggles but also a measure of agreement," the authors write, but there is no doubt that it is on the "agreement," best understood a shared "broadly conservative worldview," that they focus (p. 5).

The claim that "Most Southerners did not own slaves, but like the slaveholders they upheld constitutional and political principles while frankly acknowledging slavery as the social foundation for their way of life" (p. 70) will irk some, not least because the book does not attend to how nonslaveholders thought about slavery. While problematic, there are dividends to this approach. By insisting on the unity of the elite southern mind Fox-Genovese and Genovese offer something that is sometimes only implicit in very long books: a clearly articulated argument. While it is encyclopedic, this work is no mere catalogue. It is a massive, elegant essay—an effort to persuade.

In this respect, the authors have written not simply an intellectual history; they offer an older form of social history. While they detail impressively how thinkers of the Old South did much to pursue "a history of the common people" (p. 173)—Native Americans, Africans, women, and workers—the authors also understand, as Eric Hobsbawm stressed in his foundational work over thirty years ago, that a genuine social history takes seriously the production of ideas by elites.

This book has a fidelity to its subject that only an abiding, patient, and careful attention to a massive amount of primary sources can achieve. It is insistently instructive, sure and even-handed, startlingly learned, at once grave but lively, and it offers American historians generally an argument with which they should engage and from which they can learn a great deal.

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Josephine F. Pacheco. *The Pearl: A Failed Slave Escape on the Potomac*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. x, 307. $29.95.

In April 1848, seventy-six enslaved men and women from Washington, D.C., tried to escape from bondage aboard a schooner called the *Pearl*, only to be captured by pursuers after the ship was forced to wait out a storm on the Chesapeake Bay. As punishment, most of these men and women (including a woman owned by the former first lady, Dolley Madison) were sold to slave traders who transported them to the Deep South for resale. The two white men sailing the *Pearl*, Daniel Drayton and Edward Sayres, narrowly escaped lynching, only to be tried and imprisoned for their efforts in helping the slaves to escape. They remained in jail until 1852, when they were pardoned by President Millard Fillmore. Not only was this one of the largest attempted slave escapes in U.S. history, but it also raised questions about the role of slavery and the slave trade in the nation's capital that would help lead to the Compromise of 1850 and the road to southern secession.

In her important study of this failed slave escape, Josephine F. Pacheco has made a valuable contribution to our understanding of American slavery and the coming of the Civil War. Pacheco tells her story well and examines the implications of this case from all points of view. She begins by looking at the nature of slavery in the District of Columbia and the crucial role it played in the interregional slave trade. While most enslaved people in the District had more day-to-day freedoms than those on large cotton or sugar plantations in the Lower South, the fear of kidnapping or sale always hung over them, as the domestic slave trade was a constant presence in the District and a major factor in its econ-

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omy. In fact, it was this fear of sale that led most of the enslaved people to seek refuge aboard the *Pearl*.

Pacheco notes that the two main white men involved were drawn into this venture for financial reward and not abolitionist sentiment. Drayton, the captain of the ship, was a destitute seaman from New Jersey who only accepted the voyage for the $100 fee he was offered, while Sayres was offered a similar payment for the use of his boat. Pacheco likewise explores many of the troubling questions about the initiation and ultimate failure of this expedition, such as who planned and financed it, and whether there was an informer who told the posse where to find the *Pearl*. In an intriguing piece of detective work (Drayton refused to admit who had hired him), Pacheco concludes that the planner of the escape was a young Massachusetts lawyer living in Washington named William L. Chaplin and the voyage was financed by Charles Dexter Cleveland of Philadelphia. While the phrase "may have been" is employed a little too frequently in this section, her explanation sounds plausible.

There are likewise nice accounts of all the other major players in this case. Gamaliel Bailey (editor of the *National Era*) and Joshua Giddings (congressman from Ohio) made valiant efforts to prevent a lynching of the white men and saw that they received proper legal counsel. While most of the captured bondspeople simply disappeared into the slave trade, the Edmondson family became instant celebrities, especially the two teenaged daughters, Mary and Emily, primarily because they were part white and Christian. When their father went to the North to raise money to save the girls from certain prostitution in the Deep South, he (and later the girls themselves) helped to convert many people to the abolitionist cause. Finally, there is a good description of the trial and the roles played by District Attorney Philip Barton Key (son of Francis Scott Key) and the lead defense attorney, freshman congressman from Massachusetts Horace Mann.

The most important contribution of this book, however, comes in Pacheco's discussion of the larger impact that the case had on Congress and on further enhancing the sectional divide. This case highlighted the crucial role that slavery and the slave trade played in the District of Columbia. Northerners became increasingly appalled by slavery's presence in the nation's capital, and white southerners expressed amazing unity in their adamance in not ceding any ground to the antislavery forces. According to Pacheco, after the *Pearl* case, "slavery and the slave trade in the District were issues that Congress could no longer avoid" (p. 190). The result was the Compromise of 1850, with its abolition of the slave trade in the District and a much stronger fugitive slave bill. While Pacheco sometimes understates the contentious role that slavery in the nation's capital played well before the *Pearl* case, there is no denying that this important incident needs to be included in any serious discussion on the issues that propelled this nation toward civil war.

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Michael Bennett. *Democratic Discourses: The Radical Abolition Movement and Antebellum American Literature*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 223. $24.95.

Continued scholarly interest in the American antislavery movement that preceded and accompanied the Civil War rests to a large degree on the abolitionists' engagement with issues of race, class, and gender that remain relevant today. Literary scholar Michael Bennett contends that the abolitionists, or rather a subset he calls "radical abolitionists," were the first Americans to envision "a future in which all kinds of people could live together in a truly democratic community" (p. 1). Prior to the Civil War, white men ruled households, controlled politics, and enjoyed economic liberty. Slaves, free African Americans, and white women suffered varying degrees of political, economic, sexual, and cultural oppression. Radical abolitionists, Bennett maintains, changed things. Through discourse they "created a space for the dramatically different world we live in today" (p. 2).

Bennett's major analytical technique pairs what he defines as conservative and radical antislavery figures (most of whom wrote fiction, nonfiction, or a combination thereof) to demonstrate how antislavery discourse influenced views. Chapters analyze how such discourse advanced "bodily democracy" (free association and sexuality), "gender democracy" (women's rights), "economic democracy," and "aesthetic democracy" (social realism). These chapters are thorough and insightful. By centering on contrasting figures, they might encourage a false dichotomy concerning antislavery perspectives. But Bennett is careful not to present his subjects in isolation. He indicates ways in which they agreed, and shows how they changed over time. The chapters on bodies, gender, and literary aesthetics are revealing. The chapter on abolitionist economic thought is less successful.

Bennett defines "bodily democracy" as "the extension of formal democracy to the realms of body politics and control over one's sexuality" (p. 45). He chooses poets Frances Ellen Watkins and Walt Whitman as his subjects to contrast the "very different discursive spaces" their bodies occupied (pp. 46–47). Watkins's black female body received different treatment in terms of access, status, and sexuality than Whitman's white male body. The two also "chose to deploy their bodies in behalf of different causes," as Watkins became "a radical abolitionist" and Whitman became "the poet of the Democratic Party" (p. 47). Although Bennett finds more to write about concerning freedom of access than about sexuality, he regards Whitman's "explicit celebrations of eroticism" as an indication of bodily privilege denied to Watkins (p. 56).

In regard to "gender democracy," Bennett focuses on Margaret Fuller and Sojourner Truth, each of whom called on women to enter "the public sphere" to overcome oppression. Fuller, a white middle-class transcendentalist, emphasized an idealized potential for all

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women based on inherently feminine characteristics. Truth, a former slave who—unlike Fuller—joined actively in the antislavery movement, emphasized the different conditions women faced and equal rights based on "similar capacities" among men and women (p. 69). Bennett finds in these variations the roots of modern "difference feminism and equality feminism" (p. 151).

Bennett chooses novelist Harriet Beecher Stowe and memoirist Harriet Jacobs as his focal points regarding "aesthetic democracy." Stowe represents for Bennett a conservative racialist form of antislavery linked to plans to colonize former slaves in Africa. Jacobs represents a "radical abolitionist" commitment to racial and sexual equality and integration. Bennett contrasts Stowe's sentimental fiction to the dawning realism in Jacobs's fictionalized slave narrative. Bennett might have added to the significance of this chapter by analyzing the growing importance of nationalist immigrationism among black abolitionists during the 1850s.

The difficulty with Bennett's chapter on "economic democracy" is that while its subjects, Frederick Douglass and Henry David Thoreau, described their escapes from "exploitive economic system[s]"—Douglass from slavery and Thoreau from entrepreneurial capitalism—neitherengagedindeepeconomicanalysis.NeitherDouglass nor Thoreau nor the overwhelming majority of "radical abolitionists" were socialists or critics of the North's wage labor economy. Contrary to Bennett, the roots of modern American concepts of economic democracy lay not in the antislavery movement but among utopian socialists and early labor advocates, many of whom had little sympathy for enslaved African Americans.

There are other questionable aspects in Bennett's approach to understanding the relevance of abolitionists to current social concerns. In his introduction, he tends to define "radical abolitionists" too narrowly as New England associates of William Lloyd Garrison, when a radical political abolitionist faction centered in upstate New York deserves far more attention. It is also not enough to describe the impact of abolitionists on black freedom and American culture in terms of discourse. John Brown was correct when in 1859 he said, upon leaving a Garrisonian meeting, "Talk! talk! talk!—that will never set the slave free." It took action: resistance to the fugitive slave laws, border war in Kansas Territory, and the Civil War. Finally, despite the admirable work of abolitionists, more fundamental demographic, economic, and cultural forces working over a much longer time are responsible for the transformation of early nineteenth-century American society into the more egalitarian one that exists today.

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LYNN M. HUDSON. *The Making of "Mammy Pleasant": A Black Entrepreneur in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco*. (Women in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 193. $29.95.

What did it take for Mary Ellen "Mammy" Pleasant, an impoverished, New England-born female, to negotiate her way through barriers of race, class, and gender to become a reformer and entrepreneur who was part of the black elite? Lynn M. Hudson attempts to answer this and other questions in her detailed and revisionist study of Pleasant's life and the myths about it.

Hudson pieces together Pleasant's life by uncovering the few primary sources that distinguish the facts from the myths previously told about her. If for no other reason than this, Hudson's biography is significant. In addition, she challenges historical assumptions about post-Gold Rush California as well as the romanticized version of black exploits in the West. In so doing, Hudson adds her voice to that of Anne M. Butler, whose pioneer historical work, *Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery: Prostitutes in the American West, 1865–90* (1985), revealed the harsh life of black women trying to survive on the western frontier with limited access to employment and upward mobility. Hudson, like Butler, meticulously combed through court records to set much of the story straight.

To answer the question about what it took for Pleasant to negotiate her way from poverty to affluence to reformer, Hudson uses Pleasant's 1902 autobiography as a springboard to census records and several accounts that informants and other writers have used to tell Pleasant's story. From there Hudson pieces together Mary Ellen Williams's life as a young girl in Nantucket, Massachusetts. It was there, Hudson explains, that Pleasant learned her business sense and found her model for entrepreneurship as a clerk in the "huckster" shop owned by the woman who housed her. Hudson speculates that Pleasant probably settled in Boston in her twenties, bringing abolitionist and business experiences with her.

With few sources available, Hudson makes a good effort to verify some of the lore about Pleasant and her life in New England, where in the 1840s she married her first husband, Bostonian James Smith. He was said to be a wealthy abolitionist; however, Hudson could find no evidence of his worth. Widowed by the late 1840s, Mary Ellen Smith married her second husband, John James Pleasant, a ship's cook. At the time Pleasant was employed as a live-in domestic servant and her husband was often away at sea.

Although Hudson does not make this observation, free blacks living in New England had few employment options. Live-in domestic service for both single and married women was quite common, as was maritime employment for black men. However, when the couple arrived in San Francisco at mid century, Hudson notes that Mary Ellen was a wealthy woman who provided domestic services.

To answer another question about how Pleasant became a San Francisco entrepreneur and reformer, Hudson provides several probable answers based on census records, court documents, and recorded recollections of others. First, Pleasant brought money with her. At the time, Hudson notes, ninety-two percent of the Cal-

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ifornia population was male. By providing domestic services for these men, Pleasant became quite successful, exploiting what Hudson calls "the mammy stereotype" about black women. Second, she opened a boarding house in the 1860s and closed her laundries as Chinese men began to dominate this service sector.

Hudson shows this time period to have been a very good one for Pleasant, as published evidence reveals her ongoing work with Massachusetts' black abolitionists, who formed a major part of her social and business activities. These and other reformers in San Francisco were the elite blacks to whom Hudson refers. In the 1860s Pleasant challenged racial discrimination in public accommodations while diversifying her business. For example, in 1863 she sued a railroad company for ejecting her from a streetcar, and she won her case in the lower court.

By the 1870s Pleasant entered a new phase in her life, probably as a single woman. She purchased a lavish house where she cohabitated with a white banker and his family. Hudson notes that Pleasant played the role of housekeeper, causing much public speculation about sexual liaison. Hudson concludes that Pleasant maintained a masquerade as the housekeeper while living a wealthy life. Public speculation about a sullied life leads to the last question about why at the end of her years Pleasant's name was associated with ill repute. Hudson argues that Pleasant "disrupted dominant assumptions about the place of African Americans in post-Reconstruction America" (p. 63), a wise analysis. I agree that such rebellious behavior was a primary motive for the powerful to try to defeat Pleasant through the courts. Whereas Pleasant sued and sometimes won in court during the 1860s, she was sued and often lost in later years. Hudson contends that Pleasant paid the price for attempting to manipulate wealthy white men through use of their sexual secrets.

Hudson's conclusion is quite appropriate, as she argues that race and gender codes kept Pleasant from gaining stature in the business world. Hudson sheds new light on Pleasant's place in African American and women's history.

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MAURIE D. MCINNIS. *The Politics of Taste in Antebellum Charleston*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 395. $34.95.

Drawing rooms, public buildings, backlots, and slave yards come into sharp relief in this new analysis of the material culture of antebellum Charleston, South Carolina. Weaving together documentary sources mined by numerous other scholars of the slave South and sources examined by historians of art and architecture, Maurie D. McInnis presents a history of Charleston that "stands between" or "among several scholarly disciplines" (p. 8), among them anthropology, history, and art history. It is the cross-disciplinary nature of her approach that sets her work apart from more traditional histories of this much-studied city. In part, McInnis sets out to explain why the wealthiest women and men of Charleston built what they built and bought what they bought. As an historian of visual culture, she assumes that in making such decisions people reveal not merely their personalities and idiosyncrasies but also their political proclivities and worldviews. She draws on European scholarship in arguing that the city's elite expropriated artwork, architecture, and decorative art forms to "communicate and to mediate relationships" (p. 13) and to visually assert their mastery over slaves and lower-class whites, the supremacy of slavery over wage labor, and the primacy of southern slave society over the free labor North.

The first two chapters describe the layout of the city and, in great detail, its vernacular architecture, or the most common techniques, decorative features, and materials utilized by Charleston's elite and those aspiring to that status. McInnis richly illustrates her narrative with period sketches, black-and-white prints of contemporary oil paintings and watercolors, later nineteenth and twentieth-century photographs, period maps, and architectural floor plans. McInnis documents Charleston's striking contrasts; mansions and impressive public buildings occupied the same block as humble frame houses, and wealthy planters lived on the same streets as free people of color. However, McInnis finds the regularity of Charleston's public facade equally significant. She argues that the classical style continued to dominate even when other American cities were turning to Gothic domestic structures. In America, as in England, it was mainly the rising mercantile class—those without noble roots or refined taste—who built in the Gothic style. Men and women of the Charleston elite clung to their philosophical and stylistic affinity with the English nobility not simply to ape English aristocratic culture, but as a visual and material manifestation of their self-conscious mastery over the city.

In chapters three through five, McInnis dissects "the visual culture of the public realm" (p. 11). Other scholars have revealed the documentary and material evidence of racial control, but McInnis integrates this secondary literature into her meticulous descriptions of the timing, planning, and significance of public symbols and sites associated with white supremacy. The architectural style, for example, employed in the city arsenal expressed white Charleston's commitment to slavery and their hierarchical social order. The new Guard House, rebuilt in 1837 and partly modeled after a Greek temple, embodied the elite's dedication to this ideal. Other public buildings—the Medical College of South Carolina, the Apprentices Library Society, the Charleston Hotel, Meeting Street Theater, and St. Philip's Episcopal Church—"firmly ensconced the language of classicism as the idiom of the upper class" (p. 122). But more than that, these edifices bore witness to their own superiority and "served as evidence of the salubrity of southern society" (p. 91).

In her final four chapters, McInnis examines the mansions, outbuildings, and yards of typical urban com-

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pounds. While other scholars have described similar sites, this work benefits greatly from the bountiful black and white illustrations (over 100 in this last section alone) and sixteen color plates featuring oil paintings, watercolors, sketches, and photographs of furniture and architectural forms. In addition, McInnis convincingly demonstrates the ways in which architectural design "separated classes and races" and how only certain spaces (work yard, pantry, storeroom) "acted as both a physical and a metaphorical buffer zone" where black and white intermingled (p. 177). Several of the city's wealthiest families added Gothic Revival touches to their outbuildings—pointed arches, lancet windows, and blind trefoils—while rejecting this form for their own dwellings. McInnis argues that this contrast in architectural styles (classicism versus Gothic Revival) "relates to the complex interplay between ideology and the built environment" (p. 219). Such architectural flourishes "were meant as symbolic evidence that slavery allowed them [elite whites] to achieve a high level of cultural refinement" (p. 239) and provided physical evidence that their laborers were housed in buildings superior to those of northern workers. For example, McInnis provides fascinating evidence that many urban slaves decorated their rooms elaborately and with vivid color washes.

The strength of this work—in addition to its plentiful illustrations—is McInnis's unique analysis of the components and meanings of material culture. Not only did the elite write their self-assurance "across the landscape in buildings, furniture, painting, and decorative arts," but, as McInnis makes clear, this "visual culture intersects with questions of politics, class, ideology, and slavery" (pp. 7, 8).

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MARK V. WETHERINGTON. *Plain Folk's Fight: The Civil War and Reconstruction in Piney Woods Georgia*. (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. 383. $39.95.

According to Mark V. Wetherington, plain white folk in the Georgia piney woods along the lower Ocmulgee River thought and fought for themselves. Plain folk agency, clear-eyed pursuit of perceived self-interest, is the overriding theme of this nuanced, powerful, and comprehensive examination of the piney woods world.

Race trumped class for plain folk along the lower Ocmulgee. They gave majority support to immediate secession, furnished large numbers of troops for Confederate armies, retained faith in the Confederate cause until nearly the end, and used violence and intimidation to suppress black voting and reassert white hegemony during the Reconstruction era. Plain folk believed in Jeffersonian republicanism, accepted that slavery or subordination for blacks promoted freedom for whites, prized honor, embraced market opportunities that made sense, and kept patriarchal household authority functioning through the stresses of war. By Wetherington's expansive definition—owners of fewer than ten slaves or less than 150 acres—around ninety percent of piney woods white households were plain folk. Multifarious kinship ties between the few planters and the plain folk reduced yet further any potential for class strife. Plain folk politics revolved around the ideological fundamentals noted above, neighborhood ties, and shifting group identities. For example, Wetherington argues that plain folk assumed a more sectional southern identity during the 1850s, and that Primitive Baptist sentiments particularly shaped political allegiances.

Such a bald summary masks an enormous amount of detail and complexity. The lower Ocmulgee was a good country for plain folk but no paradise. The outside world, from railroad companies to Yankee soldiers, intruded greatly. Wartime prices skyrocketed, supplies dwindled, men perished in Virginia camps and battles, and large numbers of piney woods families required government assistance to survive. Paramilitaries roamed the countryside; criminals hanged. Violence against blacks, enslaved or emancipated, was unapologetic and ugly. While he respects and even admires plain folk, Wetherington is more realist than romantic.

Historiographical engagement drives the book in thought-provoking ways. Wetherington repeats all significant historiographical points and many minor ones numerous times, and he borrows freely from one brand of plain folk scholarship. Wetherington's extrapolation of plain folk ideology, which goes well beyond the scanty literary evidence available on his Georgia counties, offers an interesting object lesson in how schools of interpretation form. While contextualization is critical in local studies, interpretations of plain folk in Mississippi, Tennessee, South Carolina, or even upcountry and eastern black-belt Georgia, all of which Wetherington brings to his aid, still are not documentation for the state of affairs on the lower Ocmulgee. The logic employed goes something like this: because southern plain folk held similar values, and because historians have written that plain folk elsewhere in the South held certain values, then "my" plain folk must have held those same values, which therefore proves that southern plain folk held similar values. Meanwhile, a competing group of historians, whose arguments have logical frailties of their own, enthusiastically cite each other's work to construct a vastly different interpretation. Two of Wetherington's challengers are David Williams, *Rich Man's War: Class, Caste, and Confederate Defeat in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley* (1998), and Michael P. Johnson, *Toward a Patriarchal Republic: The Secession of Georgia* (1977). Williams's work on the adjacent Chattahoochee region—one with a much larger proportion of slave population and slaveholders than on the lower Ocmulgee—depicts seething class conflict and rampant hostility toward the Confederacy. Johnson's study of secession emphasizes white disunity and planter determination to consolidate their rule over both slaves and lesser white folk, the latter of whom were largely incapable of discerning their own self-interest.

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Will the real Georgia plain folk please stand up? A look at the framing of a representative, broad, and critical question suggests how we get ourselves into such interpretative conundrums. Whether they acknowledge it explicitly or not, historians who emphasize class conflict during the secession crisis or within the Confederacy set very high standards for plain folk: anything much less than universal devotion to a common cause counts as noteworthy, even crippling, division and dissent. In contrast, Wetherington's presumptive level of plain folk allegiance to the Confederacy approximates zero, as in this formulation: "Why anyone remained at the front is a question worth asking" (p. 144). Pro-Confederate activism and racial solidarity among plain folk accordingly appear most impressive to Wetherington, despite the presence of doubters, shirkers, and deserters in the piney woods. The glass half-empty versus glass half-full nature of this debate over the behavior and beliefs of plain folk means, I think, that issues are unlikely to be resolved by accretions of evidence; the answers lie less in the archives than in ourselves.

ANTHONY GENE CAREY
Auburn University

MARK A. WEITZ. *More Damning than Slaughter: Desertion in the Confederate Army*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2005. Pp. xix, 346. $49.95.

Since the 1970s, the scholarly debate on the Confederacy has centered on whether or not white southerners created a unifying nationalist ideology. Considering that the Confederacy mobilized seventy-five to eighty-five percent of its available draft-age white military population, that at least 258,000 men died during the war and another 200,000 were wounded, it is probably safe to conclude that an ideological and political consensus existed and was sustained among white southerners for much of the war. It is true that ideological and emotional commitments were extraordinarily diverse among white southerners, and morale waxed and waned during the course of the war according to a host of variables. Gyrations in sentiment and feeling, however, should not prevent us from recognizing the obvious: most Confederates, even when they were tired of the war and unhappy with the Confederate government, rejected reunion, knowing full well that capitulation would destroy their beloved slave society. The time has come, moreover, for Confederate history to move beyond the restrictive question as to whether southern whites possessed sufficient nationalism or not to meet the demands of war. Unfortunately, Mark A. Weitz contributes little to this tired debate. Throughout his book he piles untenable generalizations and strident assertions upon hardened historiographical battle lines. Weitz does not expand our understanding of why men deserted, nor does he provide new insights into how this phenomenon contributed to the Confederacy's demise.

The author argues that wartime conditions initially pushed southern soldiers to question their allegiance and that the pull of civilian cries for relief ultimately motivated them to leave the ranks. Weitz concludes that loyalty to local communities and families was stronger than any attachment to the larger nation. Not only did desertion cripple Confederate armies (an odd conclusion, considering that the author wisely admits in the introduction that hard statistical data on desertion is virtually nonexistent), but it also revealed a lack of nationalistic commitment to the Confederacy. Weitz's overall argument does not begin to explain the complexities of social protest in the Confederacy. War weariness and frustration with Confederate authorities certainly led to desertion. Leaving the ranks, however, did not always mean a rejection of the Confederacy or an acceptance of Union. Weitz never captures the multiple and often contradictory meanings of desertion. In his eyes, every soldier who left the front cared more for his family and community than he did for the Confederate cause. Moreover, bread and butter issues, while causing class tensions as the author nicely documents, were not blithely ignored by the Confederate ruling class. William A. Blair has demonstrated that the planter class listened to the cries for relief from below and created a welfare state to meet those needs. Weitz's single-minded determination to prove class conflict prevents him from appreciating how the voices of common people compelled the Confederacy's rulers to reform social policy. Although government-sponsored welfare initiatives did not eliminate all injustices, they did ease the suffering and stopped a lower-class insurgency that Wietz has invented as the cause of the Confederacy's demise. Weitz is able to do this by overgeneralizing from source material that is highly individualized and in need of broader contextualization. The author bluntly concludes, for example, that Mississippians lacked a collective will to wage war just because farmers near Corinth refused to give water to marching Confederate troops.

Weitz has forgotten that survival often forced Confederates to make compromises that were not simple statements of political allegiance or dissent. His exaggerated claims of class dissension fuel his larger aim of refuting Gary W. Gallagher's influential argument, in *The Confederate War* (1997), that white southerners were remarkably united until defeated by Union armies. On virtually every page, Weitz challenges Gallagher, hammering the point that the Confederacy exploded from within—a simplified assertion that he supports with the most questionable of generalizations. The author writes, for instance, that "the threat to home and fireside from the Union army was in a sense imaginary. This does not suggest that the Union army's presence in the South did not adversely affect the civilian population. . . But the real threat came from the Confederate government's inability to protect Confederate civilians, not from Union invasion, but from starvation, from each other, and from the Confederate government" (p. 30). Such extreme statements infuse the book with a distracting, polemical tone. In his stridency, Weitz missed an opportunity to bring complexity to the thoughts and actions of men who struggled to reconcile

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the competing loyalties of family, community, army, and nation. Had he done so, the author would have reminded scholars that the debate about Confederate nationalism should be more than simply determining whether the glass was half-full or half-empty.

PETER S. CARMICHAEL
University of North Carolina, Greensboro

BEN H. SEVERANCE. *Tennessee's Radical Army: The State Guard and Its Role in Reconstruction, 1867–1869*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 327. $35.00.

This is a narrowly focused study with potentially broad implications for our understanding of the Reconstruction era. Ben H. Severance presents a careful, persuasive assessment of the activity and effectiveness of Tennessee's state militia during the brief period of Republican ascendancy in that state in the aftermath of the Civil War. His immediate goal is to challenge longstanding views of Tennessee's short-lived State Guard as either irrelevant and ineffective or as the oppressive tool of Radical Republican despotism. He argues that the Guard was "remarkably effective at enforcing the Reconstruction policies" of Republican Governor William G. Brownlow. Furthermore, it did so within the law and, on the whole, with "a marked degree of discipline and restraint" (p. xvii). More broadly, Severance posits that Tennessee can serve as a case study of "force politics in action" (p. xiii), and in contending that the militia was largely successful there, he hopes to "reopen the question of whether a more forceful military-style Reconstruction" (p. xvi) might have succeeded across the South.

Tennessee's fledgling Republican Party gained ascendancy just before the war's conclusion, thanks primarily to a proclamation by outgoing military Governor Andrew Johnson that temporarily disfranchised the two-thirds of the white electorate that had supported the Confederacy. Seeking to maintain the party's control, the newly elected Republican legislature—spurred on by the thoroughly radical Brownlow—first made the disqualification of ex-Confederates permanent and then awarded the ballot to former slaves, making Tennessee the first southern state to grant an unqualified franchise to freedmen. Both acts were illegitimate in the view of the pro-Confederate majority, and by the end of 1866 Governor Brownlow had concluded that neither would be effective without a loyal militia to enforce them.

Heeding his suggestion, the Tennessee General Assembly twice passed acts authorizing the temporary creation of a State Guard, first in 1867 in order to supervise impending state elections, a second time in 1869 in response to increasing depredations by the Ku Klux Klan. In each instance the government mustered nearly two thousand men for a few crucial months into the state's service. In 1867 more than a quarter of the total consisted of African Americans, whereas in 1869 Brownlow opted for an all-white Guard, having decided that the political costs of arming blacks outweighed the benefits. In both years recruits had to be able to swear an "ironclad" oath, effectively ensuring that almost all members were Republicans. In one sense, Severance acknowledges, the State Guard was a "partisan, political army" (p. 65) that acted primarily to protect Republican voters and keep disloyal voters (overwhelmingly Democratic) from the polls. It did not suppress the Democratic press, however, nor did it interfere with anti-Radical candidates in any way, and the violent confrontations that occasionally occurred in both years were almost always initiated by ex-Confederates. In sum, Severance maintains, the Guard served to uphold rather than subvert the rule of law, and, in the process, it successfully protected the Republican Party's fragile Reconstruction program. Unfortunately, Republican legislators were always uncomfortable with the use of a peacetime military force and daunted by its sizable cost. Consequently, in both 1868 (a national election year) and the latter half of 1869 (when the next state elections were scheduled), they preferred to rely on a tiny Federal force stationed in Tennessee to uphold the franchise laws, even as the Republicans suffered a disastrous decline at the polls.

Severance grounds his analysis in meticulous research, drawing extensively from state records, newspapers, and manuscript sources. At times he devotes more space than is necessary to comparatively unimportant details, for example the difficulty in procuring a sufficient number of tents or soldiers' bouts with measles. Conversely, readers may wish for fuller treatment of the thinking behind Governor Brownlow's initiatives or the political logic of the legislature's responses, although I suspect that a dearth of sources may have been to blame in this regard. These minor criticisms notwithstanding, the author's basic conclusions concerning the activities of the Guard are judicious and compelling. In contrast, his concluding suggestion that even a very modest ongoing commitment to the use of force might have saved Reconstruction in Tennessee is frankly speculative and—like all counterfactual hypotheses—beyond confirmation. Even if the conjecture is correct, moreover, one might question its relevance to the rest of the South, inasmuch as, in the author's own estimation, the prospects for the success of "force politics" was likely greater in Tennessee than in any other ex-Confederate state, given its large population of native white Unionists. Even so, Severance has admirably fulfilled one of the historian's most important functions: by encouraging us to consider the possibility of an alternative scenario, his book will bring a renewed appreciation of contingency to our thinking about Reconstruction.

ROBERT TRACY MCKENZIE
University of Washington

DAVID LOWENTHAL. *George Perkins Marsh: Prophet of Conservation*. Foreword by WILLIAM CRONON. (Weyerhaeuser Environmental Books.) Paperback edition. Se-

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attle: University of Washington Press. 2003. Pp. xxv, 605. Cloth $40.00, paper $26.95.

When William Cronon, editor of the University of Washington Press's Weyerhaeuser Environmental Books series, asked David Lowenthal to update his *George Perkins Marsh: Versatile Vermonter* (1958) for republication, Lowenthal found that so much new material had been discovered and the historiographical context so changed that he instead rewrote and expanded it. The result is this new work, a very well-written and thoughtful biography of the author of *Man and Nature* (1864), the book internationally credited as the intellectual font of conservation and environmentalism.

The new title is an advance over the original in euphony (although the author still indulges his love of alliteration in several chapter titles) and alludes more clearly to Marsh's contemporary significance, but "versatile Vermonter" describes Marsh's life far better. Marsh's career encompassed several major themes and events of the mid-nineteenth century. He was a failed Jacksonian-era entrepreneur: his law partner's death doomed his law career, declining tariffs closed his woolen mill, his marble quarry failed, and a fortune disappeared in railroad speculation. An antislavery Whig in Congress, Marsh opposed annexation of Texas and the Mexican War. Vermont commissioned him to write reports on the value of educating deaf mutes, the decline of fisheries, and (sweet revenge) railroad corruption. As the American diplomat in Turkey, he protected Hungarian revolutionary Lajos Kossuth and his colleagues and was on the scene as the Crimean War developed; as ambassador to newly formed Italy during the diplomatically critical Civil War years, he aided Giuseppe Garibaldi and, despite his invincible Yankee antipapal prejudices, so pleased his hosts that he kept his post for an unparalleled eighteen years. Marsh's remarkable mind mastered one field after another. He made important contributions to linguistics, etymology, the study of English, and dictionaries; he participated in the creation of the Smithsonian; he wrote a book on camels, advocating their use in the American West, as well as *Man and Nature*. Only in his sixties did Marsh write his magnum opus. He had played many roles (and the reader has turned 267 pages) before Marsh at last assumed the mantle of "prophet of conservation."

Enlivened with abundant witty and perceptive quotations from Marsh's letters and writings, his adventures make engaging and informative reading, but the real meat of the book appears in two chapters on the making of *Man and Nature* and its impact. Here, and in two concluding chapters on the significance of Marsh's life and his greatest work, Lowenthal gives the benefit of a half century of experience and scholarship on the origins of environmental thought and policy. The two versions of this book bracket not only the author's career but, more importantly, the rise of both the environmental movement and the field of environmental history. In part due to *Versatile Vermonter* and Lowenthal's 1965 edition of *Man and Nature*, Marsh enjoys a much greater reputation among environmentalists and historians now than previously. Lowenthal's concluding defense of Marsh's significance and reputation and his plea for the continuing relevance of his work (occasionally overstated but insightful overall) add considerably to the book's value.

What this book does it does very well, but even with 431 pages it has its omissions. At beginning and end, one wonders about the earlier Puritan origins of Marsh's eminent New England family, and about the later fates of his widow and young adopted son. Lowenthal is honest about the bitter, estranged only surviving child of Marsh's first marriage, and about his occasional but quite relentless enemies, but he does not attempt any deep analysis of the unlovelier aspects of Marsh's personality. Most important, Lowenthal, a geographer, is neither an intellectual historian nor a linguist familiar with the European languages of many of the books Marsh worked with and drew from. A more widely read appreciation of the European roots, context, and impact of *Man and Nature* would have immensely improved the chapter on its genesis, themes, and analysis, and also would have strengthened his case against Richard Grove's *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600–1860* (1995). The reader also never quite understands Marsh's sudden urgency in writing *Man and Nature*.

That is not to undervalue Lowenthal's considerable research or his analysis, particularly of the way Marsh synthesized observations of environmental change in Vermont with those from his travels in the Levant, Italy, and the Alps into the essential insights of *Man and Nature*. This book is well written, well constructed, and thoughtful—valuable as a biography of a fascinating American Victorian amateur scholar, politician, and diplomat, and essential as a contribution to the history of environmental thought.

MARK STOLL
Texas Tech University

DIANE SHAW. *City Building on the Eastern Frontier: Sorting the New Nineteenth-Century City*. (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, in cooperation with the Center for American Places, Sante Fe, N.M. 2004. Pp. xi, 209. $45.00.

Odds are good that every American historian alive and reading these words is familiar with the "walking city" of Philadelphia as famously portrayed in Sam Bass Warner's *The Private City* (1968). In that path-breaking study Warner showed us a humane, small-scale, mixed-use, and relatively undifferentiated urban environment, rooted in colonial history, that gradually broke down in the nineteenth century into sorted enclaves dedicated to commerce, industry, and residential neighborhoods—the latter further distinguished by class, ethnic, and racial markers. Diane Shaw's new study of two canal-era boomtowns in upstate New York—Rochester

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and Syracuse—starts with the claim that Warner's model is an "inapt description of the pedestrian-scaled, highly sorted cities that were created de novo during the nineteenth century" (p. 4). Planted in an instant, as it were, practically on bare ground, these two inland cities reflected conscious designs that tried to separate commerce, industry, and civic spaces, aiming for some bourgeois ideal of order and taste while simultaneously meeting the primary demands of economic functionality and transportation connections. Relying heavily on the theoretical horsepower inherent in the concept of a cityscape as an "arranged environment" produced by "a series of deliberate decisions made from the time of platting through the actual construction of buildings and use of city space" (pp. 8–9), Shaw depicts these upstart frontier cities as the contrivances of merchant boosters who liked to see their own pecuniary ambitions in terms of cultural uplift and human improvement.

Shaw's two subject cities found their pre-canal origins in 1803 and 1804 as town site promotions intended to exploit the dramatic water power of the Genesee Falls (Rochester) and the Salt Springs Reserve (Syracuse) respectively. Plans were laid and elaborate plats recorded in the first fifteen years or so, but actual development sputtered along until the state of New York thrust these inland way stations into sudden prominence as stops on the Erie Canal. Shaw stresses that both cities had intentional proprietors, and that each experienced significant competition from rival villages. Commercial concerns dominated the original conceptions of both cities, and both tried to sort arriving merchants, manufacturers, and residents into neighborhoods according to function. The main body of Shaw's book consists of four chapters that trace the planning, building, "refining," and "gentrifying" of the "sorted city." A tight little essay follows analyzing the design and function of the Reynolds Arcade and Athenaeum, where Shaw displays to good effect the interpretive power of her theoretical framework. A chapter on transportation and the challenge of introducing railroads into canal towns rounds out the volume, which ends (unfortunately) without a summary conclusion.

Given the author's insistence on the intentional role of planners and designers, it may disappoint some readers that after the very first years (in which the papers of town founders are usefully exploited), much of this story must be intuited from the buildings themselves, from maps, illustrations, occasional travelers' descriptions, and from some examples of normative literature. Theory drives the reading of such sources, but Shaw's reading of the sources seems aimed at verifying theory, resulting in a hint of circularity that it may not be possible to resolve. In the end Shaw claims that the "well-ordered city was a sorted city," that "economic improvement was only part of the goal of colonizing the eastern frontier," and that these cities were "supposed to be conveyors" of a "particularly merchantlike, middle-class interpretation of civilization" (p. 155). The claims seem utterly defensible (at least to a nonspecialist reader), but whether Shaw's account proves them or merely illustrates their probability is less certain. Either way, the book delivers valuable detail about two minor cities in a critical period of economic change. Excellent maps and a fine selection of illustrations enhance the package significantly (although these are gathered unhelpfully in a single signature at the front of the volume).

JOHN LAURITZ LARSON
Purdue University

TIMOTHY B. SPEARS. *Chicago Dreaming: Midwesterners and the City, 1871–1919*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xxiii, 322. $20.00.

Timothy B. Spear's lucid and interesting exploration of the impact of midwestern migrants on the literary tradition of Chicago is a major contribution to the city's cultural history. His book depicts a variety of Chicagoans with roots in the hinterland and how they tried to illustrate their urban experiences. The title refers to the dreams that prompted thousands of small-town and rural people to leave their homes and come to the city on the lake in the years between the Great Fire (1871) and the end of World War I (1919). It is an interesting investigation not only of the literary tradition but also of the development of Progressivism. Chicago became the destination where dreams were fulfilled, or so it seemed to the young midwesterners who flocked to the city. Not totally focused on fiction writers, Spears does a fascinating job of depicting rural and small-town migrants to what many referred to as "Suckerland." Spears discusses famous journalists and novelists such as Hamlin Garland, George Fuller, Theodore Dreiser, Willa Cather, Upton Sinclair, and George Ade and cartoonist John McCutcheon among a whole list of lesser known Chicago writers many no longer much read or remembered. He includes John and Francis Glessner, two Ohio migrants who erected the famous Glessner House on Prairie Avenue and provided a place for artists and others to gather. Also included is the ubiquitous Jane Addams from Cedarville, Illinois, whose prolific writings shaped the social conscience of the Progressive era. All had the rural to urban migration experience in common and shed light both on Chicago's life during the period covered and on the passage from rural America to the city and its influence on their work.

For the historian of migration, Spears paints an interesting picture of this group and its wants and desires. The Glessners' story is a traditional account of the small-town yearning for upward mobility and migration. John Glessner, born in Zanesville, first made his way to Springfield, Ohio, and then to Chicago. On Prairie Street Glessner and his wife built a home that was both the culmination of their journey from Springfield to Chicago and the basis for their future success. The ambitious businessman eventually sat on the Board of Directors of the new International Harvester Company in Chicago. H. H. Richardson's design gave the Glessners perhaps the most talked about home on this street of millionaires. The look at Ade and McCutcheon is

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similar in its ambitions. These two old friends came to Chicago from Indiana to fulfill their dreams. But like other migrants, they kept a special place in their hearts for home. Here Spears explores the nostalgia that infuses much of the literature, a yearning for the home they left behind and a culture that imbued their view of life. These two "Hoosiers in Suckerland" organized the famous Indiana Society of Chicago, which attracted migrants from Indiana to celebrate their small-town roots. Spears's depiction of the Indiana Society recalls ethnic institutions, a point that the author makes throughout the book. The migrants and—more numerous—immigrants to Chicago had much in common, even if the native born did not always recognize that. Certainly the writers portrayed here saw their place as among the native born and, while they depicted immigrants they often did not do so with much clarity or understanding.

An exception to this might be Addams, Sinclair, and Carl Sandburg, but here, too, the message is a mixed one that also points to the problems with Progressivism and its attitude toward immigrants. Spears explains the impact of Addams's small-town upbringing on her conception of democracy as well as her ideas concerning stewardship. He places this within the context of the larger migration experience. For Addams and other migrants, the midwestern town remained a vital and ongoing model for what they saw as America's promise. The nostalgia of the village proved important for Addams and the other migrants who shaped much of Chicago's own democratic tradition. Here Spears echoes in many ways the work of Victoria Bissell Brown in her depiction of Addams's early education. It is important to see how the early experience of these writers helped them to relate to what many saw as a "disordered urban world."

This book covers much territory that is impossible to relate in a short review. Henry Blake Fuller's admonishment to Ade and others to construct a Chicago literary tradition based on both migrant and urban experiences was taken up by many of the men and women discussed here. The book provides a good overall view of that tradition and its many fruits, as well as a fascinating account of both Chicago and the migration that these writers represented so well.

Dominic A. Pacyga
Columbia College, Chicago

Sally J. Southwick. *Building on a Borrowed Past: Place and Identity in Pipestone, Minnesota*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 204. Cloth $38.95, paper $18.95.

One of the difficult aspects of studying American history is placing rural communities into a national context for cultural themes. Sally J. Southwick attempts that integration in a tightly written case study that describes the evolution of a small town of 5,000 people whose existence derives from a Native American cultural site that is now a federally designated national monument administered by the National Park Service.

Pipestone, in the southwest corner of Minnesota, is adjacent to a unique American Indian quarry which is the source for catlinite, a soft red stone easy to carve and utilized for native pipe bowls. Southwick's book is a five-chapter micro study of the history of Pipestone, Minnesota, and local interest in and promotion of the historic quarry site, whose 640 acres were reserved by the Yankton Sioux in an 1858 treaty. For centuries catlinite pipe bowls had been integral to Great Plains trade, and for several tribes the pipestone quarry may be a sacred site, although actual prehistoric and historic native use of the quarry is deeply imbedded in regional myth and folklore and is unclear. Title to the section of prairie land spiraled to the U.S. Supreme Court prior to the 1928 ruling that tribes had quarrying rights but not ownership of the land. Thus, in a rare instance in U.S. history, the federal government specifically reserved an ongoing Native American cultural site.

Southwick weaves several important threads through her narrative including the quarry's significance in exploration and nineteenth-century literature. Lewis and Clark described the site but did not visit it. John C. Fremont and Joseph Nicollet described the site as did F. V. Hayden, George Catlin (for whom the site's stone was named), and J. W. Powell. They all referred to the quarries as a place where warring tribal members met in peace to gather catlinite for pipes. But the site's greatest booster was the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, who utilized the ethnographic research of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft to write "The Song of Hiawatha," which begins "on the mountains of the prairie . . . the great Red Pipe-stone quarry."

Thousands of schoolchildren memorized Longfellow's poem with its multiple lines and easy cadence. Southwick correctly argues, "Longfellow was the first poet to create an American epic. His writing emphasized the imagery of the mythic past and the peaceful nature of the archetypal Noble Savage, fading westward before the arrival of European civilization" (p. 23). Her book focuses on the mythic layers of meaning that accrued at the quarry site and provided the original impetus in 1874 to lay out the town of Pipestone. By 1889 four railroad lines brought in thirty passenger trains a day. Tourism and matching a native quarry site to an idealized understanding of American Indians became the town's reason to exist.

Through "the repetition of inherited imagery" (p. 92), boosters promoted the quarries as sacred space and successfully argued for establishment in 1893 of the Pipestone Indian boarding school that served Dakota and Ojibwe pupils. Typical nineteenth-century midwestern small town boosterism merged with paternalism toward native peoples to create a unique, place-based identity for Pipestone residents. By 1937, local women successfully advocated that the quarries become a national monument. A Pipestone Indian Shrine Association championed educational goals, and in 1946

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service clubs began "The Song of Hiawatha" pageant that featured 200 local actors.

Southwick's book contains some unnecessary repetition, and it needs a map showing proximity of the town to the quarry site, but as a tight monograph combining American Studies landscape theory and American history it succeeds. Perhaps the author's best chapter is chapter five, "Re-creating the Image," which has recent references to the town and the monument and includes descriptions of public figures who received gifts of pipestone "peace" pipes.

Unfortunately, the conclusion is weak. Missing from the book is an examination of the American Indian Movement pageant protest in 1970 and subsequent sun dance ceremonies a decade later. Also missing is an analysis of federal management of the quarries as a sacred site, and in the complicated world of Native American tribal identities, an understanding of who can now legally quarry stone and under what conditions. But there are few authors who have written about native cultural sites so intimately connected to a small town's identity. As a chronological case study that flows from nineteenth-century site recognition to recent issues over promotion, identity, and public perception of Native American heritage, Southwick's book presents a useful template for additional scholarship.

ANDREW GULLIFORD
Fort Lewis College

JAMES W. OBERLY. *A Nation of Statesmen: The Political Culture of the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans, 1815–1972.* (Civilization of the American Indian Series, number 252.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 336. $34.95.

The Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans are the modern-day descendants of two Native American groups that were dispersed from their villages in the Hudson River Valley of New York in the seventeenth century and subsequently relocated to Massachusetts and Connecticut, the Oneida Nation in New York, Indiana, and Wisconsin. They settled at their present location in Shawano County, Wisconsin, in the mid-1850s, and today the Stockbridge-Munsee Community (as it has been known since their acceptance of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1937) numbers about 1,500 members. James W. Oberly examines three levels of Stockbridge-Munsee political experience through seven phases of their history, beginning about 1815, when the tribe first made its decision to relocate to Wisconsin, and ending with the early 1970s, when their case before the Indian Claims Commissions was settled and their present 46,000-acre reservation was established. The seven phases into which Oberly divides Stockbridge-Munsee history broadly reflect the sequence of their geographical relocations, shifts in tribal leadership and political objectives, and the evolution of their relationship with the federal government. The three levels of political experience examined include government-to-government relations with the United States, intertribal relations with other Indian groups, and internal political relations and divisions. Within this framework, Oberly directs his attention to a core set of issues that include tribal membership, land, economic development, and jurisdiction over criminal and civil matters within the tribe.

Oberly presents a familiar story in an exceptional and valuable way. It is the story of a native people dispossessed, displaced, and disrupted by shifting and inconsistent, but usually paternalistic and racist government policies. And it is the story of that people's struggle, perseverance, survival, and modern-day revival. Oberly takes readers beyond general themes and abstractions by examining the Mohicans' story with an appreciation for detail that offers readers an understanding of how the processes of internal colonialism were accommodated and resisted at the individual, family, community, and national levels over the course of nearly two hundred years. His presentation of this story is grounded solidly in an extensive archival record, which is in large part the product of the fluency and statesmanship of a long line of Mohican political leaders, and with which he became intimately familiar as a consultant to the Stockbridge-Munsees in the 1990s in a boundary dispute with their non-Native neighbors in Shawano County.

At the same time, Oberly's book will challenge some readers. He quotes Henry Dodge, governor of the Wisconsin Territory, who in 1846 stated, "Stockbridge Affairs have become so complicated that the Govt. do not know what to do" (p. 76). Indeed. The political history of the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans is very complex, and when examined as close to the ground as Oberly succeeds in doing, understanding it will demand readers' careful attention. The first chapter, which presents a brief political history of the Mohicans and summarizes the key points in each of the seven periods of Stockbridge-Munsee political development, helps to articulate this complexity. Also useful are the several maps that delineate the various Mohican relocations and migrations. Readers would have been well served by a similar summary of the internal political divisions and shifting political leadership and policies of the Mohicans, which is one of the more complicated aspects of their history. On this last point, the title of Oberly's book does not give a full sense of the scope of his work. While the reference to the Mohicans as "statesmen" is certainly warranted, it emphasizes the nation's external political relationships and fails to reflect the significant attention Oberly gives to the tribe's internal political development, particularly its history of persistent and often bitter factionalism. His examination of these divisions and how they were overcome in the 1930s represents one of the strongest and most interesting parts of his book.

This is an important work not only because of the thorough and careful research on which it is based, but also because it fills a significant gap in scholarship on the Mohicans. While there is an abundance of work on the Mohicans during the colonial period, attention to

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their experience in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and in Wisconsin in particular is limited and dated. Given Oberly's emphasis on modern Mohican history and his promise to focus on "the form and substance of Mohican politics from the War of 1812 to the present" (p. 18), it is disappointing that he does not take his study beyond 1972, when the Stockbridge-Munsees finally secured their homeland and succeeded in resisting the federal government's policy of termination. One wishes for a final chapter that examines Stockbridge-Munsee political culture and history during the final quarter of the twentieth century and looks ahead into the twenty-first.

GERALD F. REID
Sacred Heart University

TOM HOLM. *The Great Confusion in Indian Affairs: Native Americans and Whites in the Progressive Era*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 244. Cloth $50.00, paper $21.95.

The period between the late nineteenth century assimilation movement and the so-called Indian New Deal is generally regarded as one of the most complex and contradictory ones in Native American history. Tom Holm does nothing to dispel this idea, but he does attempt to explain the factors contributing to the "great confusion." Holm views the period through three interpretive lenses: the 1983 Canadian report, "The Government of Aboriginal Peoples," which identified distinct stages in the history of Indian-white relations; the concept of a "peoplehood matrix"; and Robert H. Wiebe's characterization of the Progressive era as the "search for order." The author's success at employing these frameworks reasonably becomes the measure of the book's strengths and weaknesses.

The search for order is told against the backdrop of the late nineteenth century's consensus on the part of reformers and the Bureau of Indian Affairs that the aim of Indian policy should be complete assimilation, an objective to be achieved largely by land allotment and education. As Indians acquired an appreciation for the individual-enhancing benefits of private property and Indian youth were acculturated to the ways of mainstream white society, it was reasoned, they would become fit candidates for citizenship. This objective was thwarted by two developments. The first originated in changing white attitudes with regard to two interconnected concepts: growing anxiety over the loss of wilderness in the face of the nation's urbanization and industrialization, and a renewed appreciation for "vanishing Americans" and their cultural products. The second factor was the Indians themselves: namely, their unwillingness to surrender ancestral ways in keeping with reformers' plans. It was amid this confusion that policy makers sought to accomplish an orderly, bureaucratic solution to the Indian issue, but given the tangled mix of white attitudes and aboriginal resistance, they only succeeded in stumbling from one disastrous policy to another. Thus, when all Indians were finally granted citizenship in 1924, the Bureau of Indian Affairs "still held actual power over Native Americans' lives" (p. 179). Even after the Indian New Deal acknowledged the legitimacy of Indian cultural ways and granted tribal governments a modicum of political autonomy (thereby abandoning the old assimilation paradigm), ultimate power over Native American affairs still resided in the hands of federal bureaucrats.

Holm discerns a general evolutionary pattern in these developments. In keeping with the Canadian report, he argues that relations between colonizers and the colonized proceeded through several stages: displacement, restriction, assimilation, structural accommodation, and self-determination. It is Holm's view that the apparent confusion of the Progressive era is no more than the natural dislocations that accompany the transition from one stage to the next, in this instance from assimilation to structural accommodation. Meanwhile, the author argues that Native communities successfully resisted efforts to extinguish traditional ways and still possessed the essential elements of peoplehood, including those of language, identification with a specific territory, and unique religious practices.

As an overview of Indian-white relations in the Progressive era, this study is a welcome addition to the literature. Holm is especially good at describing the complexity, incoherence, and ultimate failure of federal policies. The study, however, is problematic in two respects, both stemming from the fact that it is largely a revision of the author's 1978 doctoral dissertation. First, both the historical stages identified and the peoplehood matrix seem to be much more in the vein of superficial add-ons rather than genuine interpretive frameworks for sustained analysis. Particularly revealing is Holm's chapter-length discussion of the "new Indians." While Holm skillfully reviews the careers and views of Charles A. Eastman, Carlos Montezuma, Laura Minnie Cornelius, and Arthur C. Parker, readers are left to discern for themselves the precise ways in which these individuals fit into the author's interpretation. Similarly, one does not come away from this study with any real sense of the actual changes taking place in Native life. The assimilation and Progressive eras were periods in which Indian communities experienced sustained efforts to divest them of their lands, religions, and languages. Yet one gets the impression from this study that the cultural elements comprising Native identity were somehow left intact. This aspect of Holm's argument, in particular, cries out for more systematic and probing investigation and documentation. Second, the author did not draw on a wealth of recent literature relevant to the subjects under discussion, especially in the areas of white attitudes, boarding schools, and federal efforts to suppress Native religions. Despite these problems, however, Holm has produced a highly readable and balanced survey of one of the most interesting eras in Indian-white relations and

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a book worthy of consideration for course adoption in Native American history.

DAVID W. ADAMS
Cleveland State University

LISA M. FINE. *The Story of Reo Joe: Work, Kin and Community in Autotown, U.S.A.* (Critical Perspectives on the Past.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 239. Cloth $69.50, paper $22.95.

Lisa M. Fine's book aims to be a different type of labor history, and on all accounts it succeeds. First, Fine wants to broaden the terms of debate in labor history by placing gender and gender relations at the center of her narrative. Second, she strives to write labor history that takes the point of view of her subjects seriously, even though that point of view may be politically repugnant. Finally, Fine's narrative is methodologically ambitious, combining special data, oral history, traditional documentation, and economic analysis in one compact volume.

While Fine does not draw attention to her methodological innovations, the range of her study gives her a different perspective on labor history than that found in most monographs. She begins her narrative in 1904 and ends in the present, reflecting on the entire history and memory of the Reo plant. This sweep and scope give the narrative a different flavor and set of findings than other works (Although it is similar in sweep to Ronald Edsforth's *Class Conflict and Cultural Consensus: The Making of a Mass Consumer Society in Flint, Michigan* [1987]) and brings to the fore elements of working-class history such as whiteness, maleness, and conservatism that are often handled far less empathetically than Fine does here.

Fine's narrative traces the Reo plant, an independent automaker from 1904 to the 1990s, and the development of its "factory family" from paternalism, to unionism, to shutdown. The continuity in her narrative is provided by the workforce: male, native born, politically conservative, guided by an image of the family breadwinner. While this may not seem like fertile ground for gender analysis, Fine is a subtle reader, and finds sexual tension and conflict in unlikely places—such as the women's auxiliary clubs of Reo, or the homosocial horseplay of male workers in the 1940s.

While attentive to gender, Fine is also able to weave issues of ethnicity and race into her narrative. The rise of Michigan's Ku Klux Klan as an anti-Catholic force is central to her discussion of the 1920s, and her descriptions of white, native-born working-class culture will certainly ring true to any Michigan resident. Fine is able to tell multiple stories, such as the history of bowling as a cross-class activity or the story of hunting as a working-class activity, without confusion or condescension.

Fine is also able to uncover some of the hidden history of Michigan, such as the strength of the Klan and the city-wide labor militancy of Lansing, manifested in the massive (and since forgotten) "Lansing labor holiday" of June 8, 1937. Fine's workers are more entrepreneurial and orderly than our image, particularly in the 1930s, mirroring Reo's generally older (average age over thirty-five), breadwinning, home-owning labor force. The story only falters in the 1970s, and that is hardly Fine's fault; a series of buyouts and restructurings ended the plant's existence, leaving it as only a memory, marked by a historical plaque that omits labor history entirely from the plant's story.

The sweep of Reo's story allows Fine to take on a wide range of topics, from the rise of unionism in Lansing in the 1930s, to the persistence of paternal thinking in the plants, to debates over globalization and industrialization. She ends her story with the rebirth of Reo, in the form of Spartan Motors' present factory on the Reo site, which draws its non-union employees from the same farms that the original plant did in 1904.

Fine's study draws on a wide range of sources, including oral history interviews, census data, spatial analysis, and the critical use of photographs, newsletters, and magazines from the plant. The book is an example of the continuing relevance of labor history, and the power of historical work that puts workers' voices at the center of the narrative. While Fine uncovers strong evidence of continuity at the plant and in the community, she also documents startling variations on these themes and shows that workers can use the same vocabulary (family, kin, manhood) to justify labor rebellion or corporate paternalism.

RUSSELL OLWELL
Eastern Michigan University

DIANE MILLER SOMMERVILLE. *Rape and Race in the Nineteenth-Century South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 411. Cloth $59.95, paper $24.95.

In 1881, an eight-year-old white girl named Charlotte Ann Klutz alleged that a sixteen-year-old black neighbor named Morris Locke had raped her. A doctor's examination found "bloody tears to the girl's vagina and perineum" (p. 202). Locke was arrested and tried for sexual assault, but the case ended without a verdict. Tried a second time, the jury again could not agree that Locke was guilty as charged. Instead, it sentenced him to fifteen years of hard labor at the state penitentiary for assault with intent to commit rape.

This case, unearthed by Diane Miller Sommerville, defies standard interpretations of the Jim Crow South. Generations of scholars have noted the tendency of the white South to exact swift punishment, often in the form of lynching, against black males accused of assaulting white females, especially young girls. Sommerville argues that not only was lynching far from inevitable in such cases but that even the conviction of alleged black rapists was uncertain. The fluidity of white southern responses to black-on-white rape, Sommerville believes, pushes us to reexamine our understanding of the nineteenth-century South.

Sommerville begins her study in the antebellum period. Focusing on North Carolina and Virginia, she ex-

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amines hundreds of court cases involving black defendants accused of rape by white women and girls. What she finds is that white southerners, despite their reputation for lawlessness, willingly submitted to the legal system in such cases. Moreover, Sommerville finds that the courts did not hastily convict the black defendants. Instead, the cases often divided the white community along class lines. The white patrons of the black defendant, whether enslaved or free, often attacked the reputation of the white accuser. The background, history, and class status of the victim were critical in these cases, suggests Sommerville, and often distrust of poor women (combined with monetary considerations) trumped the fear of black men as a sexual threat.

The second half of the book examines black-on-white rape from the Civil War to the close of the nineteenth century. Although she continues to use some court records, Sommerville relies more heavily in this half upon other sources, including penitentiary records, newspapers, and government reports. Sommerville finds that attitudes toward black rapists began to change at the end of the Civil War. With the end of slavery, an important financial impetus for white owners to defend black men accused of rape disappeared. Still, there was no overnight change in how whites viewed black rapists. The testimony of poor women continued to be doubted by their wealthier neighbors. Slowly, however, white attitudes began to change. Sommerville notes increased frustration with the legal system and an escalating fear of black males as a sexual threat. Most importantly, white southerners slowly grew more trusting of the testimony of poor white women. In a dramatic turn, many southerners now believed that no white woman, no matter how poor and depraved, would willingly have sexual relations with a black man. Still, Sommerville believes that these changes did not produce the hysterical reaction that many historians have suggested accompanied charges of black rape until the very last decade of the nineteenth century. The "rape myth" was a momentary exception in southern life and not the rule, she concludes.

This is an important monograph that makes a number of contributions to the way we understand southern history. First, and most important, Sommerville is convincing that historians have overestimated fears of black rapists and have failed to note how attitudes toward black-on-white rape changed over the course of the nineteenth century. Second, Sommerville is also correct when she notes that many historians have overemphasized race as a causal factor in southern history and paid too little attention to class. Third, I applaud the author's decision to examine both the antebellum and postbellum periods. Doing so, despite its difficulties, helps us see changes and patterns that would otherwise be obscured.

As with any ambitious study, questions can be raised and room for exploration by future scholars can be found. I wish that the author had gone to greater length to justify her focus on North Carolina and Virginia. I would not be surprised if the book's findings largely comport with what was taking place in other parts of the South, but Sommerville too lightly dismisses differences among the southern states. Traditions of extralegal violence were stronger in the Lower South than in the Upper South. Furthermore, while Sommerville's knowledge of southern historiography is generally exemplary, she is relatively weak on the literature on lynching. In particular, she would have benefited from greater engagement with the work of Christopher Waldrep. Such reservations should not dissuade historians from reading this important book. Sommerville's well-researched and well-written volume has made a lasting contribution to the way that we understand race and rape in the American South.

William D. Carrigan
Rowan University

Lisa Lindquist Dorr. *White Women, Rape, and the Power of Race in Virginia, 1900–1960*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 327. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

In this thorough, thoughtful, and sometimes provocative book, Lisa Lindquist Dorr explores the connections among rape, gender, race, and power in Virginia between 1900 and 1960. Rape is an explosive and difficult subject no matter what the context, but Dorr focuses on the adjudication surrounding legally documented instances of black men accused of raping white women in Virginia. Her source base is comprised of 288 cases she accumulated by visiting courthouses throughout the state. Given the uneven and sometimes politicized record-keeping that characterizes court archives, Dorr admits that her sample, although impressive, is not without flaws. Yet she makes the most of her research by closely and carefully examining the cases as a whole and by using solid contextual research and the gripping details of individual cases to illustrate her points and drive her narrative.

Dorr does an impressive job of organizing and analyzing her evidence so that, in the first five chapters, the reader begins to get a sense of the whole from the variety of ways disparate social actors looked at, judged, and responded to individual cases. Despite the relative rarity of lynching in Virginia, Dorr's most arresting conclusion in the first half of the book is that lynching and the courtroom dramas surrounding accusations of rape, rather than being at opposite poles, actually had much in common with each other. Although the outcomes differed, those activities were "all part of the same performance. Each represented an aspect of the process through which the white community enforced its behavioral norms on African Americans and protected white women" (p. 45).

Yet Dorr also finds that, while most black men accused of rape by white women were convicted of some crime, many of them received less than maximum sentences or later received pardons at the appeals level. She concludes that these outcomes often hinged on how well or poorly a white woman adhered to the standards

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of respectability and performed whiteness. "Considerations about a woman's class and willingness to uphold gender norms determined the power of their whiteness. Only when paired with respectability did whiteness grant women true social power and earn them the full measure of white men's protection" (p. 140). Equally intriguing is her claim, substantiated by a close examination of the backroom wrangling that characterized the appeal process, that for white female accusers and victims, "the trial was never over. A white woman's reputation and her behavior before, during, and even after the alleged assault could influence the sentence a black man received and the amount of time he would ultimately serve" (p. 140). The often dual victims who appear in the cases that Dorr brings to life remind us that different forms of prejudice are often mutually reinforcing.

In her final two chapters Dorr focuses squarely on the response and agency of African Americans, especially how, in the post-World War II era, black on white rape trials became part of the larger drive for civil rights. Thus, regardless of perceived guilt or innocence, institutional and individual defenders of African American rights and equality began to argue for due process in these explosive kinds of cases as part of a larger strategy of seeking racial justice for black defendants no matter what the accusation.

This book uncovers a great deal of complexity in a phenomenon that, when discussed at all, often is mired in stereotype and folk belief rather than empirical research. Dorr has done her research and offers her readers a seemingly exhaustive look at this phenomenon in Virginia. Like Glenda Gilmore's study of African American women reformers in North Carolina, Dorr's book provides insights that go far beyond the boundaries of the state in question, challenging what we thought we knew about politics, race, gender, and justice in the New South writ large.

Alecia P. Long
Georgia State University

Nan E. Woodruff. *American Congo: The African American Freedom Struggle in the Delta*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. 282. $39.95.

This book tells a story of nearly constant conflict between African American workers and wealthy employers in the Mississippi River Delta areas of Arkansas and Mississippi from about 1900 through World War II. Investigating an impressive range of sources, Nan E. Woodruff details the ways those employers tried to keep workers numerous and to minimize wages and resistance and the various ways workers fought back.

The differences were slight between timber work and agricultural work and between work on establishments owned by the heirs of southern plantations and those owned by northern investors. All employers wanted to keep compensation low, and almost all were willing to use violence and to manipulate the legal and political systems. Nor were there great differences, with a few exceptions, between the policies the various employers wanted and the policies granted by the state and federal governments; barons of land and lumber advertised themselves as progressive entrepreneurs, and governments went along, sometimes ignoring oppression, sometimes supporting it. Woodruff details the various ways employers tried to keep their workers dependent and cheap by using debt peonage, relying on company stores, and evicting or firing workers who tried to organize.

Readers should not be surprised to read that life for sharecroppers and timber workers was hard, with low wages, difficult conditions, and little access to governments that might alleviate some of the problems. But a few points make this volume stand out among the growing number of good books on the Mississippi Delta. First, surely, is the degree and continuity of resistance among African American workers. Whereas past historians have worked to show that migration, church growth, the blues, and many other forms of African American autonomy and creativity represented forms of resistance, Woodruff tells numerous stories in which African American workers went on strike, organized for better wages, and demanded improved access to the government in fights for improved economic conditions. Workers organized in lodges, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Universal Negro Improvement Association, the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU), and the United Cannery and Packing Workers of America, and they called on the national African American press to publicize their stories.

A second distinctive feature is the amount of violence. The degree of brutal crackdowns and aggressive responses suggests something close to a war over labor in the Mississippi Delta; in fact, a few sections of the book read a bit like military history. The plantation system of low-wage labor for blacks continued only as long as its supporters were willing to put down organized resistance through armed force supported by sheriffs, machine guns, nightriders, and lynching. Thus, Woodruff describes the violence against organized workers in Elaine, Arkansas, in 1919 and against the STFU in the 1930s as part of a larger campaign that joined government and capitalists against workers.

A third point, reflected in the title, is Woodruff's occasional and important attention to international contexts. The book's title comes from NAACP organizer William Pickens, who compared the Mississippi Delta to the Congo because both areas suffered from elites who used the language of progress to mask brutal treatment of workers. Almost every chapter begins with the ways the Delta fit into, or changed because of, worldwide developments. Cotton prices and, even more importantly, world wars meant changes in the demand for work and the availability and experiences of workers. World War I raised issues of rejecting colonial power and the ensuing backlash against protest, and World War II "was the death knell for the American Congo as it was for western colonial empires" (p. 225).

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There is nothing fun or clever or interdisciplinary about this powerful volume. Unlike so many current works, it does not deconstruct the language of the oppressors or workers to decode attempts to claim or undermine legitimacy, and Woodruff makes a point of rejecting notions that the forms of resistance she is studying were hidden transcripts. The issues in this book were clear: politics and labor were inseparable, the people with power wanted to get as much labor as possible as cheaply as possible from workers, and workers found various ways, some more successful than others, to fight back.

TED OWNBY
University of Mississippi

KEVIN BOYLE. *Arc of Justice: A Saga of Race, Civil Rights, and Murder in the Jazz Age*. New York: Henry Holt. 2005. Pp. 415. $26.00.

During the 1920s, African Americans from the South poured into northern industrial cities such as Detroit. This migration triggered racial confrontations, as blacks began competing with whites over jobs, schooling, and housing. In 1925, one of those southern black migrants, Ossian Sweet, became a central figure in a confrontation that attracted national attention. Sweet, originally from Florida, was a doctor who sought to establish his practice in Detroit. After he moved into the home he had purchased in a white section of town, an organized mob stoned the house, and some members tried to break in. Anticipating trouble, Sweet had prevailed on friends to help defend his home. They were armed, shots were fired, and one white man was killed and another wounded. Police arrested Sweet, his wife, and nine other black men in the house, setting the stage for two dramatic murder trials.

Kevin Boyle has written a compelling narrative of the Sweet case, but it is a narrative with a difference. This is not merely the story of Sweet's improbable journey from a backwater town in rural Florida through Wilberforce and Howard Universities and the Sorbonne to the Detroit ghetto. Rather, the narrative ranges widely to capture the many dynamic forces that were reshaping the American city and its race relations. These include a rapidly rising black population in Detroit; the role of the real estate industry in building ghetto walls; the use of restrictive covenants to enforce the color line; the significance of local homeowners' associations in maintaining white neighborhoods; the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan, not just in asserting white power but as a major force in Detroit politics; and the agency of some African Americans in challenging residential restrictions despite the dangers in doing so. None of this is completely new to scholars, but the power of Boyle's narrative, his evocative writing style, and his control of the material bring the Sweet case to life in a dramatic way.

The case raised significant legal issues: could a black man defend his family and his home against a white mob? James Weldon Johnson and Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) raised money and recruited a legal team for the defendants. The Sweet case set a precedent for the NAACP's subsequent strategy of using its new Legal Defense Fund to challenge segregation primarily through the courts. Boyle devotes considerable attention to the trial, which featured famed attorney Clarence Darrow as chief defense attorney and Democratic activist Frank Murphy as a sympathetic presiding judge. Murphy later became mayor of Detroit, governor of Michigan, U.S. attorney general, and a member of the U.S. Supreme Court. In addition to Darrow's powerful oratory, Sweet's own testimony proved highly effective for the defense, leading to a hung jury and acquittal at a second trial. The legal outcome vindicated Sweet, but northern resistance to residential integration continued and intensified in subsequent decades.

Boyle tells a compelling story involving unforgettable characters in a struggle for what is right. The research is impeccable, drawing from an array of archival sources, especially NAACP papers, Detroit Police Department records, and a complete record of trial testimony, as well as extensive newspaper research, all substantiated in fifty pages of notes. The vast secondary literature on urban history and race relations also informs the narrative. This book has all the ingredients of a classic work in narrative history.

RAYMOND A. MOHL
University of Alabama, Birmingham

NICK SALVATORE. *Singing in a Strange Land: C. L. Franklin, the Black Church, and the Transformation of America*. New York: Little, Brown. 2005. Pp. xii, 419. $27.95.

Nick Salvatore has set a high standard as a lucid and engaging biographer of vitally important if at times lesser-known figures in American history—beginning with his well-known Bancroft-prize winning study of Eugene V. Debs and then his unjustly neglected work on the nineteenth-century black labor figure Amos Webber. This time, Salvatore has chosen a distinctly twentieth-century figure: the Reverend C. L. (Clarence LaVaughn) Franklin. Nowadays Franklin would be recognized, if at all, as the father of Aretha Franklin. Unfortunately, as Salvatore tells us in the acknowledgements, Aretha did not (would not?) sit for an interview. This leaves holes in some parts of the book that are regrettable, even if the author cannot be blamed. Aretha's older sister, Erma, however, evidently befriended Salvatore, and judging by the footnotes she provided a wealth of insight into the family.

Salvatore's mastery of biographical narrative provides a rich and enduring portrait of the African American experience from South to North through the twentieth century. As well, Salvatore's supremely assured writing on African American religious culture and politics is most impressive; this book is, incidentally, one of the most compelling works now existing on twenti-

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eth-century African American religion. My only quarrel is with the title. This volume best shows C. L. Franklin's role in the "transformation of the black church," not so much the transformation of America, for C. L. was preeminently a man of the church, even when he entered the secular world.

More than a "life and times" biography, this is a beautifully rendered social history of a portion of the African American migration story of the twentieth century. Franklin began life in Sunflower County, Mississippi, in a brutal locale ruled by apartheid but productive of an astonishing array of musical and cultural talent that sprang from oppressed African American communities. The young Franklin took his turn with the mule and the plow, was converted (ironically enough in an unspectacular, even dutiful, way, much like Martin Luther King, Jr.), and then, more vividly, received his call to preach. Like so many others, he moved from the Delta to Memphis as the first step in a migration that would eventually take him briefly to Buffalo during World War II, then to Detroit, where he would make his name and his fame, and eventually part-time to Los Angeles, where he pastored a church even as he retained his home congregation in Detroit.

As a preacher, Franklin was a master of "the whoop," the rhythmic and ecstatic style of African American folk sermon delivery. He took it to new heights when he married the African American sermonic form (and even classic and storied sermons known by all, such as "The Eagle Stirreth Her Nest") to contemporary themes. Franklin's generation of ministers, including his Memphis contemporary the Reverend William Herbert Brewster (author of the gospel classic "Move On Up a Little Higher"), grew restive with the fundamentalist literalism of their earliest religious training. They understood that "the whoop" would be even more powerful, not less, when linked to the modern African American experience of migration, segregation, and discrimination, as well as upward mobility.

From early in his career, moreover, Franklin easily joined the sacred and the secular. He had grown up in the 1920s in the era of the phonograph, and later said, "I always liked the blues." In the 1950s, at the height of his fame, he hosted figures such as Art Tatum and Dizzy Gillespie in his home. His congregants mostly turned the other eye toward his probable frequent dalliances with female congregants as well as gospel stars such as Clara Ward. Franklin made his national reputation through the broadcasting of his church services on the radio (including Aretha's debut at his church when she was fourteen), and even more so through recordings of his sermons, which led to an extensive touring career.

Salvatore makes it clear how much Franklin burned inside through painful personal experiences of discrimination and humiliation. At the same time, Franklin stayed at some remove from politics. Partly this was due to his commanding personality, which simply made him poorly suited for attending to the quotidian organizational details of groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; partly this was due to Franklin's unabashed pursuit of the pleasures of life: "he had come a long way from the plow, and he meant to enjoy it" (p. 227). In the 1960s, however, Franklin could not avoid the deterioration of urban life and the fact that local black radicals teamed him with the establishment.

In the 1970s, Franklin went into decline, his increasing dependence on alcohol masking his declining powers of performance. In June 1979, he was shot in a bungled burglary attempt at his Detroit home. He languished in a virtual coma for years and died in 1984. From his youth, he had asked for more than a little respect; Salvatore has given it to him.

PAUL HARVEY
University of Colorado, Colorado Springs

MONA Z. SMITH. *Becoming Something: The Story of Canada Lee*. New York: Faber and Faber. 2004. Pp. xvii, 430. $27.00.

"All my life, see, I've been on the verge of something," said Canada Lee in 1941. As a young teenager from the San Juan Hill section of Manhattan, he had displayed natural talent for the violin, but classical music could never deliver him fame and fortune. He stole away to Saratoga and became a jockey, but horse racing in the 1920s offered few opportunities for African Americans. He returned to New York and picked up prizefighting, but a detached retina cut short his promising career. He opened nightclubs and led big bands in Harlem dancehalls, but swing virtuosos such as Duke Ellington outshone him. Finally, an almost chance audition in 1934 launched his career as a stage actor. Within two years he won a role in the Federal Theater Project's legendary all-black staging of *Macbeth*, directed by Orson Welles. By 1941 he was starring on Broadway in the stage version of Richard Wright's *Native Son*. "Now I've got it," said Lee. "Now I've got what I'm going to be" (p. 101).

What he became, Mona Z. Smith enthusiastically illustrates in this biography, was an actor with reservoirs of dramatic talent, a challenge to popular stereotypes of black jesters and simpletons, and a crusader for progressive political causes. On Broadway and on tour, he played Bigger Thomas of *Native Son* to critical acclaim, humanizing a social symbol of the angry, oppressed, black urban underclass. Hollywood soon beckoned. In Alfred Hitchcock's film *Lifeboat* (1944), Lee evinced frustration with his menial and peripheral steward character, but he successfully insisted on the elimination of stereotypical black dialect. He later played a sacrificial, noble boxer in *Body and Soul* (1947) and an earnest policeman in *Lost Boundaries* (1949). On stage, he produced and starred in *On Whitman Avenue* (1946), a liberal *cause celebre* denouncing restrictive housing covenants, and donned whiteface to play an assassin in *The Duchess of Malfi* (1946). As his star rose, so, too, did his political consciousness. He decried Jim Crow, condemned Hollywood's racial typecasting, campaigned

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for radicals such as New York City Council member Ben Davis, and supported cultural and political organizations suspected of ties to communism.

That outspokenness cost him his career. Lee is a particularly tragic casualty of the blacklist in the entertainment industry. The FBI and the House Un-American Activities Committee both opened files on him during World War II, and those files bulged during the Red Scare. Smith carefully, gracefully chronicles Lee's political activities through the records of the organizations keeping tabs on him. Though he associated with radicals and lent his name and services to a host of communist front organizations, Lee never joined the Communist Party. His rhetoric remained quintessentially liberal and patriotic. In the postwar political atmosphere, however, conservative anticommunists smeared him. The 1949 trial of American spy Judith Coplon effected his demise: a confidential FBI file alleging that he and Fredric March were "Communist Party fellow travelers" entered the public record.

After the Coplon trial, acting opportunities dried up. That Lee never appeared on any formal blacklist mattered little. A role in the British film adaptation of the South African novel *Cry, the Beloved Country* (1951) staved off financial ruin, but only temporarily. Sick with hypertension and agonizing over his unemployment, he still continued his political agitation, adding the horrors of apartheid to his list of crusades. Only forty-five years old, Lee died in 1952 of kidney failure. Friends and political allies, insisting that the stresses of his persecution exacerbated his health problems, believed that the blacklist had killed him.

Smith is fair and reasonable enough to question such hyperbole, even as she paints an openly affectionate portrait of her subject. From an account based not only on archival research but also on interviews with his widow Frances Lee Pearson, Lee emerges as amiably ambitious, jauntily good natured, and generously liberal. Smith indulges his womanizing and susceptibility to political exploitation, and she ignores the depths of his broken spirit in his last years, when *Cry, the Beloved Country* director Zoltan Korda could scold this once-proud man into submission. Yet she reclaims Lee as a principled hero, one whose popular memory has been clouded by the battles of the Red Scare era.

Smith keeps the narrative close to her subject. She offers little analysis of the politics underpinning either the actor's world on the Left or that of his watchdogs on the Right. But she relates Lee's rise and fall with dramatic flair. Thorough yet accessible, this book rightfully restores one man's central place in the oft-mixed worlds of politics and entertainment. It is the definitive biography of a forgotten yet important African American icon.

ARAM GOUDSOUZIAN
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JUNE GRANATIR ALEXANDER. *Ethnic Pride, American Patriotism: Slovaks and Other New Immigrants in the Interwar Era*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 278. Cloth $64.50, paper $22.95.

While many scholars focus on the period from 1917 to 1945 in United States history as a time when immigrants and especially their children lost much of their ethnic identity, June Granatir Alexander provides a much more complex story of ethnic activism, cultural pride, and dual identity. Alexander focuses on the transformation of Slovak communities in America as they faced homeland crises, nativism, immigrant restriction, economic hardship, and two world wars. In exploring the first and second generation's celebration of ethnic heritage found in church, community, and national events, the author challenges "whiteness" studies that deemphasize ethnicity as lost under the intensity of racism and the completeness of Americanization.

Alexander also disagrees with historical interpretations that discount the role ethnicity played during national crises, that downplay the importance of ethnic heritage for second-generation immigrants, and that fail to capture the complexities of ethnic identity. Instead, she contends that "the picture that emerges from the interwar years is that new immigrants and their children sought to assert a presence in America's culturally diverse society and that ethnicity remained a relevant part of their lives" (p. 221).

Alexander's book begins during the repressive atmosphere of World War I when nativists, inspired by superpatriotism, sought aggressively to destroy ethnic identity. Despite open hostilities, Alexander demonstrates that Slovaks promoted homeland self-determination and "simultaneously [used] American patriotic symbols" to legitimize "ethnically oriented activities" (p. 42). At war's end, the complexities of old world politics highlighted religious and intergenerational differences in Slovak communities in America and threatened to disunite the ethnic group. However, pressing new attacks including the Red Scare, labor unrest, and the renewed rise of xenophobia reunited Slovak Americans. The new crises refocused ethnic activists, who set out to prove the merit of their group in ways that displayed both patriotism and ethnic pride.

The unequal quota system, enacted with the Immigration Act of 1924, served as a "turning point" in ethnic communities. Without a large flux of immigration coming from the homeland, the Slovak communities recognized that ethnic group survival was in the hands of their children. In particular, Alexander explores the importance of Slovak Days complete with traditional costumes, folk dancing, and "Miss Slovakia" contests. This, along with national Slovak society-sponsored American sports, helped keep youth in the "ethnic fold" (p. 131). Alexander argues that many young Slovaks, while regarding themselves as Americanized, spent their leisure time engaged in ethnic organizations or ethnic-sponsored sports and reading ethnic newspapers.

According to Alexander, the Great Depression helped shift the focus of the Slovak community beyond combating negative perceptions of the new immigrants

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and inspiring ethnicity in the Slovak youth. In fact, the economic crisis motivated national Slovak societies to connect ethnic activism with working-class interests. By World War II, dual identity came full circle. Now, second-generation Slovak Americans used the strategies of their parents to promote both American loyalty and pride in their ancestry.

Built on original sources from Slovak social, religious, and fraternal organizations and Slovak newspapers, this book brings American immigration and ethnic research into an under-explored era. The author provides an excellent account of how ethnic activists made a concerted effort to combine American popular culture with ethnic heritage in order to advance Slovak community objectives. In her zealousness to offer a new perspective of the interwar years and challenge existing theories, however, Alexander may have overgeneralized. While identifying serious post-World War I divisions among the Slovak community, Alexander too quickly finds the ethnic group to have reunified as a culturally aggressive force. This is a missed opportunity to explore fully significant class, religious, intergenerational, and ideological differences that continued despite common goals. Furthermore, although the author lists books by historians who have examined ethnicity in World War I, she does not draw enough from their work, thereby failing to build on earlier studies of dual identity and American patriotism (pp. 238–239).

That said, this well-written account reminds us of the durability and complexity of ethnicity in America, as it successfully challenges traditional theories that dismiss ethnic culture in the interwar years. It also convincingly demonstrates that during this time, first and second-generation immigrants did not reconstruct their identities in terms of "whiteness" but, instead, conceptualized an identity that allowed for both ethnic pride and American patriotism.

Nancy Gentile Ford
Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania

Mira Wilkins. *The History of Foreign Investment in the United States, 1914–1945*. (Harvard Studies in Business History, number 43.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xxvi, 980. $95.00.

America's twentieth-century credit history would confuse a bank loan officer. The world's largest debtor before 1914, the nation became its largest creditor almost overnight before returning to the status of greatest global borrower in the 1980s. The first two acts of that drama are told with extraordinary precision in Mira Wilkins's latest book. With over 600 text pages and nearly 300 pages of footnotes and bibliography, the work strives for, and attains, authoritative status. The protagonists here are firms, not nations or individuals, yet there is no lack of drama. By tracing hundreds of developments that never reached section one, much less the headlines, Wilkins shows that the trajectory of foreign investment paralleled the grimmer events of history's bloodiest half century.

Wilkins presents the world of Atlantic finance as stable and open before 1914. The gold standard meant that currency exchange rates were of "little consequence" to foreign investors (p. 8), and governments interfered less in financial markets than they would once the catastrophes of war, depression, and more war descended. On the eve of the Great War, Europeans had more than twice as much capital invested in the United States as Americans had sent abroad. The British alone held over $3 billion in American securities, nearly all stocks and bonds. During the war, Britain urged its citizens to liquidate these holdings to provide dollars for war purchases, compensating them with war bonds. The world crisis pushed other investors to sell their U.S. securities as well, resulting in the sharp decline in European portfolio holdings that historians have long noted.

Wilkins complicates this familiar story by disaggregating portfolio (FPI) and direct investment (FDI). The latter grew even during the war as foreign companies expanded to supply America's booming economy. While small relative to the overall U.S. economy, the foreign sector set the pace in several high-tech industries such as chemicals, pharmaceuticals, synthetic fabric, and petroleum.

Wilkins uses her extraordinary command of capital flows to debunk some old myths. She rejects the premise, widely accepted by Americans in the 1920s, that foreign investments "propelled America into war" (p. 21). American belligerency was inevitable, she says, with or without foreign investment. She also examines the legend that foreign withdrawals from Wall Street in September 1929 precipitated the October crash. She concludes that a precocious sell-off by British investors "should be included among many factors in the bursting of the stock market bubble" but did not itself trigger the crash (p. 301).

An important strand of this story is the dramatic increase in state power from 1914 to 1945. Even as Woodrow Wilson denounced Bolshevik expropriations in Russia, American firms benefited from his government's seizure of German properties, especially some 6,000 patents, mainly in chemical processes. These confiscations gave rise to the "patent-intensive, science-based American [chemical] industry," led by Du Pont. State meddling was worse across the Atlantic, where politicians often looked on foreign investment as far-flung national assets rather than private property. The Third Reich proclaimed that "a German citizen who, knowingly and unscrupulously ... leaves property abroad, thereby causing gross injury to the German economic system, will be punished by death" (p. 379). German investors took care to cloak their foreign holdings thoroughly. When the upstart Securities Exchange Commission probed a camouflaged affiliate of I.G. Farben, the company pleaded that it "did not know whether it had a parent" (p. 408).

World War I made foreign—read German—investment controversial, and postwar measures limited foreign participation in shipping, radio, banking, petroleum, and other "strategic" areas. Despite the

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restrictions, foreign investment grew in the 1920s. Interwar economists saw the inflow of investment as "anomalous," but foreign investors sought the security of an American market located far from war zones and boasting the world's highest standard of living. "Paradoxically," Wilkins notes, "inward investment into the United States resulted from both strength *and* weakness abroad" (p. 186). Hyperinflation and instability, as well as renewed prosperity, led Europeans to seek a safe haven across the Atlantic.

By the mid-1920s, German firms had returned to the United States, I.G. Farben prominent among them. The chemical industry became the nexus of a complicated, interlocking system of agreements among foreign and American firms. Wilkins dissects these cartels, which at times divvied up markets and stifled competition but could not end rivalry over products and processes. For a time after the 1929 crash both direct and portfolio investment stagnated, but Wilkins finds that the later 1930s, hardly an era of wine and roses on Wall Street, saw "a flood of gold and foreign capital" pour into the United States. Motivated mainly "by a search for safety and security," this flood probably made the United States the world's largest recipient of foreign capital (p. 349). Net capital flow was negative even to Latin America (p. 380). The phenomenon confounded experts, who assumed that investment moved naturally from wealthy to poor countries.

Then as now, the United States combined genuine internationalism with a parochialism that often whipped itself into xenophobia. In this account, bankers stand out as rational and cosmopolitan as against aggressive, paranoid politicians. While isolationists in congress decried an American public "in the grip of the International Bankers," one Morgan partner noted that "everything we are and have today is because Europeans believed in us and invested money in us" (p. 355).

With this volume, Wilkins has completed four astoundingly detailed surveys of foreign investment, in and by the United States, before 1914 and after. The first volume appeared in 1970, yet Wilkins promises her next work on foreign investment in the United States "will cover the years 1945 to the present" (p. xvi). Those who are not economic historians may nod over the less dramatic story of financial continuities that flowed beneath the sound and fury of war and world crisis. In those sections, the Swiss, Dutch, and Canadians hold the stage more often than the Russians or Chinese. Yet, as in a pointillist landscape, the myriad details in this empirical tour de force resolve into an image: in this case, of the world economy recentering around the United States, arguably among the most decisive changes of the past 100 years.

Cyrus Veeser
Bentley College

David Rosand. *The Invention of Painting in America*. (The Leonard Hastings Schoff Memorial Lectures.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2004. Pp. xxiv, 210. $29.50.

This book's startling title announces David Rosand's enterprise: to examine American artists' task, from colonial painters such as John Singleton Copley (1738–1815) to the Abstract Expressionists of the 1940s, of defining what it means to be an artist. Delivered as the Leonard Hastings Schoff Memorial Lectures at Columbia University, this short, very fine book proposes a new way of looking at the nation's history of painting. Rather than focusing on *what* artists would paint, Rosand asks us to look at *how* they would paint and why.

Earlier scholars, trying to define "what is American about American art," posited American paintings' dependence on citizens' practical minds, fascination with the new world as observed, and distrust of beauty. For these reasons, historians explained, painters avoided obvious brushstrokes or other evidence of their individuality. Exceptionalism—the theory that Americans have a distinctive culture—permeated art historical scholarship about the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as late as the work of Barbara Novak in the 1980s. After the "triumph" of Abstract Expressionism in 1950, the task of finding continuity within the flow of two centuries of American painting became more complicated, but historians such as John McCoubrey in *The American Tradition in Painting* (1963, rpt. 2000), posited that an emphasis on vision linked early American artists such as Copley and their modern successors.

Rosand takes a different tack. He declares himself a student of "art-in-the-studio," his work as "a studio history of art." He places style at the center of his argument, for which he invokes the importance of firmly established traditions in European painting that did not exist in the American colonies and the United States until very recently. Traditions in European countries were established, maintained, and encouraged by collections, patronage, art schools, and exhibitions, all of which valued individual style. Traditions thus encouraged artists to leave their personal mark on the canvas with distinctive brushstrokes, choice of design, palette, and other qualities.

Without tradition and the personal expression that it encourages, Rosand argues, succeeding generations of American artists had to invent painting for themselves. They found that their only option was to be faithful to what they and their patrons could see. Rosand insists that it was not that American vision itself was distinctive, but that without a tradition's valuing of style, artists' and patrons' distrust of personal expression limited the artist to as faithful a rendering of visual experience as possible.

Thus artists' only role over the first two centuries of American art was to decide what to paint. With the arrival in the United States of European modernism and its self-conscious freedom, to which painter Stuart Davis paid pivotal attention in the 1920s and 1930s, artists began to consider that their task was not to decide what to paint but how to paint. In that process, Rosand argues, they would define an artist's task: simply to be an artist.

Rosand has written extensively on Italian Renais-

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sance art and more recently on modern art. He follows the example of Meyer Schapiro in attending not only to historical interests but to the art of his time (Schapiro wrote memorably on early modernism in American art, especially at and after the Armory Show of 1913). Perhaps no scholar focused on American art could have brought Rosand's insight about style and tradition to a discussion of the history of American art. After years in which Americanist art historians have studied the patronage, political and cultural history, and reception of American works of art, Rosand returns the study of our art to artists' struggle for self-definition in their studios. As he puts it, "The primary obligation of a painting, as a work of art, is to testify to its own creation" (p. 184).

ELIZABETH JOHNS
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University of Pennsylvania

IAIN TOPLISS. *The Comic Worlds of Peter Arno, William Steig, Charles Addams, and Saul Steinberg.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 325. $45.00.

Iain Topliss's ambitious study of four of the *New Yorker* magazine's most notable cartoonists is anchored by Sigmund Freud's notion that joking is ultimately a social transaction of some heft. In this, the first book-length scholarly treatment of *New Yorker* cartoonists, Topliss illuminates the comic art of Peter Arno, William Steig, Charles Addams, and Saul Steinberg, devoting a chapter to each artist and focusing particularly on the years in which each was at the height of his creative and social powers. This organizational technique allows the author to use each artist as a heuristic device—a lens through which he can view four distinct periods in the history of twentieth-century cosmopolitan America.

In an introduction that offers an intelligent, though perhaps over-zealous "defense of the cartoon as a form" (p. 10), Topliss describes *New Yorker* cartoons as largely "benign." He claims that this kind of comic art does very specific cultural work, in that it draws people momentarily into a "group consciousness, creating a special solidarity born of self-awareness and manageable self-doubt" (p. 13). Topliss, an Australian, also takes time to situate himself as an outsider, someone for whom the *New Yorker* was neither "a symbol of [the] cultural ethos" of his parents, nor something he "had to repudiate." Rather, the magazine offered him the keys to a kingdom "richer, more various, more unexpected, and more rewarding" than anything he had previously known (p. 18).

Topliss's decision to leave out artists such as Helen Hokinson and James Thurber can be attributed to a desire to include only those cartoonists whose work can be writ large to express the zeitgeist of a specific historical era. Arno's cartoons, for example, expressed "a cheerfulness about collapsing social norms" (p. 29) in the wake of World War I. Arno was "a visual historian" of the newness that characterized the chaos of postwar modernity (p. 32). His cartoon world was an erotic cabaret, inhabited by buxom bombshells and lecherous dandies in evening clothes. It provided a comic interpretation of the repudiation of Puritanism, the "pursuit of hedonism in the twenties and the thirties—and the subsequent emergence of a mood of rueful discontent with modern life" (p. 15). For Topliss, Steig was the "un-Arno" (p. 75), a "romantic revolutionary" (p. 114) whose peak coincided with the New Deal and whose work brought the experiences of ordinary men and women into the pages of the magazine. Topliss does a fine job of linking changes in Steig's work in the 1940s to the transformation of lower-middle-class identity that took place in the years straddling World War II.

Topliss sees Addams's work as a sublime comic response to the "gothic drama of paranoia and suspicion of the forties and fifties" (p. 15). Addams, whose central preoccupation was the "double-sidedness of human nature" (p. 160), created a creepy comic world that ran parallel to the suburban domesticity characterizing the years after World War II. Topliss uses Addams's work as a springboard for a wide-ranging discussion of American architecture, the gothic tradition, the Cold War, the failure of science, historical catastrophism, and nothing less than "the fate of America" (p. 175).

In his chapter on Steinberg, whose famous "View of the World From 9th Avenue" is perhaps the most widely known *New Yorker* cover of all time, Topliss describes the artist as both an enthusiast and a critic, a dazzling visual commentator on the "strange, conformist ... individualistic 'new' America" (p. 15) that emerged between the 1950s and 1970s. While Topliss places Steinberg's work at the center of the struggle between late modernism and postmodernism, he also emphasizes the artist's status as an immigrant and links him with "a long line of Europeans, from Alexis de Tocqueville onward, who have made it their business to tell Americans what their country is like" (p. 238).

The problem with this book is that it sets out to be a work of prosopography, art history, psychohistory, *New Yorker*iana, and cultural history all at the same time. This application of a wide variety of ways of understanding is what gives the book much of its impressionistic energy. However, the catholicity of Topliss's references—Freud, Willem Reich, Karen Horney, Lara Croft, the Freemasons, *Friends*, Woody Allen, Melanie Klein, Eddie Izzard, Rachel Carson, David Lynch, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Edward Hopper, Edgar Allen Poe—overfreights his subject, cartoons. The subtly wrought comic edifices he is attempting to decode often collapse beneath the weight of his inquiry. This is, sadly, an unavoidable problematic of scholarly writing about humor. In the act of understanding why a cartoon is funny, an explanation is substituted for the thing itself. It is a poor replacement.

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MICHAEL AUGSPURGER. *An Economy of Abundant Beauty:* Fortune *Magazine and Depression America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 292. $34.95.

Michael Augspurger's book might be said to grapple with two well-known ironies in the history of Henry Luce's *Fortune* magazine: that its upbeat vision of corporate leadership was announced just three days before the stock market crash of 1929, and that this flagship of American industry was staffed by intellectuals with virtually no business background (p. 65). In order to rethink these contradictions, Augspurger recounts *Fortune*'s cultural offerings from 1929 to the early 1950s: its editorial proclamations, its artwork and artistic commentary, and its famous investigative surveys and roundtables on the social turmoil of the Great Depression. Drawing particularly on Roland Marchand's work, he explores how *Fortune* guided corporate elites and professional managers through the crisis of the 1930s by cultivating a sophistication and pluralistic awareness that might make business more broad-minded and socially responsible.

Rather than breaking new ground methodologically, however, Augspurger's approach is largely supplementary: to demonstrate corporate liberalism's endorsement of a "third way" of culture set against both what Michael Denning has called the "cultural front" of the left, and the centralized-planning ethos of the New Deal. Augspurger demonstrates that *Fortune*'s version of corporate ideology often included a "soft," aesthetic side—or, one is tempted to say, a *Gentleman's Quarterly* side. Initially, aristocratic manners melded with professional-managerial ideology, as a way to celebrate and mold American abundance: *Fortune* taught tasteful collecting, but it also celebrated the modern Simmons bed (p. 89). Then, as the Depression deepened, *Fortune* tilted from connoisseurship toward the middlebrow, arguing that modern mass culture was but the folk expression of a democratic, capitalist society (p. 142). But this patronage of pluralist or nationalist values proved problematic at best. Before long, staff writers James Agee, whom Augspurger terms an "adversarial" artist, and liberals like Archibald MacLeish, whom Augspurger calls an "affirmative" one, could no longer stomach the claim that capitalism was the root of America's democratic culture. Ironically, in Augspurger's view, the magazine's own endorsement of the logic of professionalism was as important to the wilting of *Fortune*'s artistic agenda as the sway of anticommunism or modern conservatism. By 1948, *Fortune* had narrowed its vision exclusively to business concerns, ceding cultural matters to magazines like the *Partisan Review*. Thus, Augspurger claims, the same ethos of professionalism that enabled corporate liberalism to wrest economic expertise from the hands of "its populist political opponents" (p. 238) ultimately surrendered control of the cultural sphere.

Augspurger's central intuition—that *Fortune*'s fate was implicated in matters of professional and managerial class formation—seems plausible, albeit weakly theorized. His book connects to recent debates over corporate sponsorship of the arts, and adds detail to the continuing mystery of Agee's entanglement with Luce. Like literary historians Caren Irr, Sean McCann, or William Solomon, Augspurger also contributes to a fuller picture of the contested cultural fronts of the 1930s, although little is said here about the competing threats of domestic and international fascism, much less the reception of *Fortune*'s ideas. Perhaps because it means to trace *Fortune*'s 1930s-style articulations of pluralist and consensual values, the book is more engaged with the older hypotheses of thinkers like Warren Susman and Lionel Trilling, not always to good effect. (Augspurger's attempt to detach Luce's "American Century" speech from its international ambitions is likewise unsatisfying.) And indeed, despite the splendid illustrations accompanying this book's occasional forays into the likes of sculptor Max Kalish or painters such as Robert Riggs, readers looking for closely delineated discussions of the connections between aesthetic practice and social philosophy are bound to be disappointed. Luce's personal notion of the cultural sphere was, alas, tenaciously instrumental, and his patronage of the intelligentsia remains an important topic for historical inquiry. However, the more enduring problem for this book may be that our mid-century scholarship on the emergent paradigm of culture on the 1930s, notably Susman's classic account, was quite "culturalist" itself: that is, intent on folding complex ideological debates or aesthetic practices into occasionally bland patterns or oppositions (again, as in "affirmative" or "adversarial"). As a result, for all its solid research, one feels that Augspurger's book produces an account of beauty that is just a bit too economical.

CHRISTOPHER P. WILSON
Boston College

KATHY M. NEWMAN. *Radio Active: Advertising and Consumer Activism, 1935–1947*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 237. Cloth $55.00, paper $21.95.

Kathy M. Newman's account of radio advertising in cultural context represents a fine contribution to the recent renaissance of radio history. She resurrects an entire industry of cultural critique in the 1930s and 1940s that attacked radio for its alliance with corporate capitalism, fought to make radio advertising more accountable, and resisted the medium's power through what she terms "radio-activism." Newman's work adds to the growing field of radio studies by looking closely at radio advertisements, their creators, their detractors, and their beleaguered listeners.

Radio ads, unlike ads in print, disrupted the entertainment narrative (p. 27), and corporations had to walk a fine line between making their brand names unforgettable and offending listeners by cutting into their favorite programs (p. 38). Then, as now, the most annoying ads were often the most memorable (p. 41), yet "radio ads were structured around the very notion of

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listener resistance" (p. 29). Some ad campaigns literally paid listeners with incentives, strengthening the idea that consumption was, itself, a kind of modern "work" (pp. 39–40). Newman traces the rise of the radio "admen," professionals whose research was used by companies to hone their appeals to potential consumers. Newman's work introduces a large cast of characters, all concerned with radio reform, although not necessarily connected to each other or to a single movement. The book is more a series of vignettes than a single narrative, perhaps in keeping with radio itself in this time period: a rapid-fire series of short programs, interspersed with patter and song.

Although the consumerist movement of the 1930s generated a lot of heat, ultimately its leaders achieved no significant legislation and little change in the practices of the broadcast industry. Yet where earlier historians have perceived failure, Newman documents both dogged persistence and strategic creativity on the part of consumer activists, who continued to badger the industry and organize Americans on the basis of their consumer behavior well into the 1940s. The imagined power of the consumer movement was far more important than its limited legislative victories (p. 56), and critique of capitalist control of radio was "foundational" to the movement's ideology (p. 53) in the writing of such consumer advocates as James Rorty, Ruth Brindze, Peter Morell, and Colston Warne. Rorty, for example, presciently realized that advertising was emerging as a new kind of American industry, no less important to the economy than steel or autos, and that it appeared "free" to its listeners because they were paying its social and economic costs in other ways (p. 60). Consumer advocates urged organized labor to use political capital in fighting for greater federal oversight of broadcasting (p. 73), and despite their opposition to the way radio "worked" in America, consumer leaders made some inroads into radio, such as the popular *Consumer Time* on NBC (1935 to 1947), which empowered housewives to act in solidarity against store owners who violated federal price controls (pp. 145–150). But radio's corporate structure and the 1939 National Association of Broadcasters ethics code inhibited access by organized labor to commercial airtime and turned any mention of labor, whether positive or negative, into a "controversial issue" (p. 105).

Newman explores consequences of the alliance between radio broadcasters and their corporate sponsors in several different radio genres. She notes some specific cases of successful radio activism by listeners, such as the United Electrical and Radio Workers union boycott of Philco Radios that resulted in Philco dropping news broadcaster Boake Carter. The medium's most ubiquitous and lucrative genre, soap opera, was a particular site of cultural conflict (pp. 110–112). Newman employs letters from female soap listeners to demonstrate audiences' keen awareness of the economics of cultural production (p. 132), highlighting the importance of sources like fan mail for decoding the social meaning of the soap opera. Frederic Wakeman's popular 1946 book/film sensation *The Hucksters*, which exposed yet again the excessive power that sponsors had over radio content (pp. 166–168), represented a paroxysm of criticism about radio at its peak but also revealed radio's vulnerability as it was being squeezed between its two competitors, film and television.

The book's most intriguing claim—that dissatisfaction with ad content and the single-sponsor system radicalized enough listeners to make up the backbone of the consumer movement—seems the weakest. Newman writes that balking consumers "often" joined progressive coalitions (p. 53) or aligned with labor concerns against the growing power of corporatized media, but this appears to have been true only in a couple of specific cases, such as the Philco boycott, or in distinctively privileged communities, like Westchester County, New York. Evidence from listener letters, while suggestive, ultimately falls short. Nevertheless, Newman's book provides a richly detailed portrait of the people and ideas behind, and between, the programs.

TONA J. HANGEN
Brandeis University

EMILY YELLIN. *Our Mothers' War: American Women at Home and at the Front During World War II*. New York: Free Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 447. $26.00.

Inspired by her mother's diary, letters, and photographs from World War II, Emily Yellin has produced a monumental account of women's contributions to that war. In recent years, SR Books (Judy Barrett Litoff, ed., *American Women in a World at War: Contemporary Accounts from World War II* [1996]), Reader's Digest (Brenda Ralph Lewis, *Women at War: The Women in World War II, at Home, at Work, on the Front Line* [2002]), and Facts on File (Doris Weatherford, *American Women and World War II* [1990]) have published texts on women in World War II, but none is as comprehensive as Yellin's book. While others have discussed women on the home front, in industry, in the military, or a combination of those, few if any, have included women in all areas of American society. Yellin has examples of women war workers, wives, volunteers, spies, servicewomen, protestors, prostitutes, professionals, nurses, farm workers, and entertainers, among others. In addition she records accounts of women's groups, African American women, Japanese internees, and Los Alamos residents. To address all groups of women, Yellin divides the book into chapters by type of service, position, or the occupation that the women held/completed during World War II.

For example, in a chapter titled, "Soldiers Without Guns: Female Defense Industry Workers," Yellin presents the stories of women in aircraft, munitions, shipbuilding, and other industries during the war. Within the chapter, Yellin includes a general discussion of war work and the women who were employed and then gives specific examples for each type of industry. In this chapter as in all, Yellin shows the depth of her research with first-hand accounts, quotes, and primary source mate-

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rials. The sheer volume of these primary materials and the bibliography make her book a significant contribution to the scholarship of World War II and women's history.

The author uses the same model for each chapter. Yellin sets the historical context and history of the chapter's focus while also telling the women's stories through their own words. But as comprehensive as the research conducted and the amount of material presented are, the work leaves the reader with questions. Given the number of first-hand accounts presented, analysis of the material is needed. Yellin tells a great story of women in World War II but fails to draw significant conclusions about their participation, particularly with regard to the lesser-known types of war service. Readers will question the prevalence of some programs and their significance to the overall war effort. In addition, the infrequent use of first names to identify the women and the lack of citations in some chapter narratives makes it difficult to track source information.

Yellin addresses the presence of minority women in separate chapters. The text would be strengthened by discussion of minority presence in programs such as the Women's Army Corps (WACs) in that chapter, rather than a separate one for minority women. By splitting the material Yellin missed the opportunity to compare women's participation in similar positions by race. By separating material on the WACs and women in industry in different chapters by race, she fails to emphasize the major significance of these women's participation. Regardless of these criticisms, however, Yellin's book presents a complete look at women in World War II, and the strength of this text is the number of first-hand accounts included.

STEPHANIE A. CARPENTER
Murray State University

JUDY TZU-CHUN WU. *Doctor Mom Chung of the Fair-Haired Bastards: The Life of a Wartime Celebrity*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. 282. Cloth $55.00, paper $21.95.

This is a superb study of the life of a remarkable person, Margaret Chung, who was the first female professor and chair of obstetrics in a coeducational medical school and the first woman ever to give a paper at the International Congress of Medicine. She was also one of the first Chinese American women to rise to prominence, socially and politically, in mainstream America. Thanks to recent scholarship, we now know a great deal about the history of Chinese Americans during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. But past historical studies tend to seek to capture the collective profiles of Chinese Americans. Judy Tzu-Chun Wu's biographical study, therefore, marks a welcome contribution to Chinese American history.

The relative lack of in-depth profiles of individual Chinese Americans is largely attributable to the dearth of historical sources. Wu has made an enormously fruitful effort in uncovering and gathering data from a wide range of sources, such as government and nongovernment agencies, archives, and private collection across the nations as well as a long list of oral interviews, many of which were conducted by the author herself. Based on such rich and diverse data, Wu's book not only gives us a fascinating and detailed account of Chung's life story but also uncovers critical aspects of her family history. More important, it constitutes an important social and political history, offering important perspectives through which to understand vital issues such as race, gender, and Americanization during the first half of the twentieth century.

The first three chapters in part one of the book cover Chung's family history and her childhood. She was born in 1889, the eldest of eleven children, to Chinese immigrant parents, who, like so many other Chinese, "faced racism [and] poverty" (p. 23). Both her parents became Christians and "lived their religion" (p. 19), which set them apart from most other contemporary Chinese immigrants, who rejected Christianity, as white missionaries invariably acknowledged. Wu's account of the profound impact Christianity had on the American experience of Chung's parents, especially her mother, also sheds lights on the relationship between converted Chinese and white missionaries. Her mother was "rescued" in San Francisco as a prostitute and placed in the famed Presbyterian Chinese Mission Home. As one of the younger girls that the mission home reformers preferred saving (as opposed to the older ones), she was Christianized and Americanized. Her family background influenced the career and other important choices that Chung later made. Wu writes: "Born in the United States and raised by parents who had themselves been westernized by Presbyterian missionaries, she subscribed to mainstream American culture. She believed in the power of Western medicine, especially surgery, and expressed interest in Chinese herbal medicine. She also avoided Chinese dress" (p. 45).

Part two (chapters four through seven) chronicles Chung's professional developments in the prewar years, ranging from her internship in Chicago to her first job as a physician in southern California and the opening of her own practice in San Francisco's Chinatown. Again, Wu helps us understand such developments by placing them in a larger historical context. In a profession dominated by white men, Chung adopted the strategy of "self-Orientalization" (p. 98), and as a woman, she deemphasized her femininity to "gain favors from men" (p. 105).

The remaining four chapters in part three focus on Chung's social and political activities during the 1930s and 1940s. The most remarkable of all is her "surrogate family," which started shortly after the 1931 Japanese attack on China, consisting of young military men as her "adopted" sons, many of whom were pilots and called themselves "Fair-Haired Bastards." This cohort grew to 1,500 members by the end of World War II, including contemporary and future celebrities such as Admiral Chester Nimitz, Henry Fonda, and Ronald Reagan—

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which suggests her own celebrity status in mainstream society. Chung, who remained single, also had close, sometimes intimate, friendships with white women. In her varied social interactions and encounters, Wu notes, she "negotiated shifting sexual norms" and "navigated cultural and racial barriers" (p. 178).

There are a few issues worth reconsidering. For example, the title does not seem to convey fully the intellectual depth and richness this book offers. One of the more serious weaknesses is the problematic assessment of anti-Chinese racism in the statement: "If Chinese immigrants, who were accused of being inassimilable, could acquire American language, customs, and religion, the animosity directed toward them might be lessened" (p. 17). Overall, however, this richly contextualized, well-researched, and well-written biography offers not only a multiperspective portrait of the complex experiences of a remarkable Chinese American woman but also valuable insights into early twentieth-century American society.

YONG CHEN
University of California, Irvine

ALLAN W. AUSTIN. *From Concentration Camp to Campus: Japanese American Students and World War II*. (The Asian American Experience.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 237. $40.00.

Six decades and over a thousand books later, American academics still write on the 1942 mass removal and internment of 110,000 West Coast Japanese Americans. Many focus on the relatively small handful of adult American-born Anglophones rather than the larger, Japanese-speaking adult population to anchor their generalizations about the internment experience for the majority. Allan W. Austin follows this well-trodden path but adds another dimension by carefully piecing together the story of the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council, which assisted over four-thousand students who moved "from concentration camp to campus," located primarily in the Midwest and Mid-Atlantic regions from 1942 to 1946.

Austin's presentation of his close analysis of the Council and some resettled Japanese American students follows a chronological rather than topical format. He begins with an introduction to the concept of "Ambassadors of Good Will" that Council members and students alike embraced for different reasons, and which enabled the two groups, working separately and together, to begin placing Japanese Americans in colleges outside of the camps by fall of 1942. Their relative success, despite many obstacles raised by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Navy, the War Department, the War Relocation Authority, apathetic university officials, and hostile individuals, encouraged them to expand the number of institutions to which they "sent" students even as the "idealistic westerners" struggled with their "pragmatic easterner" counterparts within the Council over the means and pace of this resettlement program. That they were successful in dispersing students across the American continent is evident by the large number of institutions of higher learning cooperating with them—over six hundred—and the shift in focus from concentrating on gaining admissions to obtaining greater financial backing for the students. While the Council often contemplated terminating its own services as early as 1943, they made no such moves to bid their charges *sayonara* or to delegate their responsibilities to the War Relocation Authority or the U.S. Office of Education until federal government officials announced the end of mass exclusion from the West Coast in December 1944.

This book illustrates the strengths and weaknesses of focusing solely on adult Anglophones of the Japanese American internment. Austin is to be commended for his careful analysis of the Council's and the American Friends Service Committee's records, his usage of archival materials from a select group of universities, large and small, public and private, and his superb blending of institutional history with personal accounts by students, all of which cover aspects of the student resettlement not found in previous works by Robert O'Brien, Thomas James, Gary Okihiro, and others. His work sheds light on yet another "anti-racialist" group and points to how "race" as an ideological construct was evolving in certain religious and educational sectors of American society during the war. However, Austin overlooks most of the internees by focusing on the Council and its work with a numerically small, upwardly mobile group of young adult internees and, in the process, he neglects crucial trajectories for Japanese Americans and education. His introduction mentions but does not explore how the "Ambassadors of Good Will" idea was linked to the prewar Japanese American "bridge of understanding" concept, and ignores how the interned community's prewar conceptions of education meshed with and probably undercut support for the Council's wartime efforts (p. 165). Austin appears unwilling or unable—the latter suggested by his occasional misspelling of Japanese surnames—to engage works by Yuji Ichioka, Yasuo Sakata, Hiroshi Yoneyama, John Stephan, Toyotomi Morimoto, and others that shed considerable light on the subject. Finally, Austin's study would have benefited immensely had it been situated within the broader framework of how American colleges and universities grappled with the critical issues of minority admissions, federal government research funding, and declining enrollments during a war that placed many of the sixteen million Americans in uniforms in places where "race" mattered.

BRIAN MASARU HAYASHI
Kyoto University

JON HUNNER. *Inventing Los Alamos: The Growth of an Atomic Community*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 288. $29.95.

This book is a fascinating account of the changing fortunes of the town in the mountains of New Mexico

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where the first atomic bombs were made. Jon Hunner argues that what began as "a wartime army post" during World War II became "a permanent fixture in the nation's nuclear firmament" during the Cold War years (p. 3). As he charts the city's transformation, he opens a window into both the key episodes of the atomic age and the transformation of suburban America.

Hunner describes the social history of the community by focusing on the influences of four main spheres: scientific, residential, regional, and federal. He begins with the decision of physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer to situate the weapons laboratory charged with creating the bomb at the rugged and barely accessible Los Alamos Ranch School and relates how the "instant city" that was "as raw as a new scar" grew into a thriving locale (pp. 32, 36). While the first plans envisioned a community of some 300 people, it soon expanded into a city of about 6,000 individuals.

Hunner does a good job of describing the first residents of Los Alamos. They included many of the world's most influential physicists, both past and future winners of the Nobel Prize. Some were quiet and withdrawn; others, like Richard Feynman, were more outspoken and willing to contest troubling security procedures. Feynman challenged censorship regulations in his communications with his ailing wife and insisted, as he did throughout his life, on doing things his own way. The book also provides a sense of how world-famous scientists amused themselves in their spare time. When not hiking in the mountains, some participated in community theater, putting on such productions as *You Can't Take It With You* and *Arsenic and Old Lace*.

With the end of the war and the departure of some of the resident scientists, change at Los Alamos was necessary and inevitable. Hunner shows how it "self-consciously reinvented itself as a model community of the future, an Atomic City on the Hill for all to see" (p. 8). Postwar improvements were necessary, for many of the structures had been hastily constructed, without the expectation of a long life. Los Alamos in these years underwent the same kind of building boom that the rest of the country experienced. A master plan in 1946 sought to provide services—like shopping outlets, recreational facilities, and a community center—that the original community had lacked. A new suburban area, "bringing Levittown to the mesa," allowed residents in what was still a restricted community to live as comfortably as their counterparts outside (p. 108).

Hunner shows clearly how Cold War developments affected the locale. As the new Sandia laboratory in Albuquerque took over responsibility for assembling atomic weapons in 1947, the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory focused on basic research in nuclear physics and the design of new nuclear weapons. Scientists still worked there in sizable numbers and became even more involved after the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic device in 1949. The development of the Super—the hydrogen bomb—in the early 1950s further energized Los Alamos and brought new scientists and their families to the community. Faced with cultural as well as scientific changes, "Los Alamos reinvented itself once again," Hunner writes. "Its new suburban image as an atomic utopia offered the nation an alternative to nuclear Armageddon" (pp. 158–159).

Although Los Alamos remained a closed, fenced community, Hunner describes how the federal government began to loosen its hold. In the early 1950s, a nonprofit corporation assumed responsibility for medical and dental services. Water, sometimes in short supply during the war years, was no longer a problem. When Laura Fermi, wife of noted physicist Enrico Fermi, returned to Los Alamos in 1951, she observed one startling new feature: "All the houses in the Western Area are surrounded by unbelievably green lawns" (p. 173). Water pumped to the mesa made the difference.

By the mid-1950s, Los Alamos had to become even more flexible in order to keep necessary personnel. And so, Hunner argues, it underwent further normalizing. In 1957, the Atomic Energy Commission, charged with running the city, announced that residential areas would no longer have controlled access. "The opening of the gates," he writes, "ended an era" (p. 221). Los Alamos, once a very special place, was now much more like the rest of the United States.

In this tightly argued and readable account, Hunner notes how Los Alamos developed into a model suburban community. It worked on weapons, not consumer goods, but as Americans confronted the demands of the nuclear age, Los Alamos represented a utopian dream of how life could go on.

Allan M. Winkler
Miami University

Russell B. Olwell. *At Work in the Atomic City: A Labor and Social History of Oak Ridge, Tennessee*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 165. $29.00.

Russell B. Olwell presents an insightful study of labor at the Oak Ridge uranium processing plant that will be essential reading for any scholar of World War II and Cold War America. Drawing from oral history interviews with Oak Ridge workers, local newspapers, and declassified Department of Energy (DOE) documents, Olwell traces worker recruitment, wartime living conditions, work on the atomic shop floor, and postwar changes within the workers' community. In doing so, he fills a gap in the historiography of the Manhattan Project.

Government agencies have furnished official histories of the Manhattan Project that emphasize its organizational challenges and administrative successes. Historians of technology have explored the struggles and accomplishments of the scientific elite who developed atomic weapons. And community studies of Oak Ridge have examined its civil development, as the war production site became a municipality. But so far, none of these histories have addressed Oak Ridge workers and their experiences at the vast atomic industrial park. Olwell is among the first to study labor in the highly

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charged, secretive environment of uranium production for the Manhattan Project.

Olwell argues that labor history at Oak Ridge reveals contests over the meanings of patriotism. Historians of World War II are familiar with the ways that government contractors demanded unusual sacrifices from industrial workers and framed these demands as patriotic service to one's country. Olwell shows how the atomic energy industry both reflected and departed from this pattern. After World War II, when other industries returned to peacetime production codes, Oak Ridge remained a "high security" industrial site as the Cold War fueled a nuclear arms race. Thus management pressures on workers to forego basic civil liberties and to endure substandard conditions, all in the name of patriotism, persisted at this Tennessee plant long after World War II ended.

For the duration of the war, Oak Ridge workers accepted makeshift housing, racial segregation, unsafe conditions in the plants, and a prohibition on union organizing. They obeyed the rules of secrecy imposed by plant officials. Management did not tell workers what they were producing and forbade talking between workers from different divisions within the plant. Thus workers had little opportunity to compare notes or gain a larger perspective. Surveillance, informants, and summary dismissals enforced this code of silence. In addition, workers were not fully informed about the dangers of exposure to toxic compounds. In oral histories, workers described contamination by radioactive waste and chemical clouds, due to inadequate ventilation or protective gear.

In one appalling case, an African American teamster, Ebb Cade, became the unwitting subject of an experiment to test the effects of radioactive materials on the human body. Without his consent, Cade was injected with 4.7 micrograms of plutonium when he sought medical help for injuries sustained in a vehicle accident. Cade was never informed about the experiment, and the DOE lost track of him after he left the plant in 1945. Cade died barely seven years later, in 1953. Olwell details a culture of silence that both enveloped and alienated workers at Oak Ridge.

But if wartime workers accepted such strictures, postwar workers did not. Workers who stayed at Oak Ridge after the war became invested in their community and wanted a voice in its improvement. From 1946 to 1954, workers redefined patriotism to encompass their demands for citizenship rights on the shop floor and in the community. They expressed a sense of patriotic entitlement as they called for union representation. That is, workers held that in return for selfless wartime service to the nation, they deserved job security, wage hikes, and a voice in setting safety standards, all of which could be accomplished through collective bargaining. Workers further identified the democratic freedoms they wished to reclaim in community life, including their first amendment rights to free speech, press, and assembly. The Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Federation of Labor successfully organized some of the plants within Oak Ridge, and town residents won the right to an independent newspaper.

Olwell's writing is clear and direct, a pleasure to read. He raises a timely issue—that of balancing national security and civil liberties—in this historical examination of contests among labor, management, and the federal government over the meanings of patriotism.

DEE GARCEAU-HAGEN
Rhodes College

MARGARET PUGH O'MARA. *Cities of Knowledge: Cold War Science and the Search for the Next Silicon Valley.* (Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 298. $35.00.

Margaret Pugh O'Mara has written a very good book that successfully engages important issues in recent U.S. history and carries implications for current economic development policy. "Cities of knowledge" are not entire metropolitan regions but rather specific subareas that are "filled with high-tech industries, [with] homes for scientific workers and their families, with research universities at their heart." The pioneer and model is Silicon Valley, the paragon that economic development officials all over the world want to inscribe on their own regions.

Is there anything new to say about Silicon Valley after John Findlay's chapter in *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture After 1940* (1992) and Annalee Saxenian's *Regional Advantage: Culture and Competition in Silicon Valley and Route 128* (1994)? The answer is "You bet there is. O'Mara makes three new and important contributions."

The contribution that has gained the most attention is her presentation of systematically chosen case studies that contrast Stanford-Silicon Valley with the efforts of the University of Pennsylvania and Georgia Tech. Each of the cases is a carefully crafted story of the interacting goals of university administrators, local governments, corporations, and high tech workers, drawing heavily from both university and local government archives. The reference case—Stanford—is a private university in a suburban location with great strength in physics and engineering. Penn is a private university but urban in location with a biomedical emphasis. Georgia Tech is public, urban, and strongest in engineering. The keys to Stanford's success have been entrepreneurial flexibility (Georgia Tech was constrained within the state higher education system), abundant land (Penn got caught in resistance to urban renewal), and the racial homogeneity of its surrounding community (Penn had angry African American neighbors, while Georgia Tech faced the preference of the Atlanta elite for development in the white, northern suburbs).

As with all good scholarship, the study begs for other researchers to test the conclusions against other cases. What about comparing private, suburban Stanford to a public, suburban university such as UC-Irvine or UC-San Diego? Could a flagship state university such as

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Ohio State, with all its acres along the Olentangy River, have fertilized a Silicon Corn Field? How possible is it for high-tech companies themselves to seed the development of a city of knowledge in the absence of a major research university, a path that urban planning scholar Heike Mayer has traced for Portland? And what about the complex of biomedical research and health products industries, especially given current trends in the sources of gross domestic product? Do the National Institutes of Health and related activities in the Bethesda-Rockville corridor constitute a city of knowledge?

O'Mara's second contribution is to historicize the rise of the "suburb of knowledge" as a product of national defense policy during the 1950s. Urban historians have known that one of the factors of planning in the early atomic age was an interest in metropolitan dispersal. O'Mara shows in detail how defense procurement policies favored companies with suburban locations, accelerating urban decentralization and peppering the landscape with the clones of the Galactronics Branch of Yoyodyne Corporation that novelist Thomas Pynchon invented for *The Crying of Lot 49* (1966). This chapter ties into the mainstream of urban history, where Lizabeth Cohen, Thomas Sugrue, Robert Self, Becky Nicolaides, and others have been grappling with the complex sources of central city decline.

The third contribution is to understand the suburban research park as an extension of the historic American taste for the isolated and self-contained university campus. The bucolic campus, often in a small-town setting, was designed to insulate students and faculty from the distractions of the heterogeneous city. In its own time, the suburban research park would be quiet, pretty, and largely white in its work force: reasons why the University of Pennsylvania had to struggle with its Center City location and why Atlanta's high tech industry preferred to be far away from the Georgia Tech campus and its inner city neighbors.

This is a cautionary tale that will resonate with historians. Elected officials and economic development departments are under enormous pressure to deliver investment and jobs to their state and city, and they are eager to seize on formulas for success (most recently Richard Florida's nebulous idea of a "creative class"). They all want to know how to apply the lessons of Stanford, Penn, and Georgia Tech to their university and city. O'Mara's careful study, unfortunately, reveals no magic formula, just the messy contingencies of actual experience. In short, it is exemplary history.

Carl Abbott
Portland State University

Jonathan Bell. *The Liberal State on Trial: The Cold War and American Politics in the Truman Years*. (Columbia Studies in Contemporary American History.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2004. Pp. xix, 383. $37.50.

For decades scholars of modern American politics have tried to explain why the New Deal reform impulse waned during the 1940s. Much of the existing literature views American liberalism as a weak force by the end of World War II, its strength sapped by a powerful conservative coalition in Congress, the growing power of big business, and the return of prosperity. Alan Brinkley and Ellis Hawley, among others, have shown how liberal thinking evolved during the war in response to these changing circumstances. By 1945, most liberals had abandoned their ambitious plans to use state power to redistribute wealth in favor of more modest efforts to use fiscal and monetary policy to promote economic growth.

In his well-researched book, Jonathan Bell challenges this view, arguing that liberalism was alive and well at the end of World War II. He believes that "a powerful forum of social democratic ideas existed in the United States at the end of the war" (p. xiii) While liberal ideas survived the war, they could not contend with the conservative pressures of the Cold War. "By 1952, Cold War anti-statism had overwhelmed the social democratic promise of the early postwar years in the United States," he writes (p. xv).

In making his case, Bell draws on an impressive range of sources. Like most standard accounts of the period, his book examines the fate of important pieces of legislation and takes a close look at the inner workings of the Truman administration as it struggled to respond to growing anticommunist hysteria while also promoting an ambitious domestic agenda. The dramatic 1948 presidential election is here, as are Hubert H. Humphrey, Joseph McCarthy, Richard M. Nixon, and all the other central characters of the period. Bell makes extensive use of the Americans for Democratic Action papers as well as articles in liberal publications like the *New Republic*.

What makes this study unique, and valuable, however, is that Bell takes his narrative outside of Washington, D.C., providing insightful coverage of often-overlooked local House and Senate races. While focusing attention on the familiar details of the 1948 presidential race between Harry S. Truman, Henry Wallace, and Thomas Dewey, Bell widens the lens to include Senate races in West Virginia and New Mexico. He uses the Democratic primary fight between poet Carl Sandburg and economist Paul Douglas for a Senate seat in Illinois to drive home the central point: by 1948 liberals were "quick to distance" themselves from "any association with left-wing ideology" and eager to embrace the anticommunist policies of President Truman (p. 145).

His innovative use of primary sources allows Bell to offer a "transnational" view of events, showing how opponents of liberalism in America looked overseas for support. For example, in making their case against Truman's national health policy, conservative groups such as the American Medical Association used the British nationalized health system to point out the problems of state control. By 1949, he writes, "American opponents of government-centered policy were increasingly not only using abstract images of foreign states to under-

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mine American liberalism," they were traveling to these countries, coming back with horror stories of government abuse and mismanagement designed to generate "an anti-socialist discourse for the American public" (p. 160). Bell observes that isolationism was a misnomer, pointing out that even groups that opposed America's militant internationalism found value in "transnational perspectives on American domestic policy" (p. 163).

According to Bell, by 1950 the "central dilemma" of American liberalism was that the Cold War had forced reformers to equate freedom abroad with limited state power at home. If America was to be a leader of the noncommunist world, observed Senator Herbert Lehman, it was necessary to believe in a "free economy" within our borders (p. 178). Bell uses a number of races for the House and Senate in 1950 to illustrate just how much politics had changed in just a few years. Formerly isolationist Republicans were now campaigning as internationalists, and liberal Democrats were trying to separate themselves from the progressive wing of their party. Nearly everyone equated expanded state power with "totalitarianism at home and abroad" (p. 198).

Bell provides refreshing new evidence to make the familiar point that the Cold War produced a more conservative climate in America and limited the possibilities of reform. He is less convincing, however, in proving that liberalism was still a vibrant force at the end of World War II. While some liberal intellectuals and politicians were planning to revive the New Deal, the prospect of continued prosperity and public impatience with wartime controls doomed any realistic hope of a liberal revival. Nonetheless, this thoughtful and important monograph adds new dimensions to our understanding of the challenges liberals faced and the painful compromises they were forced to make in the immediate postwar period.

STEVEN M. GILLON
University of Oklahoma

R. BRUCE CRAIG. *Treasonable Doubt: The Harry Dexter White Spy Case*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2004. Pp. x, 436. $34.95.

Harry Dexter White, assistant secretary of the Treasury, key figure in the Bretton Woods Conference, and first American director on the board of the International Monetary Fund, was either a patriot hounded to his death for his progressive politics by the reckless red-hunters who ran amuck during the decade after World War II or a traitor who passed government documents and information on American policy to Soviet espionage agents.

Or could he have been both?

In this meticulously researched, exhaustively documented study, R. Bruce Craig argues that White was simultaneously "one of the most notorious spies in American history" and yet, by White's own lights, an idealist whose covert activities were in the best interests of the United States by fostering a partnership for peace with the Soviet Union. That reconciliation of opposites will produce in some a warm, fuzzy feeling of solidarity with all fellow progressives, while others will probably shout out a rude eight-letter barnyard synonym for "balderdash."

Craig painstakingly gathered all known documents on the White case, both in this country and the Soviet Union, and successfully sued the government for White's grand jury records, a lawsuit that established a precedent (for good or ill) for unsealing other grand jury records of historical value. Craig also interviewed American and Soviet intelligence and government officials, as well as everyone else with a first-hand knowledge of the case (who was willing to talk). It is unlikely that any material on the case here or abroad has escaped his scrutiny.

Craig turns the complicated facts of White's life into a terrific story, partly a spy yarn with philosophical overtones à la Graham Greene or Joseph Conrad, partly a convincing evocation of the mentality Craig calls "Rooseveltian internationalism," which others will recognize as the fully rigged mindset of the Popular Front cruising through the 1930s and 1940s, sails swollen with hope, hot air, and self-delusion.

Beginning in 1944, White's name began to come up repeatedly in the testimony of defectors from Soviet espionage networks in Washington as a source of Treasury Department documents handed over to Soviet spymasters. That is, Harry Dexter White, assistant secretary of the Treasury, was accused of being a Soviet spy. Craig turns a story with a foregone conclusion—his research lets him state with confidence that White was indeed a spy for the Soviet Union and that he knowingly gave Soviet handlers documents he was not authorized to take or divulge—into a suspenseful narrative by evaluating what could have been known at each stage of the case based on successive revelations—by Whittaker Chambers, Elizabeth Bentley, and others—and what could have been proved in court before the publication of the Venona intercepts in February 1996.

Craig is also persuasive in describing the origins and development of the ideology that made White look with such sympathy at the Soviet Union and do all that he could to help it both openly and covertly. It is interesting that while Craig bends over backwards to find virtuous excuses for White's betrayal of the trust placed in him by the government, he cuts Bentley and Chambers no such slack; they were, in his evaluation, dishonest, opportunistic, sometimes delusional, and worth our attention only because, inconveniently, their charges against White were true and, for the most part, accurate in the aggregate and in detail.

Craig argues more by indirect reasoning than by reference to evidence that White was never a communist, but he does neglect one opportunity to throw more light on this question. White supported, at least at the outset, Robert M. La Follette's campaign for president in 1924. In this race the Communists first backed La Follette, then abandoned him for their own candidate. If Craig had been able discover whether White supported La Follette to the end, or abandoned him when the party

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line changed, it might have settled the question—at least for 1924.

Craig is most persuasive when he deals with the conspiracy theories that placed White at the center of a red network that allegedly filled the government with communists and subverted American policy to the benefit of Joseph Stalin, the "conspiracy so immense" that inflamed the imagination of Joseph McCarthy and other paranoid red-hunters. White was blamed for nearly every development during World War II and afterward that redounded to the benefit of the Soviet Union and the disadvantage of the United States, right up to the "loss" of China. These absurd theories, as Craig strips one after the other of any vestige of intellectual respectability, come to resemble a row of straw men, but his meticulous demolition of them is important: these conspiracy theories were building blocks supporting the even more preposterous theories of McCarthy and Robert Welch that George Marshall and Dwight D. Eisenhower were Soviet agents. The only difference between these last two excursions into la-la land and the theories about White was that White actually was a Soviet agent. But Craig demonstrates beyond any doubt that the notion that White had any influence on the course of history on the scale proposed by the conspiracy theorists is persuasive only to those who have no notion of the way the world really works.

The book is a work of prodigious and meticulous scholarship. On the basis of this achievement, Craig deserves to be ranked among the finest historians of the domestic Cold War.

RICHARD GID POWERS
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K. A. CUORDILEONE. *Manhood and American Political Culture in the Cold War*. New York: Routledge. 2005. Pp. xxiii, 282. $24.95.

K. A. Cuordileone offers a fine addition to the crowded field of studies on gender and sexuality during the Cold War. Initiated partly by nonacademicians like Barbara Ehrenreich and Garry Wills, that field now includes a wealth of scholarship, most recently by Robert D. Dean and David K. Johnson. Cuordileone's book is distinctive in part for its focus on manhood, although manhood is too slippery to be isolated from gender and sexuality, as she well knows. Indeed, in the end Cuordileone identifies a "gender imaginary through which Americans process the political world" (p. 243), setting "manhood" itself aside. Thus this book often goes over familiar ground. This reader groaned at the prospect of another scholar (I have done so myself) beating up on Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s *The Vital Center: The Politics of Freedom* (1949).

But this book suggests it was worth another try. Cuordileone treats Schlesinger critically but fairly, situates his tract effectively in the longer run of hand-wringing about American manhood, and links it to a wide range of other voices at the time. If the question of *The Vital Center*'s influence remains poorly answered—did the book change minds, or was it merely a marker of its times?—the reading here is acute. Schlesinger was "an interpreter of the 'crisis' he proclaimed," Cuordileone writes, and his "solution was to reconstitute ideology at the same time he claimed to renounce it" (p. 31). It is also nice to see insights from historians like Richard Hofstadter and Christopher Lasch, now forgotten by many younger folks. Cuordileone has no dragons to slay among other scholars, dealing as judiciously with them as with primary sources. Indeed, this book is as much a "synthesis" (p. ix) of previous scholarship as it is a foray into original sources, although Cuordileone has a knack for turning up little-known or long-forgotten ones. Who remembers that Max Eastman once penned a *Reader's Digest* article, "Let's Close the Muscle Gap," shortly after a piece by John F. Kennedy on "The Soft American" was published in *Sports Illustrated* (p. 203)?

Given the book's synthetic reach and the author's judicious temperament, there is no pithy summary of a grand argument. If Cuordileone has a thesis, it may be that "fascination" and "fantasies about Communism . . . speak not just to fears of Communist perfidy but also . . . to anxieties about sexuality and the softened self that were acute concerns of postwar American culture" (p. xv). As that sentence (even in edited form) suggests, Cuordileone's style often precludes pithiness anyway. She rarely meets a long sentence she does not like, although each is meticulously constructed in this book. But she succeeds admirably in placing concerns about manhood—its absence, withering, acquisition, performance—at the center of modern American politics, especially liberalism's triumphs and travails, and she does so without losing sight of all that was connected to it. She also makes a strong case that while perceived "crises" of masculinity were old hat in American history, "the idea that male homosexuality was on the rise distinguishes the sexual anxiety of this period from others before it" (p. 146). As she notes, "anti-Communism . . . became entangled with anxieties that ultimately had little to do with Communism" (p. xviii). Scholars have long known that to be the case, as many Americans did at the time, but Cuordileone shows not merely *that* the entanglement occurred but *how* it did and what its consequences were.

Most of this book addresses central figures and tracts of the "public discourse" (p. ix) of the early Cold War. With his words and actions followed into the 1960s, Schlesinger comes closest to providing connective tissue among the chapters. Other intellectuals also get their due, and popular culture—*Rebel Without a Cause* (1955), for example—is well analyzed to show how widely broadcast and resonant were the worries of the chattering classes. A final chapter on the manhood-saturated Kennedy ethos presents nothing stunning, but it is a wide-ranging, nuanced account of how the Kennedy men offered "a new frontier, an America in which men could become men. And so could professors" (p. 201). Hence Kennedy was an "[Adlai] Stevenson with balls," in Joseph Alsop's famous phrase, and JFK wondered

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"whether Adlai was a 'switcher' " (p. 190). A thoughtful afterword runs through September 11, 2001, and the war in Iraq, when "a reconstitution of the old images"—though no exact replica of them—pitted " 'hard' unilateralists bravely willing to go it alone in the world" against " 'soft' multilateralists" (p. 245). While no page-turner, this is an admirably researched, fair-minded, and rich study—a commanding one, it might be said, except that that adjective gets too close to the territory of manhood Cuordileone's book traverses.

MICHAEL SHERRY
Northwestern University

DANIEL J. WILSON. *Living with Polio: The Epidemic and Its Survivors*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 300. $29.00.

DAVID M. OSHINSKY. *Polio: An American Story*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 342. $30.00.

The early 1950s was a fearful time. Joseph McCarthy ranted and hunted alleged subversives, and school children were taught to hide under classroom desks—a pathetically inadequate defense in an age when atomic attack seemed imminent. And then there was the epidemic of polio, or infantile paralysis, as it was often called. In the summers, mothers and fathers quaked fearfully with their children's every chill. Might this be the beginning of a paralysis that would never recede, that would leave their young disabled for life? Some fears of the 1950s outlasted the century. Thanks to Jonas Salk, Albert Sabin, Hilary Koprowski, John Enders, Tom Rivers, Isabel Morgan, and many other scientists and physicians, however, the nation's children reclaimed playgrounds and pools. That is, all except those who were already felled by the polio virus. Some of its victims suffered for the rest of their lives with what the disease had done to their bodies, if not their spirits.

David M. Oshinsky's and Daniel J. Wilson's books complement each other, providing the fullest story told thus far of the feared disease, its conquerors, its victims, and its last American epidemic in the 1950s. No author tells with greater clarity and broader vision the story of polio research in the United States than Oshinsky. No one has heretofore offered as thorough description of polio's victims and how their lives were transformed by their disabilities as Wilson.

As does an orchestra conductor, Oshinsky offers readers an ensemble of perspectives on the race for the cure, treating the intersection of social, political, economic, and cultural narratives. The most suspenseful narrative is the gripping detective story of scientific research, seasoned by the clash of great egos and fascinating personalities. After Enders demonstrated that the polio virus could be cultured, the race was on to see which of the brilliant researchers engaged in the competition could prevail and save the lives of America's children. Should scientists develop a vaccine with killed virus, the method favored by Salk, or vaccinate with live virus to stimulate the immune system, the approach preferred by Sabin? Both men were New Yorkers from poor, Eastern European Jewish backgrounds. Both were brilliant and combative. The first person to come close to a vaccine using live virus was neither Salk nor Sabin but the quiet, gentle Morgan, who in the midst of a promising career retreated from her Johns Hopkins laboratory, choosing marriage and motherhood over research in an era when many women could not envision doing all three.

Both Salk and Sabin received support from the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. The Foundation preferred Salk, who promised speed, to Sabin, who followed the slower, traditional route of science. But the first to test live virus on human subjects was Lederle Laboratories' Koprowski, who, much to the consternation of many, tested it on mentally disabled children at New York's Letchworth Village. In the end, Salk, too, boldly risked human testing, first on his own children and eventually in a much celebrated national test of 1.5 million school children in spring 1954. It was a success. Salk won the race for the vaccine, brashly basking in his fame, but never forgetting his goal of saving children from suffering. His vaccine required three injections plus a "booster" to provide full immunity. In spite of a 1955 tragedy, when Cutter Laboratories botched production of a shipment of Salk's killed virus vaccine, resulting in polio cases, millions of American children, including the reviewer, were lining up for their shots with sleeves rolled.

Equally compelling and carefully integrated into the research narrative are Oshinsky's tales of the politics and economics of polio, including the fundraising. Crucial is the chronicle of how Franklin Delano Roosevelt's attack of polio resulted in both the purchase of the Warm Spring, Georgia, facility and the establishment of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis under the able leadership of FDR's law partner, Basil O'Connor. Especially compelling is Oshinsky's description of the fundraising role played by the March of Dimes (Comedian Eddie Cantor's pun on the newsreels popular with moviegoers, "The March of Time") and the Mother's March, which first took place in January 1950. Mothers in communities all over the country went door to door to collect contributions, while their neighbors lit their porch lights to announce their presence and willingness to help in the great crusade against the disease that menaced their children. The polio campaign transformed philanthropic fundraising in America from a top-down endeavor to one that could succeed on a foundation of grass-roots support.

Oshinsky concludes his tale by explaining how Sabin's research and 1959 human testing in the USSR led to an oral vaccine that provided lasting immunity with a single dose that could be administered on a sugar cube. Sabin's breakthrough temporarily eclipsed Salk's vaccine and became the vaccine of choice but in more recent years Salk's has made a comeback because there have been fewer random cases of post-vaccination polio. Sabin's vaccine remains the choice abroad; the sin-

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gle dose is cheaper and more efficient than Salks's multi-shot vaccine.

Wilson's volume is more modest than Oshinsky's in scope, but he offers readers a rare perspective on polio: that of the victim. For historians, the voice of the patient is often hard to capture. Most victims of disease do not or are not able to share their thoughts and feelings about what is happening to their bodies. Those who struggle with a disease over a long period of time, however, often manage to articulate their perspective. Thanks to Wilson, a professional historian as well as a polio victim, we have interviews and other sources that chronicle the polio experience from onset to the residual effects of the disease many years later.

Salk and Sabin dwell in the background of Wilson's narrative. At the forefront are the children and young adults who survived in iron lungs, the families who placed their hopes for a future on the controversial heat therapies of Australia's Sister Elizabeth Kenny. One polio victim, Charles Mee, recalls how his efforts to do things for himself created conflicts with his mother, who wanted to help him reach a book or get into the car. Often he declined with a "No thank you," but other times he snapped that he could do it himself (p. 171). Marriages suffered and some ended in divorce, breaking under the undue strain of one or both partners' disabilities.

An especially valuable addition to the literature on polio is Wilson's chapter on post-polio syndrome (PPS). Twenty or thirty years after contracting the disease, those who thought they had survived successfully were unexpectedly seized by muscle weakness and pain, extreme fatigue, and frequent falls. Those who had once relied on braces or crutches or canes needed to get them out again. By the end of the last decade of the twentieth century estimates placed the number of polio survivors at 600,000 with twenty to forty percent experiencing the syndrome. As the population of victims ages, more people with PPS symptoms will likely surface. Wilson suggests that information, support groups, and therapies will make PPS less devastating. His book makes clear that polio epidemics belong to history, but that the suffering is hardly over.

Oshinsky's volume will find a general readership as well as a place on the syllabi of those teaching courses in American social history and the history of American medicine. It is the best single volume on the disease for undergraduates. Wilson's book will appeal to a narrower audience, but no graduate reading list in the history of medicine or disability studies can afford to omit it. Scholars listening closely to patients' voices will find it most satisfying. Together these two fine books offer readers a thorough understanding of what some have called "America's paralyzing fear."

ALAN M. KRAUT
American University

LAWRENCE M. FRIEDMAN. *Private Lives: Families, Individuals, and the Law*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. 230. $27.95.

Lawrence M. Friedman never writes with limited ambitions or small palettes. Although this book is not a massive tome like his well-known *History of American Law* (1973) and *American Law in the Twentieth Century* (2002), it is a sprawling look at the intersection of law, history, culture, and human character. His declared goal is to explain how a notion he calls "plural equality"—"the collapse of the notion of a single dominant ethos" (p. 3) and its replacement with an array of norms of legitimacy—relates to family law and personal privacy. Along the way, he writes about the history and contemporary structure of marriage, divorce, child custody, adoption, surrogacy, notions of parenthood, birth control, abortion, the right of privacy, and the impact of the media on legal developments. While much of this writing is extraordinarily good synthetic analysis of broad bodies of legal history literature, Friedman also poses a series of important questions that establish a large agenda for future research by both legal historians and law school scholars.

The synthetic parts of this volume review the shift in legal standards defining the family from the largely status views of early American history to contemporary norms of individualism and choice. Marriage shifted from a parental arrangement to a romantic selection, intermarriage across racial and religious lines from largely forbidden to openly available, divorce from sharply constrained to easily accessible, sex outside of marriage from shocking to conventional, single parenthood from scandalous to routine, adoption from tightly constrained to open, child custody from maternal to parental, multiple parenthood from unheard of to accepted, birth control and abortion from banned to constitutionally protected, and homosexuality from illegality and closets to partial acceptance and sometimes open doors. The idea of commitment underlies much of family law for Friedman, but the commitment alternatives and choices now available are substantially more varied than they were two hundred years ago. While much of this material is not new, Friedman has pulled the strands together with deftness and felicity. That alone makes this a valuable and important book for anyone unschooled in the legal history of American family law who is looking for a classy introduction to the field.

But this volume also pulls together the history of family law with the law of privacy and the impact of culture and technology in new and intriguing ways. He focuses much attention, especially in the last chapter, on the impact of media on twentieth-century conceptions of family and of privacy. At the same time that a constitutional right of privacy became the basis for voiding laws designed to limit access to birth control and abortion, the first amendment was used to limit sharply claims that media invade privacy or defame citizens when they delve into and expose "private" lives. As the ability to choose how to relate intimately to others has broadened, some have elected to use their freedom of choice to expose their lives to public view on reality TV or talk shows. The consequence, Friedman suggests, is

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that the preference of many to avoid public exposure of their intimate choices is becoming more difficult to maintain. The realm of independence in each person's selection of a family structure best suited to their needs is being undermined by the willingness of some to expose their intimate lives to the public. Choice has begun to undermine the ability to choose. Where that dilemma leads us, Friedman suggests, will be a major issue in the future.

The book, therefore, invites historians to take a much more systematic look at the relationships between media and the development of family law. While much is known about the way major reform movements—such as the campaign of Margaret Sanger and others to open access to birth control devices or the efforts of many to liberalize divorce law—have used the media, much less has been written about the connections between media events and alterations in more commonplace rules dealing with marriage, child custody, and adoption. Perhaps it is time to begin such explorations in earnest.

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Georgetown University Law Center

NICHOLAS SAMMOND. *Babes in Tomorrowland: Walt Disney and the Making of the American Child, 1930–1960.* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 472. $24.95.

This book by Nicholas Sammond is only intermittently about Walt Disney and the Disney company's relationship to American childhood. More accurately, it is a sweeping account of twentieth-century social scientific discourses about middle-class American character and child rearing. The goal of the book is to link vast analytical transformations in child psychology and sociology to shifts in the public persona and marketing of the Walt Disney brand. The difficulty of this ambitious undertaking is that, despite Sammond's strenuous efforts, the relevance of *The Mickey Mouse Club* to, for instance, David Riesman's concept of the "other directed personality" remains elusive. Sammond asks the reader to accompany him through numerous imaginative associations; the usefulness of the book to individual readers will depend upon their willingness to follow along.

The early chapters consider the growth of empirical studies of childhood within the social sciences. "Children," Sammond asserts, "were precious (and national) resources, and their proper management and deployment required—no less than any other rapidly modernizing industry—the expert assistance of trained scientists who could offer a full range of techniques and technologies that could be applied. . . 'from crib to college' " (p. 107). Progressive reformers including Jane Addams and Bernice Abbot, child psychologists such as Arnold Gesell, writers for *Parents' Magazine*, and the author of the popular child-rearing manual *Psychological Care of Infant and Child* (1928), John B. Watson, are classed together as "child managers": those who would standardize and professionalize the rearing of children. The relentless quest for control, Sammond maintains, was a driving force behind the social scientific imperative to locate the "average, normal child" (p. 69) upon whom theories about appropriate consumption of media could be tested. Walt Disney spoke perfectly to these social concerns, because, Sammond writes, its "exclusive focus on animation . . . added to the company's aura of absolute control over its subjects" (p. 120). Here, as elsewhere, Sammond does not claim a direct connection between the content of Disney's films and social scientific thinking but rather claims a resemblance through analogy.

In a lengthy analysis of Helen and Robert S. Lynd's *Middletown* (1929), Sammond argues that the extent to which Americans embraced and measured themselves against the Middletown model is evidence of a broader impulse toward self monitoring, standardization, and regulation. Child-rearing books, like those used by the Middletown mothers, attempted to create "regimens for the production of the normal child—and through that child a regulated American culture" (p. 138). The connection to Walt Disney here is twofold. First, in press releases and newspaper articles, Disney was described as a hardworking, middle-class husband and father from the Middle West. "And if Walt Disney was presented as the archetypal American, Middletown was the figurative ground upon which he stood" (p. 138). Disney also offered a vision of his production company as an efficiently run factory. Much like the social and racial segregation of Middletown, Sammond claims, the discipline and order of Disney's high-tech assembly line set it apart from other, unpredictable Hollywood studies—"those of the immigrants, petulant Europeans, and working-class hedonists who produced films of questionable value to American Children" (p. 117).

In the last chapters of the book, Sammond explores the legendary anxieties about mass culture, conformity, and the totalitarian personality that consumed the social theorists of the 1950s. He considers Benjamin Spock's *Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* (1946) within the context of these anxieties, and argues that the goal of so-called "permissive" parenting was an attempt to let the child develop "naturally" (p. 194). In contradistinction both to earlier forms of childrearing and to the "Soviet Child," the American child of the 1950s was to be allowed to develop in his own way. By observing a child's behavior rather than directing it, a mother would gain an understanding of an individual child's inclinations and aptitudes, thus helping him to nurture his own individuality. A child achieved self-control through learning about himself in this free environment, thereby developing an understanding of how to express himself in a socially acceptable manner. The link Sammond attempts to draw to Disney's 1950s movies are the most tenuous in the book. Sammond sees Spock's emphasis on the parents' responsibility to foster a child's true nature reflected in Disney's True-Life adventures, such as *Seal Island* (1948), *Vanishing Prairie* (1954), and *Secrets of Life* (1956). These programs, which recorded animals in the wild, encouraged viewers

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"to imagine unmediated access to unregulated nature" (p. 308)—exactly the kind of window parents wanted into the inner natures of their children. The analogy is extended to Disney's description of his "naturalist-cameramen." In the wild, cameramen could never anticipate what they might see. Thus, "like 1950s parents," Sammond explains, they "must always be ready and vigilant. This calls for vast patience as well as knowledge of the creatures they are stalking" (pp. 308–309). The leap from Spock to nature films is made on the premise that the search for a child's individual "nature" automatically shares something with the quest to film and describe the "natural world." Much hinges on the conflation of human nature with nature at large. The connection is largely semantic—and flawed at that. While it is true that *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* occasionally alludes to a child's "nature," the concept does not inform Spock's thinking in any kind of sustained or systemic way.

Sammond's depictions of child rearing literature, sociological studies, and child psychology as "panoptic" forms of regulation, "observational regimes" (p. 200), or what historians once called "social control," have a distinctly sinister—and eventually overbearing—cast. Similarly, he expresses a limitless surprise at the fact that the Walt Disney company aggressively and self-consciously marketed an image of its own corporate behavior that would be pleasing to parents, and that its representation of itself as beneficial to children's education was at odds with its quest for profits. The combination of this kind of naïveté with the book's patina of theoretical sophistication can make for an uncomfortable read. Yet, for all of these problems, the book does provide an overview of the sociological and child rearing literature. What remains is for substantial connections to be drawn between Disney and twentieth-century social thought—an undertaking that will, one suspects, eventually bear fruit.

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Steven D. Classen. *Watching Jim Crow: The Struggles over Mississippi TV, 1955–1969*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 275. $21.95.

Recent scholarship on the civil rights movement of the 1960s has begun to explore a whole host of issues behind the famous names of movement leaders and civil rights organizations that have dominated the discourse for some time. Some of the most critical issues include gender, class, and deference patterns. Steven D. Classen's book fits comfortably into this new scholarship by providing a detailed and provocative look at the role of the media in the Mississippi phase of the civil rights movement. In particular, this study examines the critical role of two television stations in Jackson, Mississippi, in events surrounding the local movement in the 1960s.

For some time, scholars have acknowledged the importance of the media—particularly the relatively new medium of television—in the civil rights struggle. For the most part, however, the focus has been on the positive function of the media in publicizing civil rights campaigns in the South. For example, much has been made of the connection between the dramatic televised images of marchers being beaten and tear-gassed in Selma, Alabama, and the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Furthermore, many are now convinced that some of the activists in the movement became particularly adept at using the media to advance their cause. For example, S. Jonathan Bass's *Blessed Are the Peacemakers: Martin Luther King, Jr., Eight White Religious Leaders, and the "Letter from Birmingham Jail"* (2001) assesses the impact of King's letter as a media event. Classen, however, examines the powerful negative impact on the Mississippi movement of television stations in Jackson, Mississippi, that were controlled by arch segregationists. According to the author, "a supremacist ventriloquism in and around Jackson spoke of African American contentment with the status quo" (p. 75). Even though white supremacists managed to maintain control of the airwaves in Jackson throughout the 1960s, they were unable to extend their influence in the media beyond their community. Classen's study details the frustration with this reality that motivated white supremacist activism aimed at influencing local and national programming content. Classen's analysis also reveals that the state of Mississippi supported this white supremacist activism with tax dollars. This meant that black activists during the civil rights movement were obliged to confront this formidable power.

The story of that confrontation sets the stage for the fascinating story of black activist efforts to force local television stations to provide more fair and balanced programming during this critical stage of the state and the nation's history. Along the way, African American activists in the Mississippi movement appealed to many outside Jackson, and outside Mississippi. They appealed to the federal government by challenging their local stations' petitions to renew their licenses. This, of course, got the Federal Communications Commission involved. The resulting wrangling over license renewal raised a whole host of questions involving the rights of viewers/consumers. Furthermore, the challenge posed by black activists clearly exposed a number of issues in the Mississippi movement, including the importance of gender and class and the impact of deference patterns based on race, as well as definitions of whiteness and blackness in the context of the civil rights movement.

Classen's book deftly explores a number of complicated issues that relate not only to the Mississippi phase in particular, but to the rest of the movement in general. Classen clearly points out what a powerful negative force the media was in Jackson, Mississippi, during the 1960s, providing an important counterpoint to other work that examines the media's positive impact in other phases of the civil rights movement. Overall, his book is engaging and provocative, and its conclusions provide

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important insights that are applicable to the Mississippi phase of the civil rights movement and beyond.

CYNTHIA GRIGGS FLEMING
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THOMAS J. CARTY. *A Catholic in the White House? Religion, Politics, and John F. Kennedy's Presidential Campaign*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan. 2004. Pp. viii, 215. $39.95.

Thomas J. Carty has written a highly useful study that significantly enhances our understanding of the place of Catholicism in the 1960 presidential election. But for a single, serious shortcoming, it would bid fair to be the definitive study of the subject.

Following two chapters that competently sketch the history of Catholicism in American politics prior to 1960, the volume turns to the matter at hand with valuable accounts of how conservative Protestants and liberals (Protestant and secular) addressed John F. Kennedy's Roman Catholicism. While some of the behind-the-scenes maneuvering of Billy Graham and others has been discussed before, Carty makes use of hitherto unmined archival materials to show what lay behind the public postures of some of the major religious figures and intellectuals of the era. For the first time, we see clearly how Protestant liberals and the liberal intelligentsia overcame a significant measure of anxiety about Catholicism to come around either to supporting Kennedy outright, or to refusing to oppose him. Worth the price of admission is Carty's use of private letters to show the tortuous path of Paul Blanchard, the leading critic of "Catholic power" in postwar America. Similarly, Carty brings new sources to bear on the important issues of religious pluralism and faith-based anticommunism in the 1960 campaign. A mole's eye view of how the "Catholic question" played out in the electoral results in several important states reminds us that Tip O'Neill's dictum that all politics is local also goes for religious politics.

What is missing from the book is a comprehensive assessment of the position of the Catholic Church: specifically, its hierarchy and thought leaders. In his 1965 biography of Kennedy, for example, Theodore C. Sorensen told the story of how, a couple of weeks before the 1960 election, three Puerto Rican bishops issued a pastoral letter telling church members it would be a "sin of disobedience" to vote for one of the candidates for governor. The hypothesis in the Kennedy camp was that New York's Cardinal Francis Spellman, who controlled the Puerto Rican church, had put the bishops up to it. There were, indeed, indications that the church hierarchy, up to and including the Vatican, would rather not have had a Roman Catholic in the White House. Kennedy's public opposition to the two main issues on the church's American policy agenda—aid to parochial schools and a U.S. ambassador to the Vatican—provided church leaders with sufficient grounds for supposing that their interests would be better served by the election of Richard M. Nixon as president. But Carty addresses none of this. Nor does he provide a survey of how the varied and extensive Catholic media addressed the Kennedy candidacy.

Here and there, the book supplies snapshots. Thus, sandwiched into the chapter on religion and the Cold War in the campaign is a paragraph on the official views of the church of the time regarding its proper role in secular politics—one that certainly did not accord with mainstream American opinion. But this leads to no extended consideration of the possibility that there might have been a legitimate basis for concern about electing a Catholic president. In comparison with conservative Protestants, liberal Protestants, and secular liberals, Catholic leaders, ecclesiastical and intellectual, emerge from this study as curiously lacking in involvement or agency. Carty's position seems to be that Kennedy's Catholicism should never have been any kind of political issue, that (in the spirit of JFK himself) religion is best kept out of politics altogether, except perhaps when it comes to some quiet lobbying offstage by the religious powers that be.

Such a disposition may perhaps best be explained by reference to Carty's own roots in the Catholicism of New England, where a century and more of tension with Yankeedom taught both the Irish and the Yankees that civil society was best maintained by eschewing public expressions of faith. "My maternal grandfather, James B. Murphy, discouraged me from discussing religion and politics in public" (p. vii), Carty begins his acknowledgements, and he concludes them by expressing the hope that his young daughter "listens when I tell her not to discuss religion and politics in public" (p. viii). Even discounting for authorial humor (wryly acknowledging the book's subject), these familial injunctions point out something usually missed in accounts of JFK. It was not merely the candidate's political calculation and his apparently limited interest in religion that led him to embrace—to the lasting consternation of many Catholics—so strict a separation between faith and public service. It was because he was a typical New Englander.

MARK SILK
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ATHAN THEOHARIS. *The FBI and American Democracy: A Brief Critical History*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2004. Pp. x, 195. $24.95.

At first glance, Athan Theoharis's book may appear to be little more than another institutional biography. On close examination, however, both academic and general audiences will discover an informative and concise survey of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) from its inception to the present, framed, as the author's subtitle indicates, as a "critical history." Created as an investigative division within the Justice Department in 1908 with thirty-four agents assigned to a Washington, D.C., office, the FBI has expanded to 11,776 agents located in fifty-six field offices throughout the country and legal attaché offices located worldwide.

By his own admission, Theoharis does not attempt to

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produce a comprehensive history of the FBI, but it would be useful if he offered some explanation for why the FBI avoided drug trafficking cases for so long or why J. Edgar Hoover refused to acknowledge the existence of organized crime, which was embarrassing for the FBI after the Apalachin meeting in 1957 and Joe Valachi's testimony before the McClellan Senate committee in 1963. In 1950, when Governor Thomas E. Dewey and other Republican party officials were concerned that homosexuals "have infiltrated our Government in recent years," a secret Senate investigating committee concluded that "the employment of homosexuals did threaten the nation's security" (p. 96). Responding to the "problem," Hoover created the "Sex Deviate" program requiring FBI agents to submit allegations of homosexuality involving federal government employees. Ironically, allegations about Hoover's own sexuality and his relationship with FBI associate director Clyde Tolson have been circulating for years. Theoharis describes Tolson as "Hoover's close friend and confidante" but offers no insight on the nature of their relationship.

Throughout a career that spanned eight presidential administrations, Hoover insured his job security with his "Personal & Confidential" and "June Mail" folders that contained information illegally obtained by cultivating ties with influential members of Congress. In 1943 Hoover made arrangements with the House Appropriations Committee chairman to lend the committee three FBI agents; in return the bureau received favorable appropriations. Hoover also held on by manipulating the FBI's record keeping by creating a special "Do Not File" folder where requests for break-ins were kept, thus preventing them from being indexed in the bureau's central records system. Since no record of such surreptitious activity officially existed, it could not be accessed, but it could be destroyed.

FBI successes, including exposing the "Pizza Connection," ABSCAM, and Jonathan Pollard, are balanced with dramatic failures such as the Ruby Ridge shootout, the mishandling of the Branch Davidians, and arresting the wrong person for the Atlanta Olympics bombing. More recently, of course, the FBI and the intelligence community generally have come under intense criticism for not more aggressively investigating individuals responsible for the September 11 attacks in 2001.

Material for this book is taken almost exclusively from approximately 17,000 agency documents accessed through Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests, which raises a tangential concern for historians. In his "Note on Sources" Theoharis brings attention to the inconsistency among agencies interpreting FOIA provisions. He complains, justifiably, that information is sometimes arbitrarily not released. It is difficult to understand how examiners can claim particular material is exempt when names blackened out appear in other agency files or in periodicals. Withholding such information violates the spirit of "freedom of information," and denying the disclosure of records is a disservice to scholars pursuing an objective, historical accounting ultimately to benefit the public.

Theoharis's book is especially timely. In late 2005, President George W. Bush said he thwarted terrorist attacks after the September 11 attacks by allowing the National Security Agency—and the FBI—to eavesdrop on Americans' correspondence without a warrant, and he asked Congress to extend the controversial USA Patriot Act, which made it easier for the FBI to conduct secret searches, monitor telephone calls and e-mails, and obtain bank records and other personal documents in connection with terrorism investigations.

Having published or coauthored several books on the FBI over the past twenty years, Theoharis has a command of the subject matter based on exhaustive research. This book is not the definitive study of Hoover's FBI, but it contains many fascinating—if not disturbing—revelations that will interest a wide audience. More important, it is a valuable, balanced study of how a federal law enforcement agency relying on informants and secret investigations coexists with an open, democratic society, a topic that has become even more relevant in a post-September 11 world.

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GARY MAY. *The Informant: The FBI, The Ku Klux Klan, and the Murder of Viola Liuzzo*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 431. $35.00.

Gary May's book tells the story of a white-on-white drive-by shooting in Alabama that took place in the narrow window between Selma's bloody Sunday and passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 that brought down Jim Crow for good. Ku Klux Klansmen from Birmingham arrived in a Chevrolet Impala looking to serve the great white race and did so on Highway 80 near Big Swamp Lake by shooting into the Oldsmobile driven by a Detroit housewife who had left five children behind to come South and help the civil rights movement. Shortly after noon the next day, President Lyndon B. Johnson announced that J. Edgar Hoover's Federal Bureau Investigation (FBI) had solved the Viola Liuzzo murder. He did not mention that a paid bureau informant rode in the Impala with three other Klansmen and made no attempt to stop the shooting (he may have fired the fatal shots himself).

"I've become a self-styled 'closer,' " May has written elsewhere in homage to "too much television." Here, he tries to close the case on the FBI informant, Gary Thomas Rowe, and his involvement in the Birmingham Klan's violence, not only on Highway 80 but in assaults on the Freedom Riders and a string of bombings on "Dynamite Hill," culminating with the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church horror that killed four little girls. May places Rowe in the thick of it all to one degree or another, but always under the loose control of FBI agents so obsessed with protecting their informant that they let him run wild. Drawing on reports to bureau handlers,

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depositions, trial testimony, a memoir, and a Justice Department task force report, his account raises images of Rowe ranging from moron and braggart to all-American boy. "Then his street-fighter's instincts took over," May writes of his subject amid the Klaverns and Klabees (p. 17). "He had all the characteristics of an Alabama Klansmen: He was young, twenty-six, and strong, with a hair-trigger temper and a habit of solving problems with his fists" (p. 3). May documents Rowe's central role in planning the assaults on Freedom Riders and peripheral role in the various bombings but leaves the Liuzzo case open to the degree that he concludes the informant probably did not fire the fatal shots.

Ultimately, this book is less about Rowe running wild than an FBI informant system run amok. The lessons to be learned, May says, should be applied to the more current effort to place informants within such terrorist entities as al-Qaeda. Along the way, May tracks the five trials and various civil suits that arose from the Liuzzo murder, Rowe's oddball reemergence with a pillowcase covering his head during the congressional investigations of the intelligence community in the mid-1970s, and the disintegration of Liuzzo's family. Liuzzo's son joined the Wolverines, a branch of the far-right paramilitary Michigan Militia, and met with the Klansman whose gun killed his mother in an unlikely alliance intended to prove that an FBI man had been the only murderer in the Impala that day. May steers clear of the conspiracy theories that the families of American martyrs too often embrace but leaves the impression that almost anything was possible inside a creepy and narcissistic FBI informant system.

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SILKE HENSEL. *Leben auf der Grenze: Diskursive Aus- und Abgrenzungen von Mexican Americans und Puertoricanern in den USA*. (Forum Ibero-americanum: Acta Coloniensia number 3.) Frankfurt a. M.: Vervuert. 2004. Pp. 426. €48.00.

This book is, as its subtitle indicates, a study of the discourses that have shaped the racial and ethnic categorizations of Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans. Silke Hensel sees her analysis as following in the now established social constructionist tradition and as deriving its inspiration from the theories of Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu. Despite this intellectual genealogy, however, Hensel is attentive not just to the discourses of the powerful Anglo-Americans but also to minority responses to attempts to exclude them discursively from the white American mainstream.

The picture she paints is far from a still life. The discourses for both minorities evolved through multiple phases, according to Hensel's depiction, and these evolutions were context and period dependent. Although the United States agreed in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to guarantee the rights of the Mexicans who remained on the territory ceded to it and to accord full citizenship to all who asked for it, by the early twentieth century, these rights had been abused. The popular white American view of Mexicans as a race apart was shaped by the dominant racialist ideologies that received scientific sanction. The response of Mexican Americans was to cultivate a positive racial conception of themselves as *la raza* derived from the mestizos of Mexico. According to Hensel, a turning point came with the 1930 census, in which Mexicans were no longer classified among whites. Mexican Americans fought against this reclassification and vigorously asserted their membership in the white race, loyalty to the United States, and distance from more recently arrived immigrants. This strategy, while it did succeed in reversing the census reclassification, hardly ended Mexican American social exclusion, as the mass deportations of the 1930s showed. Consequently, during the post-World War II period, which witnessed the rise of an official antiracism discourse that initially developed as part of the war effort and the civil rights movement, a new generation of Mexican Americans forged an identity in opposition to what they perceived as their racial and cultural oppression, referring to themselves now as "Chicanos" and "brown people."

Puerto Ricans faced a fundamentally different situation, according to Hensel, because of the grant of citizenship to residents of the island by the Jones Act of 1917, and because they settled on the mainland principally in the New York region, which was more ethnically diverse than the southwest. While that diversity initially meant that the Puerto Ricans could avoid the harshest dilemmas of racial categorization, the increasing acceptance of Southern and Eastern Europeans as "white" during the 1930s brought about a polarization in racial classification between the white and black categories. In the new situation, it was not clear where Puerto Ricans fit, and they responded with a discourse that valorized their cultural attributes and lifted to salience the category of "hispanos." This counter discourse also emphasized the unity of the group, in opposition to the potential fission threatened by the dominant racial dichotomy. After 1945, however, the situation evolved further, in part because of the massive arrival of Puerto Ricans on the U.S. mainland and in part because of the uncertainties over the island's ultimate status. These developments led to increasing emphasis on Puerto Rican identity and to the dissolution of the tie to a "hispano" category. For an example of this process, Hensel analyzes the breaking away of a "Puerto Rican Day Parade" from what had been a parade in honor of *la Unidad Hispana*.

The strength of this book lies in its attention to the autonomy of minorities as they attempt to construct dignified places for themselves within a frequently hostile societal landscape of racial/ethnic categories and stereotypes. Hensel dwells at great length on the organizational life of the groups, where their discourses were worked out and from which these were promoted as alternatives to demeaning dominant views. Her de-

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piction undermines stereotypes of Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans as lacking the capacity for self-organization. However, the book is less successful in other ways. For one thing, the trajectories of the two groups never quite intertwine and, in the end, function mainly as side-by-side narratives. Moreover, while Hensel is sensitive to the impact of the New York context on Puerto Ricans, she gives less attention to the complex issues of context in the Mexican American case: much of her research material comes from Texas, but she does not address whether Texas was different from other states with many Mexican American inhabitants. Finally, there is not enough focus on the linkages between discourse and life chances, on the critical question of whether the evolutions in discourse concerning the groups were tied to shifts in such domains as residential segregation, schooling, and employment.

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LORENA OROPEZA. *¡Raza Si! ¡Guerra No! Chicano Protest and Patriotism During the Viet Nam War Era*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 278. $21.95.

Lorena Oropeza has authored an important study of Chicano protest during the Vietnam War. Carefully researched and gracefully written, her work brings to light the significant contributions of historical actors rarely mentioned—if ever—as she skillfully weaves their individual stories together as part of a larger whole. In so doing, she proposes a provocative thesis that locates opposition to the war in Southeast Asia at the center of the emergent Chicano nationalism.

While the Chicano generation increasingly challenged traditional strategies used by earlier generations of Mexican Americans to achieve integration into U.S. society, it was, according to Oropeza, Chicano opposition to the war that fundamentally underwrote their critique of integration itself. In rejecting the longstanding "Hispanic tradition of military service," the Chicano generation instead identified with the putative enemy, the Vietnamese. As a consequence of this fundamental shift in values and perception, Chicanos increasingly defined themselves as a colonized people of color whose own struggles against oppression justified their opposition to the draft so that Chicano males could serve their own community struggles for liberation. Oropeza thus presents a nuanced analysis of gender roles for Mexican American males in exploring the meaning of antiwar activism for Chicano activists. She explores the traditional meanings of masculinity for Mexican Americans and how Chicano antiwar activists redefined *machismo* away from the martial tradition toward a more community-oriented notion of masculinity.

A sense of tragic irony underlies Oropeza's perceptive account of antiwar activism among Chicanos. Although Chicano antiwar activists carefully worked to build alliances with white student organizers, they constantly struggled with their supposed allies for visibility within the larger national antiwar movement. For Chicano activists who had long labored to build a Chicano-centered national movement against the war, the Chicano Moratorium March on August 29, 1970, was their finest hour. Although the march failed to attract the predicted 100,000 protesters, it was still one of the largest gatherings of Mexican Americans in history. It was also the moment that led to the demise of the National Chicano Moratorium Committee, the alliance of Chicano groups that organized the march. Incessant infighting among the coalition of Mexican American organizations, infiltration by young people more attracted to violence than to enacting long-term structural solutions, and the constant pressure of surveillance from law enforcement all led to the implosion of the political alliance that gave rise to the march.

Oropeza's tight focus on the antiwar activism of the generation of politicized youth who defined themselves as Chicanos is both the strength and weakness of this work. Drawn from extensive oral histories and archival material, the book is a thoughtfully researched study of the ways in which opposition to the war in Vietnam intersected with and at times helped define the cultural nationalism of Chicano activists. Yet not all Mexican Americans of the period identified with Chicanos, nor were Chicanos themselves necessarily in agreement over means and ends. While Oropeza appropriately acknowledges that "the war remained a deeply divisive matter for the Mexican American population overall" (p. 74), her book does not engage such larger questions about the Mexican American communities of the Southwest during a moment of profound cultural awakening, or of the complicated dynamics within and among these communities during the Vietnam war.

It is perhaps because of the tight focus of this study on antiwar activity that Oropeza also overstates parts of her supporting arguments. Certainly there were some Chicanos who identified with the Vietcong, as Oropeza persuasively demonstrates, but if such identification was common among Chicanos, representations of the Vietcong or elements of Vietnamese culture never became significant motifs in the outpouring of Chicano artistic and poetic expression. Further, if antiwar activism was as central to the development of Chicano nationalism as Oropeza argues, one would expect the Chicano movement to have collapsed shortly after the United States withdrew its soldiers from Vietnam in 1973. The movement, however, continued on well after the withdrawal, which would certainly suggest that the scope of Chicano nationalism was much greater than opposition to the war. Indeed, several studies written by Chicano activists of the period, such as Ignacio García's *Chicanismo: The Forging of a Militant Ethos among Mexican Americans* (1997) and Carlos Muñoz's *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement* (1989), describe antiwar activism as an important component of the Chicano movement but not its central element.

These minor reservations aside, Oropeza's book is an excellent study of the role of antiwar activism among a

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core of Mexican American activists who were in the process of redefining themselves as Chicanos. It is carefully researched, thoughtfully contemplated, skillfully written, and attuned to current questions in the field. It will most certainly be required reading in my Chicano history courses.

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J. PATRICE MCSHERRY. *Predatory States: Operation Condor and Covert War in Latin America*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2005. Pp. xxx, 284. Cloth $75.00, paper $27.95.

J. Patrice McSherry eloquently traces the roots of Operation Condor in the 1970s to a broad policy of anticommunism after World War II. Condor, according to McSherry, was the product of previous counterinsurgent measures launched by the United States—collaboratively with right-wing military governments in Latin America—as low and high-intensity warfare against communists, guerrillas, and progressive or democratic forces. "The fledgling Condor system emerged in 1973, 1974, and 1975 as anticommunist Latin American military and police institutions, intelligence organizations, and parastatal groups such as the Triple A, and their U.S. military and intelligence counterparts, decided to unify and make more lethal their offensive campaigns against political opponents in South America" (pp. 96–97). McSherry carefully examines the role of U.S. and Latin American agencies in the three different phases of Condor, which consisted of mutual cooperation among national and transnational military services, covert action, and assassination. Through these different phases, "the Condor system extralegally captured, tortured, and murdered hundreds of Latin American activists, most of them very young, in its most violent period between 1976 and 1980" (p. 132). Although McSherry rightfully focuses on South America, she also shows the transnational aspect of Condor spreading into the United States, Central America, and the Caribbean. Describing the killing of Orlando Letelier, Chile's foreign minister under Salvador Allende, in Washington, D.C., and showing how Edward Koch, former congressman and mayor of New York, became a target of Condor, the author illustrates the extent to which Condor brought the Cold War to American soil.

McSherry argues that U.S. and Latin American agencies involved in Operation Condor made state terrorism synonymous with to the Cold War as they "combined forces with fascist networks, Cuban exile terrorists, and other extremist groups worldwide to carry out their objectives, disguise their roles, and forge a global counterrevolutionary movement" under the banner of anticommunism (p. 167). She illustrates the way in which U.S. and Latin American agencies indoctrinated Condor men through rigorous training processes that dehumanized them and led them to commit atrocities in the name of national security. According to McSherry, trainees were "socialized through professional institutions to become torturers and killers" and to consider these actions a service to the state in the war against communism (p. 199). In this context, "National security doctrines and anticommunist ideologies were an important determinant of state terrorism, as they dehumanized whole categories of people and provided a quasi-religious rationale for their torture and destruction" (p. 200).

As a political scientist, McSherry relies on the concept of a "parallel state" to explain the hidden apparatus of terror and social control carried out by right-wing military governments with the support of the United States. She takes Elizabeth Leeds's definition of parallel powers, which refers to "autonomous social networks that compete with legitimate state power such as drug traffickers or gangs," further to define the parallel state (p. 21). The parallel state consisted of clandestine paramilitary units that carried out counterinsurgent measures outside the legal or constitutional framework in a manner that was visible but deniable by state authorities. According to McSherry, "the parallel state was an important tool with which the national security states achieved and wielded total power over their societies" (p. 244). Tracing the roots of Condor to Western European parallel state organizations in the early phase of the Cold War, McSherry argues that Condor allowed anticommunist advocates throughout the Americas "to remove safe havens for exiles and eliminate them covertly, while maintaining a quasi-legal face to the world; it camouflaged state use of criminal and terrorist methods which would have reduced domestic and international tolerance for the regimes" (p. 246).

McSherry's book contributes significantly to studies of the Cold War. Methodologically, she cleverly uses Operation Condor as the thread to unravel the nature of U.S.-Latin American relations during the Cold War. Taking this concept further, McSherry defines Condor as part of a broad and systematic trans-American policy actively pursued by the United States under the banner of anticommunism. Her work goes beyond other studies that have tended to reduce U.S. Cold War policies in Latin America to specific episodes like the overthrow of Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán in Guatemala, the Cuban Revolution and its aftermath, the overthrow of Allende in Chile, and Ronald Reagan's involvement in Central America in the 1980s. McSherry's concept of the parallel state is also a provocative invitation to re-examine the relationship between the state and civil society in modern Latin America.

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JUSSI M. HANHIMAKI. *The Flawed Architect: Henry Kissinger and American Foreign Policy*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xxii, 554. $35.00.

Jussi M. Hanhimaki remarks in his preface that his son's first three-syllable word was "Kissinger" (p. xi). Whatever this says about the boy's intellectual and

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emotional development, it serves as a reminder of Henry Kissinger's most singular accomplishment: making foreign policy fair game for the tabloids. Kissinger may or may not have been the greatest secretary of state in American history (John Quincy Adams and William Seward will likely always rank ahead of him), but he was certainly the most talked about. Kissinger mastered the art of massaging the media, of providing reporters the kind of stories that warranted placing him on the cover of *Time* magazine (eleven appearances), on the front pages of newspapers constantly for several years during the 1970s, in the guest's chair on every important television interview show, and in the gossip columns that counted among the makers and shakers of American public life.

No wonder Richard M. Nixon, his patron, resented him. Although Hanhimaki devotes few pages to the personal background that brought Kissinger to the brink of power, he probes in depth the interplay between the president and the national security adviser who became secretary of state. During the early years of Nixon's first term, Nixon clearly dominated the relationship; Kissinger served at Nixon's sufferance. But after Kissinger's secret 1971 trip to China, Kissinger emerged as the media darling Nixon never would be. And as the ripples of Watergate spread around the president, Kissinger increasingly set the direction of American foreign policy. Nixon's resignation in 1974 shifted the balance between the White House and the State Department still more decisively; no secretary of state ever wielded such control of U.S. foreign policy as Kissinger did during Gerald R. Ford's abbreviated presidency.

Unfortunately for Kissinger—and to a lesser extent for Hanhimaki's account—by then the options available to American foreign policy had narrowed considerably. The truly creative phase of Kissinger's diplomacy occurred during his collaboration with Nixon, when these two self-styled realists acknowledged what had been screamingly obvious to the world for a decade but off-limits to American policy: that the communist monolith, if it had ever existed, had fractured, and that prudence consisted in playing one great communist power (the Soviet Union) off against the other (China). This was not the insight of Kissinger and Nixon alone; American strategists since the presidency of John F. Kennedy had noted the Sino-Soviet split and suggested its relevance for American policy. But as long as America's Cold War went well—which was to say, until the war in Vietnam went bad—neither Kennedy nor Lyndon B. Johnson saw any reason to wake the dogs of American anticommunism by an opening to China or a softening toward the Soviets.

In this regard, the success of Nixon and Kissinger was a function of the failure of what had gone before. They were not especially smarter or bolder than their predecessors; they simply had fewer options. They also had fewer compunctions. Although Hanhimaki's treatment of Kissinger's activities since leaving office is almost as cursory as his coverage of the pre-power years, he does address the issue that has kept Kissinger in the news of late: the various charges of criminality regarding his role in the invasion of Cambodia, the ascent of Augusto Pinochet in Chile, and sundry other distasteful international developments. Hanhimaki ultimately concludes that Kissinger was not a "war criminal"—or at least that if he was, "then most American foreign policy makers during the Cold War would fit that category" (p. 491).

This tepid verdict may give Kissinger (and implicitly Nixon) too much credit. With rare exceptions—Jimmy Carter's foreign policy, which was a conscious repudiation of the policies of Nixon and Kissinger, comes immediately to mind—American diplomacy has never been for the faint of heart or excessively scrupled. Yet Nixon and Kissinger raised amorality to a level otherwise unmatched in American history. The invasion of Cambodia, which set in motion some of the most horrific events of the last fifty years, and the Christmas bombing of 1972, which yielded a Vietnam peace accord almost indistinguishable from that which had been on the table only weeks before, are just two incidents in a career of policy making marked by the cavalier employment of people and countries as means to dubious ends. When Kissinger said that diplomacy was not to be confused with philanthropy, he wasn't kidding.

Hanhimaki's book will not end the debate over Henry Kissinger. Passions still run too deep. But Hanhimaki's sober, comprehensive account of Kissinger's diplomacy—the best account currently available—might elevate the tone of the debate, which would be a signal contribution in itself.

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John G. Reid. *Viola Florence Barnes, 1885–1979: A Historian's Biography*. (Studies in Gender and History, number 25.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 228. $45.00.

John G. Reid's book portrays a woman who earned a Ph.D. in American history at Yale University in the interwar years, when opportunities for women academicians looked more promising than in the decades that immediately preceded or followed. A disciple of Charles McLean Andrews, a central figure of the "imperial school" of early American history, Viola Florence Barnes would spend her entire academic career at the bastion of female education known as Mount Holyoke College. Initially she feared falling victim to professional marginalization. But Reid notes that this separatist institution provided benefits that may have been key to Barnes's limited success. Despite tense departmental politics, she earned seniority and received opportunities to research and serve on prestigious professional committees that extended her reputation beyond the college. Though never a "feminist" in any formal sense, Barnes sought equal treatment for women in the profession as a longstanding member of the Berkshire Conference of Women Historians. Carrie

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Chapman Catt recognized Barnes as one of the nation's most accomplished women at the 1940 Women's Centennial Congress, and the University of Nebraska awarded her an honorary degree.

Such accolades are impressive, although certainly less newsworthy than the official honors bestowed on other male historians and female academicians featured in biographies of recent years. If Reid were tempted to write a heroic account of an unlikely survivor, a charismatic leader, or a seminal figure in the burgeoning field of academic history, his choice of subject would appear unbefitting, for Barnes's life seems hardly the stuff of legends. Reid does not characterize her Nebraska childhood or adulthood in the Berkshire hills as particularly harrowing, nor does he suggest that she overcame insurmountable odds to earn a place as a canonical historian in her own right. Although her book, *The Dominion of New England* (1931), continues to be considered an important text, Reid notes its flaws along with the weaknesses of all the works that followed. Barnes's reputation trumped most women's in the profession, but it never eclipsed her mentor's, nor, arguably, did it persist into the postwar era.

To be sure, Barnes suffered personal anguish due to ailments that included an early bout with breast cancer, family disputes, and personality clashes with colleagues in the Mount Holyoke history department, but Reid does not treat these tribulations with more melodrama than they deserve. Much of the personal trauma in Barnes's life was, he believes, self-imposed; her anxieties over conspiracies to blacklist her writings in the profession were, he concludes, borderline delusional. In the end, Barnes lived a long life with the comforting companionship of colleague Mildred Howard.

Lacking prestige, danger, or other formulaic elements of successful biographies, Reid's account could have easily become a stereotyped portrayal of quiet feminine dignity—but he does not take this approach either, acknowledging the consensus of friends and colleagues that Barnes was prickly and increasingly paranoid. Reid does not shield Barnes from appearing like a curmudgeon toward the end of her life. Her tirades against campus protests and "crusade history" by the 1960s hardly make her appear primed for biographical recovery when compared to contemporary Mary Beard, whom historians rediscovered in the 1970s and 1980s. What, then, did Reid find in Barnes worth conveying in a full-length biography of such painstaking detail?

In Reid's hands, Barnes's story becomes a lens into cultural milieus otherwise seen in two-dimension through more traditional tales of success or cachet. Her staunch defense of the imperial school and her professional reputation speak to how strong the currents against her had become in the postwar era. Reid believes that the personal conflicts between Barnes and her historian brother Don, her departmental foe Nellie Neilson, and professional rivals like Edmund Morgan are not minutiae when understood within the changing culture of female institutions, the university, and professional history. Her successes and disappointments, however modest, bring to light the real consequences that schools of thought and professional politics bring to bear on historians already marginalized by gender and institutional affiliation. Barnes's gender seemed less an impediment in the historical profession before the masculinizing effects of World War II, and her imperial orientation secured her legitimacy until the rise of neo-Progressive, neo-Whig, counter-Progressive, and consensus history after the war and radical social and feminist approaches in the 1960s and 1970s. Her rise and fall was not meteoric, yet the subtle contours of her career reflect how politics of gender, professionalization, and disciplinarity couple with human qualities to shape lived experience.

The fact that Reid's biography succeeds despite the comparatively lackluster career of his subject speaks to his eye for authenticity, but also to trends in our current historiographical moment. We have come to appreciate the lives of historical subjects who lend unique perspective to time and place. Legendary "greats" who lived "above the fray" or seemed to succeed despite their conditions may not, in the end, provide the rich cultural insight of an often flawed and defeated figure like Barnes.

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Daniel Horowitz. *Anxieties of Affluence: Critiques of American Consumer Culture, 1939–1979.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 339. $29.95.

This book's subtitle is misleading. Daniel Horowitz's study is more than an examination of critiques of American consumer culture in the postwar period: it is a history of social thought from the mid to late twentieth century, and an immensely successful one at that. Not that consumption is irrelevant to his story. Indeed, one of the major contributions of this work is to show how central ideas about consumption were to American social thought in this period. As American thinkers and activists analyzed their society, they did so from within the "cold war consensus," which held that American democracy was dependent on a widespread prosperity that was the natural outgrowth of a robust capitalist economy. Of course, this paradigm had its challengers. But, as Horowitz convincingly argues, those who would overturn it were as compelled to argue from within its confines as those who championed it. Whether celebrating American affluence, as did Ernest Dichter, or warning about the persistence of American poverty as did Michael Harrington, whether insisting that abundance empowered citizens, as did George Katona, or blaming it for political apathy, as did Christopher Lasch, political and social thinkers in the latter part of the twentieth century all found it necessary to think about the repercussions of abundance.

One of the real strengths of Horowitz's book is the range of social thinkers he includes in his study. Some come as no surprise, among them David Potter, John Kenneth Galbraith, Michael Harrington, Ralph Nader,

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and Daniel Bell; others, such as Paul Goodman, Betty Friedan, Rachel Carson, and Martin Luther King, Jr., are less expected. The diversity of this cast of characters demonstrates just how far-reaching the social and political ramifications of affluence were, extending far beyond issues of political economy to inform debates over less obviously economic issues such as environmentalism, feminism, and civil rights.

In Horowitz's hands, the story of Cold War social thought is a wonderfully nuanced one. In its 1950s incarnation, the Cold War consensus seemed to be a liberal one, so much so that in the 1960s, opponents of liberalism—be they social democrats, neo-conservatives, or something in between—devoted much of their energy to discrediting the economic assumption that equated social well being with material abundance. Both those on the left and the right offered an alternative to the liberal embrace of affluence, emphasizing public responsibility over private pleasure and civic virtue over self-interest. But the Cold War consensus was more than another name for liberalism. Indeed, it was a consensus precisely because no one group had a monopoly on it. In the late 1970s, for example, it was a Democratic president, Jimmy Carter, who tried to push a modern moralism on an unreceptive American public by suggesting that hard economic times would improve American character. And it was a Republican, Ronald Reagan, who countered Carter's moralism by offering to reestablish prosperity and American greatness by encouraging free enterprise. Horowitz's ability to identify and explore the complicated evolution of ideas about affluence helps to underscore how pivotal a position these ideas occupied in American social thought.

Horowitz's book is a far-ranging, insightful, and important work. It provides a persuasive framework within which to understand the domestic American experience in the Cold War era. It explains how the emergence of the postwar consumer society shaped not only the ways in which Americans lived but also how they made sense of their world. It helps to move the study of these years beyond categories like communism/anticommunism or conservatism/liberalism without denying the explanatory power of either of those dichotomies. It even shows how central certain books were to energizing social movements, in the process highlighting the numerous connections between the world of ideas and the world of action. This is, quite simply, intellectual history at its best.

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JOHNATHAN O'NEILL. *Originalism in American Law and Politics: A Constitutional History*. (Johns Hopkins Series in Constitutional Thought.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 281. $55.00.

The last several years have seen growing attention given to the social and intellectual history of the modern American conservative movement and to the intellectual history of legal scholarship. These two separate literatures converge in Johnathan O'Neill's book, which provides a history of the theory of constitutional originalism, the jurisprudential doctrine that the Constitution should be interpreted in a manner consistent with the meaning of the text at the time of its adoption. There are excellent studies available of the political and social ideas of conservative intellectuals and of the broad currents of American jurisprudence and "legal liberalism," but there has been relatively little attention given to the history of the conservative legal movement, its organization, and its ideas. O'Neill is concerned with only a piece of that territory, and in some ways the most familiar piece, but he makes a fine start at charting legal conservatism.

Although the book's focus is on modern originalism, O'Neill provides the broader context for understanding the developments of the last three decades. In his first chapter, he efficiently lays out classical "textual originalism" that provided the dominant normative framework for constitutional interpretation through the late nineteenth century and the pressure placed on that traditional framework by legal realism and associated movements in the twentieth century. He then develops the theories of legal process and judicial restraint that flourished in the mid-twentieth century before finally turning to the rise of modern originalism nearly a third of the way into the book. This long set-up pays off, however, in that O'Neill is particularly effective in demonstrating how first the practice and then the theory of modern originalism developed out of the legal process school and the discomfort of some judges and legal academics with the Warren Court's decisions of the 1960s.

Although this is an intellectual history, it is not simply a history of academic scholarship. Far more than most jurisprudential movements, originalism has existed as much or more "in law and politics" as in academia. O'Neill follows the story of originalism through the reemergence of historically oriented opinions on the Supreme Court, the development of originalist theorizing in universities in response to the Warren and early Burger Courts, the championing of originalism by the Reagan administration and an institutionalizing conservative legal movement, and its further development and diversification since the 1980s. The emphasis is partly on the ideas themselves, but O'Neill does not attempt to catalogue or characterize every detail and turn of the originalism debates. His focus is more on the relationship between ideas and events and the broad drift of originalism as a political and intellectual movement across time and institutions.

O'Neill is a broadly sympathetic observer who takes some pains to show that originalism was from the beginning intellectually serious and concerned with constitutional issues of a fundamental character. He is also a reliable observer, who takes note of the various contending sides in the debates even when he finds some positions more persuasive than others. Some parts of the story are likely to be familiar to those already engaged in the literature on constitutional theory. The book is comprehensive but not especially new in cov-

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ering the nomination of Robert Bork to the Supreme Court or the significance of original meaning in nineteenth-century legal thought. Other parts of the story are easily overlooked, and so it is good to see them included here: for example, the way the justices handled historical materials in constitutional cases in the 1960s, or the further theoretical development of originalism since the 1980s. In several places, however, the book breaks new ground. O'Neill is especially insightful when relaying the heart of his story: the early academic development of modern originalism and its maturation in the early 1980s. He makes good use of archival materials of some of the scholars involved, although one wonders what more he might have learned with additional use of personal interviews.

This book will undoubtedly be the essential reference on the history of originalism, and it will be an important building block toward the history of the conservative legal movement and the conservative intellectual movement generally. Originalism is by far the most prominent idea advanced by the conservative legal movement, but it is certainly not the only one. The broader current of ideas sweeping through that movement since the 1970s is only lightly touched upon here. O'Neill leaves room for pursuing them, and his example helps demonstrate the need to do so.

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LOUIS FISHER. *Military Tribunals and Presidential Power: American Revolution to the War on Terrorism*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2005. Pp. xiv, 279. Cloth $35.00, paper $16.95.

It is generally recognized that William Winthrop, author of *Military Law and Precedents* (1896), was the foremost nineteenth-century authority on military law and military tribunals. It could very well be stated that with this book, Louis Fisher has assumed that well-deserved distinction for the twentieth century. Fisher's comprehensive work examines military tribunals created by the United States and develops as its central theme that a "concentration of military power in the hands of the executive branch, without effective legislative and judicial checks" poses a major threat to individual rights and liberties particularly in times of war when presidential power may be at its zenith (p. xii).

In his first chapter, the author examines war power and the distinction between the authority of the Congress and the executive arising from the Constitution of 1787 as compared to the King's prerogative under British precedents. Arising from discussion in *Federalist 69* by Alexander Hamilton, the Helvidius/Pacificus debate concerned whether President George Washington had the power, on his own authority, to issue a proclamation of neutrality with respect to the war between Britain and Jacobin France in 1793. Pacificus's (Hamilton) central argument was that the commander-in-chief provision of Article II is a grant of power and by inference there are other powers that are implied in the general grant of authority including control over the direction of foreign policy, which is inherently an executive function. Helvidius (James Madison) responded that the right to determine foreign policy of the United States is with Congress by virtue of its power to declare war, and if the president's proclamation was valid, it took from Congress the power to decide between war and peace, a conclusion manifestly at variance with Congress's possession of the war declaring power. The proclamation therefore was not valid, nor was the conception of the presidential power on which it was based, a constitutionally tenable one.

The first actual military tribunals were used by General Winfield Scott during the Mexican-American War (1846–1848), when volunteer American troops went out of control below the Rio Grande to deal with the offenses of Mexican guerilla fighters and the fractious local populace in Mexico. General Scott sought Congressional statutory authority beforehand to administer justice against enemy belligerents and citizens harboring such combatants, and to enforce discipline among his troops. The military tribunals employed during the Mexican-American War took place in occupied territory and permitted the commander to establish order over U.S. troops and Mexicans alike. Fisher emphasizes that the military tribunals applied the same procedures, granted the same rights to the accused, utilized the same rules of evidence, and accorded the same post-trial review as did courts martial. It is of importance to note that Congress never formally declared war, rather it adopted an Act of Congress which recognized on May 13, 1846 a "defacto state of war as existing by the act of the Republic of Mexico." This calls to mind Hamilton's observation that "[W]hen a foreign nation avowedly makes war upon the United States, they are then by the very fact, already at war, and any declaration on the part of the Congress is nugatory; it is at least unnecessary." Trying Mexican guerilla fighters who were not part of the Mexican army before military tribunals was an early precedent for bringing foreign terrorists before such tribunals today.

The most extensive case study of the use of military tribunals provided by Fisher is that of the Nazi saboteurs ruled upon by the Supreme Court in *Ex parte Quirin*, 317 U.S. 1 (1942). Fisher critically analyzes President Franklin D. Roosevelt's insistence upon the use of a military tribunal rather than a civil trial for the eight German saboteurs who were caught before they could undertake a mission to blow up rail centers, bridges, a number of industrial plants, and the New York water supply system. The Roosevelt administration in creating military tribunals concentrated judicative, prosecutive, and executioner authority in the executive branch. The executive dramatically departed from court-martial practice pursuant to the Articles of War when it allowed for conviction and sentence in a capital case by two-thirds vote and failed to provide for judge advocate review. The tribunal also had several other features: "it could act in secret, move swiftly, adopt rules that fa-

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vored the prosecution as well as mete out the ultimate penalty" (pp. 95, 125).

After two days of oral argument the United States Supreme Court issued a brief per curiam opinion on July 31, 1942, which determined that the military tribunal was properly constituted. Almost three months later, on October 29, 1942, Chief Justice Stone and his colleagues unanimously filed a full decision explaining the legal and constitutional basis for the per curiam. What the Court did not address in that ruling was whether their decision would justify the president to act unilaterally as commander-in-chief if Congress were to restrict or withdraw the authority statutorily for the president to act as he did under the circumstances. The Court may have purposefully chosen to avoid the issue by applying the maxim of *inter armes silent leges* (in time of war the laws are silent).

As Fisher demonstrates, in many respects President George W. Bush's Military Order November 13, 2001, which established military commissions in the aftermath of the devastating attacks of September 11, closely followed the language in President Roosevelt's Proclamation and Military Order of 1942. Roosevelt had cautioned his military tribunal to conduct a "full and fair trial," and Bush used the same language. Bush also adopted Roosevelt's prohibition against judicial review. A principal substantive difference between the Bush Order and the Roosevelt precedent involved their application. Eight saboteurs were directly covered in the Roosevelt Order, while Bush's Order covered potentially a much larger population: non-U.S. citizens who were members of al-Qaida, engaged in, aided, abetted or conspired to commit acts of terrorism, or knowingly harbored one or more individuals engaged in terrorism. That group, according to Fisher, represents a population of an estimated 18 million people (p. 169).

Fisher opines that the military commissions created by President Bush are without precedent and represent a danger to our system of separation of powers and checks and balances. The commissions permit the president to prosecute, try, and punish a broad class of noncitizens, removed from the battlefield, in a war on terrorism which is not clearly defined and certainly does not provide an end point. As previously mentioned, the first military tribunals established during the Mexican-American War punished all offenders, Americans and Mexicans alike, and President Roosevelt's Order authorizing the military tribunal for the German saboteurs subjected "all persons who are subjects, citizens, or residents of any nation at war with the United States" (Proclamation No. 2561, 7 Fed. Reg. 5101, July 7, 1942).

For Fisher, who has written so extensively on presidential power and separation of powers, military tribunals represent an unwise and ill conceived concentration of authority in the executive because they permit the "President and his assistants to make law, handle prosecution and then render final judgments. Crimes relating to the law of war, come not from the legislative branch, enacted by statute, but from executive interpretations of international law" (p. 255).

In 2004, in cases addressing enemy combatants, the Supreme Court required that the persons who were captured abroad in connection with hostilities between the United States and the Taliban and held at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, were subject to the jurisdiction of our courts to hear their challenges to detention. Those decisions did not address whether President Bush's military tribunals that he empowered to determine guilt or innocence of the detainees and to provide penalties of imprisonment and death, are constitutional. The Supreme Court is now considering *Hamdan v. Rumsfeld*, a case that involves these very issues.

Military tribunals have played a consistent role in our constitutional and historic tradition, and their use has been supported by Congress and upheld by the United States Supreme Court. Such tribunals have been constitutionally recognized entities for meeting urgent governmental responsibilities relating to war even without Congress specifically declaring war. While Congress has authorized President Bush to use all necessary and appropriate force, it never specifically authorized the use of military tribunals as presented by the administration. It would have been far more advantageous for our system of government had Congress stepped up, reviewed, debated, and decided whether the standards and procedures put in place by the executive for military trials of enemy combatants were acceptable rather than having the courts do their work for them. As we continue to face threats from global terrorism, as well as demands for our government to respond in the interest of national security, more responsibility and authority will be placed in the president's arsenal as preeminent decision maker. It is essential that Congress, as the president's decision-making partner in the war on terrorism, perform its deliberative role in properly balancing national security interests with the individual liberties of citizens and non-citizens alike. Fisher concludes his study by stating that in time of war executive errors inflict the greatest damage and individual liberties are placed at maximum peril; therefore institutional checks are needed more, not less.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

LILLIAN GUERRA. *The Myth of José Martí: Conflicting Nationalisms in Early Twentieth Century Cuba*. (Envisioning Cuba.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 310. Cloth $59.95, paper $22.50.

How the Cuban intellectual, journalist, and revolutionary nationalist José Martí influenced Cuban society and history between 1890 and 1921 is the subject of Lillian Guerra's book. Using a rich collection of archival materials that includes most of Martí's written works and speeches, Cuban and U.S. government records, correspondence, and newspaper articles as well as the personal papers of some members of Cuba's popular classes (black and white veterans, middle-class women,

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teachers, and organized laborers), Guerra explores how many Cubans developed different and competing interpretations of Martí as heroic icon. They also used his concepts of *Cuba libre* and *Cubanidad* in order not only to win Cuba's independence from Spain but also to invent the independent republican state that Martí himself would have created if he had survived the War of 1895. The process began with Martí's own endeavors to mobilize and recruit Cubans to fight for Cuba's independence before 1895. But the invention and use of multiple Martí's really accelerated during and after the U.S. military occupation of the island. Guerra argues that it was only after Martí's death at the beginning of the 1895 War of Independence that he became to most Cubans the "touchstone for the expression and debate of Cuban national expressions until 1921."

The book begins by discussing Martí's ideas and strategies. His writings and speeches on such issues as race, class, modernity, and the dangers of U.S. imperialism were developed for specific constituencies of Cuban society in order to mobilize them for armed struggle. For example, when he addressed members of the black Cuban middle and working classes or audiences composed of black and white veterans of the Ten Years' War of 1868, he emphasized the notion of racial equality as a component part of his definition of *Cubanidad* or identity. As Martí sought financial assistance for the war from white Cuban elites living in Cuba and in the U.S., he underlined that it was their responsibility to help Cuba and Cubans attain the accouterments of European-based modernity. At the end of the nineteenth century, modernity sanctioned white supremacy and African or black biological and cultural inferiority. Guerra is quick to point out that while many Cuban elites believed in the biological inferiority of blacks, Martí had concluded that the lack of European culture among black Cubans stifled their socioeconomic advancement and therefore racial equality on the island. Cuban independence would afford whites the opportunity to direct blacks in becoming modern men and women, according to Martí. Racial cooperation therefore became a fundamental element in constructing a revolutionary movement to defeat Spain, as well as an imagined aspect of an independent Cuba. When he recruited working-class Cubans for the war against Spain, Martí told them that Cuban resources only belonged to Cubans and that force was permissible to reclaim and protect them. Because of the multiple ideologies Martí professed at this time, his constituencies developed multiple interpretations of their own historical roles, first to liberate the island from Spain and then to help craft, during and after the U.S. military occupation, *Cuba libre*.

The middle part of Guerra's study explores how Martí's multiple ideologies resonated among his constituencies and how they tried to apply them without him. They were used by the political and economic elites or the pro-imperialist nationalists, the black and white veterans of the three wars of independence or the revolutionary nationalists, and the white and black political, women's rights, and labor activists or the popular nationalists. The last used Martí's principles of "self-determination, racial and gender equality, socioeconomic access, and political justice through grass-roots movements and democracy." Revolutionary nationalists were informed by Martí's strong anticolonial sentiments toward Spain and the U.S. and accepted his hierarchical political model that would determine "how the Cuban state related to its people." The principles that the pro-imperialist nationalists appropriated from Martí were his paternalist approach to solving the racial question, his interest in promoting modernity, and his demand for Cuban solidarity. The latter became a prerequisite for defeating Spain, dealing with U.S. imperialism, and constructing a republican state. Pro-imperialist nationalists, however, reinterpreted these conceptions to mean "improving rather than demolishing the order of society basic to the Spanish colonial regime." Led by the first president of Cuba, Tómas Estrada Palma, pro-imperialist nationalists alienated and marginalized the other two nationalist groups by encouraging foreign investment and European immigration, and by adopting the socioeconomic and cultural norms of the U.S. with the hopes of remedying Cuba's problems.

These competing ideologies or visions of Cuba, Guerra argues, influenced all of the major political, social, cultural, and economic conflicts and processes experienced by the island until 1921. Estrada Palma's vision of government and society informed the position he took toward the veterans' movement and the general strike of 1902, and the use of state terror that led to the constitutional crisis of 1906. These crises were often created when the pro-imperialists as well as a handfull of complicitous black and white revolutionary nationalists decided that the popular segments of society had no right to challenge how those in power were governing the island. They demanded obedience and submission from their socioeconomic and cultural inferiors. The popular nationalists sought to employ Martí's vision of *Cuba libre* to empower themselves and gain access to resources that included a modern education, remuneration for liberating Cuba, a just wage, and political power. These dynamic patterns explain why the revolutionary nationalist government of José Miguel Gómez also employed state terror in 1912 against the popular nationalist Independent Color Party protest led by Evaristo Estenoz, a black veteran of the War of 1895 and a labor leader of the general strike of 1902. Interestingly, Guerra also argues that competing and multiple images of Martí's visions of Cuba were used by all three groups to enhance the very intrusive imperial role of the U.S. in Cuban affairs, a role that Martí had explicitedly warned his constituencies against. Both of the fraudulent elections of 1905 and 1916 prompted U.S. military interventions and occupations. Even Estenoz demanded that the U.S. government act as arbiter and make Miguel Gómez recognize his supporters' right to create a political party to

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challenge the power of both revolutionary and pro-imperialist nationalists.

Guerra's book takes an innovative approach to examining Martí's role and impact on this critical period of Cuban history. As a post-modern study it challenges and contributes to a historiography that until recently has been hagiographic in nature, emphasizing Martí's prescience about America's imperial role in the hemisphere, his anticolonial ideology, and his saintly stature in Cuban history. He has often being revered as the "mentor" of the Cuban republic. Yet some of Guerra's work also reflects this school of thought. To dismiss Martí's interpretation of black Cuban inferiority because it was cultural in nature and was common for an individual of his time suggests that there was somehow a qualitative difference between biological and cultural racialist thought. Both had their origins in belief in European superiority. In addition, proponents of both insisted that the only way their countries could achieve modernity was through the "whitening" of their societies by miscegenation, European immigration, or cultural amelioration. Having failed to achieve modernity by 1930, these strategies were abandoned by proponents of cultural racialist thought in Afro-Latin America, including Cuba, with a disingenuous myth that their societies had become racial democracies.

Nevertheless, Guerra's book is also aligned with recent scholarship, particularly that of Ada Ferrer, which explores Martí's participation in constructing certain elements of a Cuban identity or *Cubanidad*. She shares most of Ferrer's conclusions but succeeds in inserting Martí into the daily lives and imaginations of the Cuban masses, particularly the subalterns, who were seeking to mitigate their second-class status and to rescue Martí's vision of the Republic of Cuba. Graduate students and scholars of Cuba will find this an insightful study.

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LOUIS A. PÉREZ, JR. *To Die in Cuba: Suicide and Society*. (H. Eugene and Lillian Youngs Lehman Series.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 463. $39.95.

The ghost of Octavo Paz haunts Latin American studies. Whether inspired or appalled by Paz's *Labyrinth of Solitude* (1950) with its "definitive" readings of a Mexican national character obsessed with masks, betrayals, violent penetrations, and death, many Latin Americanists still can not resist the temptation to psychoanalyze the nation and its "people." Cultural historian Louis A. Pérez, Jr.'s wonderfully problematic book is a case in point. With Paz-like certitude, Pérez opens his study "of the circumstances under which Cubans from the colonial period to the present have embraced the efficacy of suicide as a plausible response to life" with the assertion that "suicide has loomed large in the Cuban imagination . . . [reaching] deeply into the narratives of nation, those deliberations that speak to the sense of nationality and embody the content of collective self-representation" (p. 5). For Paz, Mexicans laugh when faced with the certainty of death. For Pérez, Cubans kill themselves when faced with the uncertainties of life.

On the surface, both propositions seem preposterous. Paz's seminal text, however, is redeemed by his undeniable poetic gift and the constitutive power of his vision to shape the national character it purports to describe. Pérez's provocative history is saved (as credible historical analysis) by its careful caveats, wonderful insights, and exhaustive documentation. Indeed, the sheer volume and variety of examples Pérez provides—official reports, court records, medical studies, statistics, newspaper accounts, literary texts, poems, song lyrics—overwhelmed many of my initial reservations about his project. And if I remain suspicious of its grand claim to have discovered a "Cuban way of death" with deep historical roots in the conquest killing fields, I came away in awe of its insightful erudition and appreciative of its elegant prose.

For this reader, the book's many virtues lie in its carefully developed and convincingly argued chapters. Chapter one, for example, provides a compelling (if gruesome) social history of suicide among black slaves and Chinese coolies on nineteenth-century Cuban sugar plantations. Here Pérez contends that suicide under conditions of extreme oppression represented a form of subaltern agency, a "protest against injustice and affirmation of liberty [that] insinuated itself deeply into the narrative of a people, loaded with meanings of self-definition and self-determination, of individual valor and collective virtue" (p. 64). Chapter two explores the imagining of Cuba as a "community of shared sensibilities" (p. 66) by its insurgent "sons" and "daughters" (p. 68) during the long, bitter years of struggle against Spanish imperial control. For Pérez, the notion of self-sacrifice "as an act of exemplary purpose" (p. 84)—personified by the rash heroism of independence martyr José Martí and encouraged by "the collaboration of women, who were expected to bear the loss of their men with a resignation that was itself rendered as a condition of duty" (p. 94)—produced "a consensus of remarkable endurance" that made suicidal behavior "in defense of patria . . . a source of national pride and illustration of what it meant to be Cuban" (p. 129). Chapter three, essential to Pérez's argument for an elective affinity between Cuban culture and suicide, meticulously analyzes a wide array of statistical data in order to develop an historical profile of suicide in Cuba. In addition to establishing that Cubans committed (and commit) suicide in far greater numbers than their Latin American and European counterparts, we learn (among other things) that men killed themselves nearly twice as often as women; that women preferred suicide by poison or self-immolation while men favored guns, knives, and hanging; and that suicides mirrored the racial distribution of the general population (p. 138). Chapter four examines suicidal practices in the postindependence years as Cubans faced the disillusionments and dislocations of decolonization. Subjected to the vicissitudes of a dependent export economy and tor-

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mented by the unrequited expectations of modern consumer-driven identities, Cubans resorted to suicide in "staggering" numbers that reached as high as 26.6 per 100,000 in the depression years of 1928–1932 (p. 203). Figures like these lead Pérez to conclude that "suicide entered the realm of Cuban awareness as behavior that was at once culturally recognizable and socially acceptable" (p. 248). And indeed, he provides a dizzying array of cultural artifacts—including pages of cartoons—to support that conclusion. The fifth and final chapter returns to the theme of exemplary death in the service of *la patria*, this time in support of the 1959 Cuban Revolution. As happened after independence, market forces and political repression began to take their toll on the Cuban psyche as a "sense of exalted collective purpose" (p. 353) gave way to disillusionment, despair, and steadily increasing suicide rates, even among exiles like Reinaldo Arenas who "could not but draw upon the complex conventions embedded in *lo cubano*" (p. 375).

Because of the controversial nature of its engagement with *lo cubano* Pérez's book is likely to meet with mixed reviews. That likelihood should in no way discourage scholars and students from reading this thought-provoking, informative, and elegant study. It is—controversy and all—a brilliant cultural history of suicide in the Cuban national imaginary. Paz would have loved it!

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TERESITA MARTÍNEZ-VERGNE. *Nation and Citizen in the Dominican Republic, 1880–1916*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 235. Cloth $59.95, paper $24.95.

Richly documented by primary and secondary sources, this book by Teresita Martínez-Vergne also draws on her own research. Providing essential facts about the intricacies of the Dominican nation and its citizens, the text focuses on personalities and factors that contributed to shape modern Dominican society and culture at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. In her analysis, the author revitalizes the notion of citizenship by exploring the strengths and weaknesses of the country and its national consciousness.

The theoretical sophistication of Martínez-Vergne's book is a solid contribution to Dominican cultural, intellectual, and social history. With a lucid and engaging style, she brings to light a number of central and, perhaps, polemical themes, such as urban centers as the base of citizenship; race and its role in the formation of nationality; and subaltern urban populations of working-class men and women, who were excluded from the framework of civic development conceptualized by intellectual elites, but who forged their own notions of citizenship on a daily basis. Hence, in the development of a "cohesive Dominican nation," different segments of the population were continually evolving out of the dynamic interaction that was taking place among Latin American and Caribbean countries and cultures.

Differing from other scholars about when and how Dominican national identity developed, Martínez-Vergne argues that although geographical locations like the fertile, rich, agricultural Cibao region and the areas along the border with Haiti have been perceived by other scholars as the cradle of Dominicaness, for her the basis of the national character took shape in the city. Challenging and stimulating, this thesis is subject to debate.

The book provides rich details on the role of two urban centers in conceptualizing the nation's vision and the writing of its history. Martínez-Vergne makes clear the dichotomy between Santo Domingo, the capital and center of social and political power, and San Pedro de Macoris, a sugar-mill town that epitomized the forces of capitalism and modern agricultural development in the early twentieth century. Despite their differences, these two metropolitan places reflected the trends of modernity with its proliferation of businesses, new houses, high concentration of people, and high level of consumerism. They also symbolized models of "liberal nationhood" based on citizenship.

Central to the study is the role of the intelligentsia in designing the blueprint of nationhood. Arguing that "a generation of men actively shaped Dominican turn-of-the-century nationalism," Martínez-Vergne traces the ideologies and social aspirations of the architects of the national project. The author demonstrates that the civic-minded Dominican intelligentsia, drawing on theories and practices of secular education, private property, an open political process, and publications of newspapers and magazines, designed a national project modeled on the prevalent European ideology of progress, and aimed at educating citizens to assume their civic duties and to conform to the intellectuals' own brand of citizenship.

Depending largely on whether citizens could work together to arrive at effective solutions, intellectuals envisioned a vibrant national community that would share common political space and civic values. Capturing the allegiance and imagination of their followers, they framed nationalism as an integral part of the national character and also as a fence against the external interference of foreign countries in Dominican domestic affairs, especially the overwhelming economic and military presence of the United States.

In analyzing the evolution of two important notions—nation and citizen—the author backs up factual statements with thirty-four pages of endnotes. Systematically, Martínez-Vergne does a fine job of presenting the historical context in which the architects of the national project sought to create a national community. Nonetheless, some biographical facets, such as the role of women in the development of the national project, merit more space. Certainly, in chapter four, Martínez-Vergne examines the role of women "as participating by association" with the masterminds of the ideology of

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progress, but this engaging topic deserves further development.

Pointing out the "generic contradictions" that were inherent in the national project, Martínez-Vergne suggests that the intellectuals, among them Pedro Francisco Bonó, José Ramón López, Américo Lugo, Eugenio María de Hostos, and Francisco Henriquez y Carvajal had a common goal but not a common agenda of how to foster notions of citizenship. Some ideologists doubted the ability of some segments of the population to participate in initiating and establishing policies and practices that would support its interests. Others, believing that the creative energies of the inhabitants would overcome the obstacles to progress, favored reforms and promoted changes to extend citizenship to the majority of the population. Not surprisingly, the intellectuals' theoretical designs, fashioned on European models, clashed with Dominican realities of unequal development of state and society, class division, racial prejudice, illiteracy, and deficient economic growth. The lower class, the urban working class, the popular masses, and others were considered by some intellectuals as "incapable of contributing to the national project" because their socioeconomic status inhibited them from active participation.

This book is a refreshing, serious, scholarly work that makes a significant contribution to Dominican and, by extension, Caribbean and Latin American historiography. From now on, anyone interested in the region's civic development has at his or her disposal an excellent text for consultation.

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ALEJANDRO CAÑEQUE. *The King's Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico*. (New World in the Atlantic World.) New York: Routledge. 2004. Pp. xii, 403. Cloth $95.00, paper $35.00.

This book attempts to demolish the specter of the despotic viceroy that has long loomed over colonial Mexican history. Alejandro Cañeque begins by reminding readers that there was no "state" in the modern sense of that term in the long seventeenth century. Instead, there existed a "culture of authority" inscribed in relations between individuals and groups. Cañeque is interested in uncovering the "mechanisms of viceregal power" (pp. 7–11), the ways in which the viceroy sought to bolster his authority, which was always in question and never an immutable, pre-existing fact. Indeed, the idea of viceregal despotism comes down to us largely because of the attacks made on the office during its years of existence by those who competed for power, often successfully. Ultimately, Cañeque is arguing not merely that the figure of the viceroy was without as much power as we have been wont to believe, but rather that "we need to insist upon the historical alterity of Spanish colonialism in relation to eighteenth-century colonialism and, above all, the [colonialism] that came into existence after the Industrial Revolution" (p. 15).

In his first chapter, Cañeque studies the image of the viceroy in the social imagination, relying on such sources as the visual motifs embedded in the triumphal arches that were regularly constructed. In the next three chapters, he studies the competition that constantly existed between the branches of government and between the viceroy and the church. He demonstrates that the monarch's substitute had to convince the members of the *audiencia* or various *cabildos* to accept certain measures and could never simply order them to do so. "Political power was dispersed into an array of relatively autonomous centers, whose unity was maintained, more in a symbolic than in an effective way, by reference to a single 'head'" (p. 76). Indeed, the duty of the king was "not to destroy the autonomy of each of [the body's] members, but to . . . maintain harmony among [them]." As regards the church, the viceroy has long been known to have been in frequent competition with the archbishop, but Cañeque goes further and points out that our longstanding beliefs about the Inquisition as a tool of government are deeply wrong: "An institution that has generally been seen as an instrument of the dictates of the colonial state or the imperial monarchy more often made its presence felt in the lives and activities of the representatives of that same power of which it was supposed to be an instrument of repression" (p. 117). These power struggles between entities often played themselves out in public processions. Concerned that battles over protocol in the Mexican world have too often been dismissed as the laughable obsessions of would-be autocrats, Cañeque takes them very seriously, arguing that power was in fact constituted in the eyes of others in just such public performances.

In his fifth chapter, Cañeque studies the "economy of favor" that predominated in the era, in which patron-client ties were a part of the fabric of life and not, as is so often implied today, a sign of burgeoning corruption in the Hispanic world. Indeed, he argues that it was understood that the viceroy's having the ability to give out profitable offices underlay his network of support. Without that ability, he would not have leverage over the very men whom he had to have on his side if he was to govern at all effectively.

In his last two chapters, Cañeque changes gears rather dramatically and writes about the viceroy's relations with the indigenous. Here, he does not analyze "viceregal mechanisms" for attempting to maintain control but rather considers the ways in which the viceroy's office became almost trapped in an assumption of native innocence and "wretchedness"—at least in the case of rural indigenous. Indeed, in one remarkable case, the viceroy only expressed his regret that the Indians had been driven to it when a group of them killed their *alcalde mayor*. The only connecting link between this part of the book and the earlier sections is the author's interest in the "historical alterity" of seventeenth-century colonialism, of which he earlier gave his readers notice: in this book, nothing about the viceroy

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and his power shall be as we expect. In this particular example, the surprise is that the viceroy sides not with an official appointed by his government, but with the Indians he is generally assumed to have oppressed.

Aside from the disorienting disjuncture between sections mentioned above, Cañeque offers a very strong contribution to the literature. At first, I held to the notion that he was to some extent attacking a straw man. Scholars have, after all, known for some time that there was no monolithic center of power in colonial Mexico—or anywhere else, for that matter, in that era. As I read, however, the author continuously caught me as a reader in the act of making a particular assumption he was about to undermine, thus proving the need for such a book. I do think he might have recognized more directly the work of other historians who have made the type of analysis of the viceroyalty that he is engaged in making: those who study the complexities of the life of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, for example, or the relations of the indigenous with conflicting colonial powers. Herman Bennett's recent book, *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570–1640* (2003) is certainly embedded in the very same notions Cañeque articulates. Acknowledging the work of others would only have strengthened Cañeque's contribution, I believe, not rendered it superfluous.

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PETER GUARDINO. *The Time of Liberty: Popular Political Culture in Oaxaca, 1750–1850*. (Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 405. Cloth $84.95, paper $23.95.

Peter Guardino continues his exploration of popular political culture in late colonial and early Republican Mexico. In *Peasants, Politics, and the Formation of Mexico's National State: Guerrero, 1800–1857* (1996), he produced a pathbreaking study on Guerrero. Here he compares two distinct regions in the state of Oaxaca: the highlands of Villa Alta and the city of Oaxaca. Convinced that the decades following independence were a time of liberty for the popular classes, of growing freedom and equality, he sees it closing when the Liberals achieved power and imposed their modernizing programs. Guardino challenges historians who legitimize Liberal policies by representing the period as stagnant and still colonial, characterized by marginalized masses "untouched by political change" (p. 275). In response, Guardino has dedicated his thorough and tenacious skills as a researcher to reveal the "dramatic cultural transformation" (p. 1) of Mexican politics in the period between 1750 and 1850.

In contrast to the accessible, well-preserved archive of Villa Alta, sources for the city of Oaxaca are more problematic due to loss of archives and spotty newspaper collections. The comparison is difficult (words like "seems" and "probably" pop up frequently) but fruitful. Villa Alta is a highland area of mostly Zapotec communal villages where elders have historically exercised power through control of the cargo system. Describing the conflicts between the local justices of the peace and the newly appointed prefect, set on imposing "civilization" (pp. 238–239), Guardino gives us an inside view of change and continuity within the region, showing how the discourse of republicanism and "liberty" creeps into village litigation and protest entwined with that of "customs and traditions since time immemorial." Attentive to gender issues, his descriptions of women on the front lines of village protest combine with examples of the patriarchalism innate to the cargo system (pp. 60–62, 251).

The comparison also clarifies the different ways in which republicanism affected political culture in rural and urban areas. The creoles, mestizos, and Indians of the city of Oaxaca appropriated republican discourse and politics to further their different ends. The author provides a much-needed analysis of the "fierce" conflict between the first "political parties" in the city, the *vinagres* (the "vinegars," later federalists) and the *aceites* (the "oils," later Centralists), resulting in the bloody popular mobilization of the 1828 local elections. It includes engaging descriptions of actors such as the blind firebrand Angel Alvarez (p. 187), whose *vinagre* egalitarianism led him to support the voting rights of men of African ancestry and the *aceite* governor, José López de Ortigosa (pp. 191–192), who detested the customs and tradition of the indigenous peoples.

The author disagrees with a number of the interpretations of Brian R. Hamnett, who has written many articles on this period of Oaxacan history. Guardino questions Hamnett's conflation of the *vinagres* with the Oaxacan Liberals, demonstrating that the former did not oppose the church, nor did they favor the privatization of land holdings (pp. 216–220). He also disputes Hamnett's characterization of Benito Juárez García as an early anticlerical, pointing out that it is based on Juárez's short biography, *Apuntes para mis hijos* (1857), written after the fact. As governor, Juárez had an excellent relationship with church authorities in Oaxaca. Unfortunately, the treatment of the Juárez governorship is too brief. It ignores the real cause of the "fierce but often silent battle for political supremacy" (p. 218) between Governor Juárez and José Simón Arteaga. Overthrown by a Conservative rebellion in February 1847, Governor Arteaga was not reinstated when the Liberals regained power in October. In violation of the state constitution, the state legislature "accepted" his resignation and named Juárez in his place. In one of the darkest acts in the career of this defender of the law, Juárez accepted the governorship, an illegal move not lost on Arteaga. The reader is left wondering about popular political culture and mobilizations during the Juárez governorship. Was there any popular response to this manipulation? Although Guardino includes fertile comparisons with similar political issues in other states, he does not do the same with other regions of

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Oaxaca, not even the popular protests in Juchitán and Tehuantepec taking place at the same time.

Historians and graduate students will appreciate how the author constantly probes questions of historical research and historiography—although the endnotes, at five, six, or even seven (p. 32) to a paragraph, can be quite annoying. In the conclusion, Guardino critiques Eric Van Young's vision of peasants in *The Other Rebellion: Popular Violence and Ideology in Mexico, 1810–1816* (2001) as "inwardly oriented and communally driven" (p. 284) for perpetuating scholarly underestimation of Mexican popular classes. Using new ammunition from this excellent examination of Oaxaca as well as that provided by his earlier investigation of Guerrero, Guardino continues to shoot down the self-serving and legitimating tenets of liberal historiography in order to demonstrate that the period under study was much more of a "time of liberty" than previously recognized.

Francie Chassen-López
University of Kentucky [All reviewers of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

Iván Molina Jiménez. *La estela de la pluma: Cultura impresa e intelectuales en Centroamérica durante los siglos XIX y XX* . Heredia, C.R.: Editorial Universidad Nacional. 2004. Pp. 410.

Ivan Molina Jiménez is one of a handful of creative intellectual and cultural historians of Costa Rica who have energized, even transformed the art of writing history in the Central American isthmus during the past two decades. In this particular work, Molina Jiménez gathers an assortment of previously published articles and combines them to probe the intellectual and cultural richness of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Central America. In particular, he seeks to "explore the expansion of popular literacy, the diversification and growth of print culture, and the intellectual fervor produced by the writings of Máximo Soto Hall, Salomón de la Selva, Clemente Marroquín Rojas, Mario Sancho, Severo Martínez Peláez and Dana Gardner Munro" (pp. 14–15). The real weight of the book rests in the comparison of the intellectual trajectories and the simple fervor of reading in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. Honduras gets the short stick in this compilation, and Guatemala fares better in the author's analysis of the leading intellectuals who shaped the novels and histories of Central America. Nonetheless, Molina Jiménez's work offers crucial insights in the progression of literacy among the peoples of El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua.

Molina Jiménez guides the reader through a detailed analysis of the growth of literacy in both the city and countryside, among men and women. Nineteenth-century legislation in El Salvador made education of girls a parental option but required that their male counterparts attend school. Thus Salvadoran women in the twentieth century were more likely to be illiterate compared to their Nicaraguan and Costa Rican peers.

Absent for the most part in this comparative analysis is the former colonial powerhouse of Guatemala. The Central American character of the book is rescued by the author's cursory introduction into early nineteenth-century production in Guatemala, his intriguing look at the impact of the Guatemalan novelist, Soto Hall, and the Guatemalan journalist, Marroquín Rojas, in Costa Rica, and his provocative analysis of Severo Martínez Peláez's *La patria del criollo* (1979). Of particular interest is the last. Molina Jiménez demands accountability from scholars who have labored in the colonial and national periods but have paid scant heed to a work revered among Central American historians. Through sheer numbers of printings, *La patria del criollo* already shapes questions posed by both lay and professional readers. Failure to engage this tome should raise serious historiographical issues. Molina Jiménez somehow overlooked the academic debate between Martínez Peláez and Carlos Guzmán Böckler that raged in Guatemala during the revolutionary years and thus his pot shots at non-Guatemalans for too easily dismissing Martínez Peláez seem less convincing. What begins as an intriguing analysis ends tepidly with a salute to his publishing partner, Steven Palmer, for producing the "first work" in which an "Anglo Saxon investigator" dialogues with *La patria del criollo*.

Central American historians and social scientists will not walk away empty handed after reading this book. It offers captivating insights into the literacy movement among the diverse peoples of the isthmus and conveys the fervor of Central American intellectuals who understood and forged a history among powerful interest groups and left a trail of popular penned and printed material as evidence of their inspired lives.

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Virginia Q. Tilley. *Seeing Indians: A Study of Race, Nation, and Power in El Salvador*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 297. $22.95.

Virginia Q. Tilley's book accomplishes with wonderful skill exactly what it sets out to do: explore the imagery and ideas invested in "seeing Indians" in order to challenge the misconceptions of policy makers. El Salvador's population registered some twenty percent indigenous in the 1920s (p. 172), but the state insisted that Indians had vanished by the end of the twentieth century when it ratified the International Labor Organization's protections of indigenous rights (pp. 225, 217). Tilley addresses Indian nongovernmental organizations in El Salvador that are trying to counter this invisibility. Her interest dates back to her work in the transnational indigenous movement between 1988 and 1992, a time when international funders and even Native Americans in the United States questioned the authenticity of Salvadorans who claimed to be indigenous. Especially in comparison with their multilingual and distinctively at-

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tired Mayan neighbors, "the Nahua and Lenca are disadvantaged. They must now struggle to satisfy the skeptical gaze of transnational indigeneity even as they labor to attract the gaze of the mestizo nation" (p. 239).

In the main, the book is a cultural reading of mestizo distortions. Mexico and Peru were the rhetorical point of departure for "certain logics within the discourse of state builders" (p. xii). Tilley's historical narrative invents background scenery and unfolds as a counterpoint to the version of the tourist industry, which saw Maya where there were none. Atlacatl, the heroic Nahua warrior in national mestizo mythology, was the result of mistaking a town name for a person, one of many examples of "strategic "colonization" of history" (p. 84). This reader would have wished for closer attention to the imperial inequalities at play; for example, while noting the resentment felt toward Salvadoran leftists in U.S. university sinecures (p. 220), Tilley does not give a sense of the equally tense relations with North American academics. Class and gender also pose difficulties not fully unraveled. To take a closer look at class, the Maya cultural revitalization movement in Guatemala is offered as a model of successful indigenous organizing, although this sector is viewed in a different light by many who count themselves among the majority of Guatemalan Maya who fall below the poverty line. Constituting eighty-five percent of the indigenous population, they are more inclined toward the Guatemalan revolutionary project, which Tilley overlooks although it better fits the criteria of "what might qualify as the last major Indian uprising in American history" (p. 20), as she identifies the Salvadoran uprising of 1932 that was quickly crushed. Tilley also fails to mention those Maya allied with the Zapatista rebellion in Mexico, a curious oversight since their far-reaching struggle for indigenous dignity has struck a deep chord with "First Peoples" across Mexico and the Americas. Admittedly, armed struggle is not to the liking of Tilley's chosen audience of policy makers and funders. But theorizing race in the absence of class runs the risk of promoting a depoliticized or tamed indigeneity.

More persuasively, Tilley offers a fine discussion of "Indian" ways of speaking (p. 80) and nicely summarizes the continuity of indigenous institutions after their supposed abolition (p. 110). She stands on the shoulders of historians of El Salvador to chart a typology of indigenous rebellions. Her telling of "the Matanza myth of Indian disappearance" (p. 18) follows in the footsteps of the magisterial documentary *1932: Scars of Memory* (2002), the work of Carlos Henriquez Consalvi Santiago and Jeffrey L. Gould that records indigenous memories of the massacre of 1932, when a brief communist uprising was crushed with tens of thousands of murders.

After 1932, the indigenous community in El Salvador becomes difficult to track. Any reference to them effectively disappears from public debate and state records (p. 167), or so it seems. Tilley assesses the census record, characterizing it as a vehicle for elite invention of the mestizo nation. However, she also finds that the state was not so silent in its birth registers, where dramatic swings reflect the varied definitions of the bureaucrats who happened to be recording the ethnicity of infants. These local registers suggest much greater consistency in racial definitions across time. It is a pattern reminiscent of that found in Gould's analysis of forced mestizaje (*To Die in This Way: Nicaraguan Indians and the Myth of Mestizaje, 1880–1965* [1998]). Together with works in the vein of Guillermo Bonfil Batalla's *Mexico Profundo: Reclaiming a Civilization* (1996), which argues that the Mexican peasantry is often profoundly indigenous even where it has forgotten its ancestry, such analyses are carving out new and critically important understandings. Tilley's work in the birth registers, together with her schema of El Salvador's indigenous nongovernmental organizations, constitute the book's principal new findings.

Tilley dedicates her work to Segundo Montes, one of six Jesuits who, with their two housekeepers, were murdered by the army's Atlacatl batallion in 1989. While she says, "I leave indigenous voices to indigenous peoples" (pp. xii-xiii), the Jesuits did the opposite: they foregrounded the words and analyses of the people they studied. English-speaking readers are unlikely to hear the perspectives of Salvadoran Indians anytime soon; when these voices do enter the text, they are some of its most powerful (pp. 55–58). Tilley spent months interviewing, and I hope that her future work will draw closer to that wealth of material from the villages of indigenous El Salvador.

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SABINE HYLAND. *The Jesuit and the Incas: The Extraordinary Life of Padre Blas Valera, S.J.* (History, Languages, and Cultures of the Spanish and Portuguese Worlds.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 269. Cloth $30.00, paper $18.95.

This book by Sabine Hyland is a literary biography of the Peruvian Jesuit Blas Valera, the first book-length treatment of the man and his work. Valera was an unusual and controversial figure, guaranteeing that he would be noticed and mentioned by his confreres in the stream of Jesuit letters and reports that flowed from the Viceroyalty of Peru to Rome. These mentions allow more to be known about him than about most other authors who wrote about the Andes in the late sixteenth century. Valera was famously in Cádiz at the time it was sacked by the English in 1596 and died within the year. Garcilaso Inca de la Vega, Valera's contemporary, received some of Valera's papers, including parts of a longer work called the *Historia Occidentalis*, now lost. Garcilaso had a high opinion of Valera as a source and cited him numerous times. Garcilaso's work was widely read, first in Spain and later in the Andes, so Valera's name has been before the reading public since 1609, when the *Comentarios Reales* was first published.

In recent years documents have appeared in Italy that describe Valera's secret return to Peru after his sup-

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posed "death." First made known to scholars in 1996 in Lima, they include a contract for Valera to ghost write the *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* under the name of Felipe Guáman Poma de Ayala. These finds, called the "Naples documents," have occasioned bitter disputes. Guáman Poma is believed to be one of only a few indigenous Andean authors and the prospect of his unmasking cannot be taken lightly. Perhaps the pennings of various Jesuits engaged in some fanciful revisions of the Inca past in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the "Naples documents" are increasingly suspect. No amount of ink testing will make up for the absence of a serious publication program and scholarly access to the originals. An open-ended inquiry into what is known about Valera and the Naples documents is therefore welcome, and Hyland attempts to offer that. Her book presents Valera's life and work in eight chapters, sidelining the Naples documents until afterward so that readers may "judge the documents for themselves based on what is known about Valera from other independent sources" (p. 5).

The problem with Hyland's book is not what she writes about the Naples documents but with what she writes about Valera, who is known securely only through citations by Garcilaso of the *Historia Occidentalis*. A great deal of ink has been spent already on whether a second text, usually referred to as the work of the "Anonymous Jesuit" (*Relación de las costumbres antiguas de los naturales del Perú*) was authored by Valera. Hyland presents her case for Valera's authorship in chapter four, but only after using the *Relación* itself to fill in Valera's biography. A third work, a hand-size vocabulary (*Vocabulario de mano*), is also known through very brief mentions of its contents by another Jesuit, Giovanni Anello Oliva. Hyland compares all three works, always finding points of comparison between two but never among all three. The points of comparison are sometimes inconclusive: for example, the denial of human sacrifice in both the *Historia Occidentalis* and the *Relación* does not constitute proof that these accounts were authored by the same person. Similarities can be expected between works produced within the Jesuit community and at about the same time.

Hyland makes a positive case, without being convincing, that Valera wrote all three texts. There are serious problems with the attribution of the *Relación* to Valera. The Valera cited by Garcilaso is in accordance with a "short" Inca kinglist of eleven individuals: he refers to Manco Capac as the first Inca ruler and not the "Pirua Pacaric Manco Capac" mentioned in the *Relación* and the *Vocabulario*. These other texts refer to various rulers by the name Pachacuti, using a genealogical reference like Pachacuti, "the seventh of that name" or "the ninth of that name." The author (or authors) of these works had a knowledge of the "long" list of Inca rulers that first appeared in full in the *Memorias Historiales* of Fernando de Montesinos (1644). Valera may have had either the *Relación* or the *Vocabulario* in his possession in 1592, but if he did, he did not subscribe to the long kinglist, or, at least, he followed the short list. Montesinos wrote that he obtained the "long" list from another author, but without another shred of evidence Hyland assumes that he got it from Valera. Turning something that may well be the product of Jesuit imagination into deep Andean history was never easier.

Hyland's book brings to the fore issues that merit serious examination. Despite her firm attribution of various works to Valera, he can really only be known through Garcilaso's citations of the *Historia Occidentalis*, which is not very well at all.

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Paulina Numhauser. *Mujeres indias y señores de la coca: Potosí y Cuzco en el siglo XVI*. Madrid: Catedra. 2005. Pp. 407. €16.50.

When the population of the mining city of Potosí swelled with indigenous inhabitants in the mid-sixteenth century, baskets of coca leaves followed. Fueled by the silver in Potosí's economy, Cuzco coca crowded out inferior leaves from other regions and fetched handsome prices for growers and vendors. The nexus between Potosí's silver and Cuzco's coca serves as the point of departure for Paulina Numhauser's book about the indigenous women who marketed coca and the Spanish men who owned coca farms.

Both the Andes del Cuzco and Potosí were infamous in the colonial era as sites of oppression. Indigenous laborers forced into lower climes to grow coca often sickened and died. Those who mined silver at the behest of Spanish rulers inside Potosí's famed Cerro Rico likewise risked illness and death. Rather than focus on the indigenous population in the Andes as vanquished, a reference to the work of Nathan Wachtel, Numhauser concentrates on the initiative of indigenous peoples. She uses the coca trade to argue that scholarship overlooks indigenous political, economic, and cultural capital in this era. The book locates indigenous influence in the production of the leaves in the Andes del Cuzco region, the politics that governed said production, and the region-wide economic impact of the product. In particular, Numhauser claims that indigenous women became rich selling coca in Potosí.

To be sure, the era of indigenous profit is a limited moment; the book focuses exclusively on the mid-to-late sixteenth century. Numhauser details the period of growth in the coca trade that coexisted with the rise of silver and indigenous refining of silver. She contends that men and women who became wealthy through coca began to lose their status as the purchasing power of indigenous *Potosinos* fell in the late sixteenth century. This chronological emphasis confirms an impact on indigenous economy, due to shifts in mining operations and crown labor policies, in keeping with the work of scholars such as Carlos Sempat Assadourian, Peter J. Bakewell, Luis Miguel Glave Testino, and Brooke Larson.

In the final third of the monograph, Numhauser deals

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with the individuals of her title: the men who owned coca haciendas and the women who traded baskets of coca in Potosí's markets. Here the reader witnesses complex relationships between Spanish men, the *señores de coca*, who married indigenous lovers. Case studies from the region reveal a generation of mestizo children incorporated into the family business in coca. Although limited in numbers, the qualitative value of these examples is significant and stands in contrast to scholarship that emphasizes the curtailing of mestizo opportunities and division of such families. As for rich indigenous women, Numhauser details several women who accumulated capital as vendors of coca. These examples prove her contention that indigenous women in Potosí gained wealth from trade, a claim I have also made in recent work on Potosí. Caution with regard to the focus of her argumentation is in order. The number of women who became wealthy is surely limited, and the success of these few stands in great contrast to many who did not accumulate status even in this boom era.

Numhauser's discussions of *mujeres indias* and *señores de coca* are among the more lively sections of the book, but they are not predominant. The first two-thirds of the book deals less with social history of the coca trade and more with the politics of the Andean economy. The comparative element of this book is not Potosí and Cuzco as much mining versus coca, with regard to crown policy on production, taxation, and indigenous labor. In fact, one important contribution is a detailed discussion of coca policy and the challenge it presented to the crown as a "new" product, unlike mining, which had existed in Europe.

Two practical notes that will interest readers. Despite numerous references to locations in Upper Peru, and frequent shifts between discussion of Potosí and coca-growing regions, the book contains no maps. Additionally, lengthy quotations from sources may be of interest to specialists but will prove cumbersome for general readers.

This is the first book-length work to focus its gaze on the long-recognized coca traffic between Cuzco and Potosí. Numhauser contributes a detailed and well-researched history of coca regulations (e.g. growing, property, taxes) situated in the critical moment of Potosí's sixteenth-century growth. Her work improves our understanding of coca growers and vendors. Ultimately, however, the historical figures through which Numhauser attempts to organize her work share the focus of the book with mine owners, Jesuits, town council representatives, and royal advisors. While the book's treatment of the coca trail from Cuzco to Potosí introduces many figures and multiple themes, the historical landscape remains complex in this rendering.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

CAROL G. THOMAS. *Finding People in Early Greece*. (The Fordyce W. Mitchel Memorial Lecture Series.) Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 154. $34.95.

This book consists of Carol G. Thomas's 2002 Fordyce Mitchel Memorial Lectures (University of Missouri) on the history of preclassical Greece. The first part is a general, rather repetitive review of twentieth-century approaches to the study of history. This takes the form of a passionate plea for a return to "real history" focused on people and individuals in the past, influenced by the work of scholars like Eugene Genovese and Victor Hanson. Thomas criticizes what she sees as two unfruitful directions in historical scholarship that have created a crisis in the "human sciences" more widely: the postwar fashion for scientific and social scientific methodologies, and more recent postmodern scholarship. The second and third parts of the book consist of two case studies that seek, and claim to find, evidence for the lives of specific individuals from the preclassical Greek past: the hero Jason and the poet Hesiod.

In this short book Thomas, perhaps necessarily, does not engage in the depth of argument or scholarship essential to pursue the complex issues she has raised. However, she opens up significant questions well worth further exploration. "First, the primary goal of history," states Thomas, "is the recovery and recounting of the human story" (p. 128). History as the act of narrating the past and history as the "reality" of what happened in the past are two different things. The relationship between them is not straightforward. Our only direct connection to the past is the primary sources by which historians attempt to link their narratives of the past to "reality" through critical evaluation and interpretation. For a remote period like preclassical Greece, with difficult and fragmentary source material, this task is profoundly difficult.

At one level there are major questions about what we admit as "primary sources." A datable, contemporary artefact or inscription seems to offer a relatively unproblematic connection to the past, although we may not be able to situate such sources accurately in their original contexts. Much more difficult are texts that purport to tell us about a past that was remote to them. Unquestionably "grains of truth" may be embedded in myth and legend. As Thomas (p. 83) points out, Heinrich Schliemann did find the Bronze Age cities of Troy and Mycenae using Homer as his guidebook. But the scale of the historical information obtainable in this way, and the level of detail to which we can take such historical inquiry, are limited. While the *Iliad* might locate Mycenae, it does not reveal the face of Agamemnon, although Schliemann mistakenly thought that he saw it in the gold mask from one of the shaft graves. This is circumstantial evidence at best, from which we can only evoke a context.

Finding specific individuals is thus difficult. Classical antiquity plainly had different ideas about individuality,

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exclusivity, and authorship. Like Thomas, I do not believe that Hesiod is no more "than a persona assumed by a series of anonymous bards" (p. 110). On the other hand, I am not convinced we can understand Hesiod the individual directly from the poems associated with his name.

Two problems arise. One is that later classical tradition attached works to "big names" and poets of the archaic age were regular targets for this exercise. The second is the degree to which authorial voice reflects the individual. Practically no literature, ancient or modern, can be read "literally" as portraying the writer personally. In the case of archaic poets, where our understanding of the contexts of performance is so limited, it is unwise to believe that we can see "the real individual" directly in the poetry.

The greatest difficulty, however, is our sheer chronological and cultural distance from individuals in preclassical Greece. Compared to the texts and material culture directly associated with more recent historical figures, Hesiod and Jason have left us nothing we can attach specifically to them with certainty. This is an issue for using archaeological evidence. Many contemporary archaeologists are exploring the idea of agency: we find things because of specific actions people took in the past. The problem is that we do not generally know which particular individuals they were. For example, Greek sanctuaries accumulated thousands of votive offerings. Each represents an act of piety on the part of some past person or persons. The patterns we perceive should not be interpreted simply as a normative "social system." Rather, they are the aggregate of thousands of individual actions, each of which had its own particular motivation. To lump them together can misrepresent the evidence, but that does not mean we can identify individuals. What we can do, and what Thomas has accomplished, is to reconstruct historical and archaeological contexts—the past worlds in which so many unnamed individuals lived their lives.

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RACHEL ZELNICK-ABRAMOVITZ. *Not Wholly Free: The Concept of Manumission and the Status of Manumitted Slaves in the Ancient Greek World.* (Mnemosyne Supplementa, number 266.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. vi, 385. $160.00.

The great virtue of this book is that it assembles in one place, and for the first time in English, what has hitherto been a dispersed and fragmented body of scholarly literature on the freeing of slaves in the world of the ancient Greek city-states. Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz covers a wide range of topics, from the technical terminology of manumission and formal modes by which slaves were set free to the social profiles of manumittors and freedmen. Her main argument replays a view already canonized many years ago by Orlando Patterson in his classic *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (1982): that freed slaves were never fully free but rather existed in a penumbral world of unfreedom in which they remained socially, psychologically, and, in many cases, formally bound to their former masters.

The author's principal contention is that the study of core values that governed interpersonal relationships in Greek society, like *philia* or "friendship," shows that slaves were considered to be moral human agents who were regarded as capable of forming and maintaining viable social relations. She further contends that this milieu of personal social relations in which slaves were implicated is just as important to our understanding of the passage from slavery to freedom as is the colder fact that slaves were also treated as chattel or property. Although this emotive side of personal relations between slaves and their Greek masters deserves more consideration than it usually receives, one wonders if it really provides the key to understanding, for example, the restrictive clauses frequently found in manumission agreements? The more commonly asserted reason—that economic interest encouraged masters to extend their claims over their former slaves—still seems more convincing as an explanation.

Although she begins with this bigger problem, Zelnick-Abramovitz's focus soon shifts to a sorting of the minutiae of the surviving evidence. Since, on her own admission (p. 307), this evidence is frequently "scanty," "rare," "deficient," and "sparse," problems abound. The thinness of the evidence, acknowledged at first, seems to get lost from sight by the end of the book. Initial hypotheses that every freedman was required to register a *prostates* or patron, for example, or that freedmen were grouped with *xenoi* or "foreigners" in the status groups of a Greek city, later come to be facts (p. 338). But these assertions repose on evidence that is patchy and ambiguous. In fact, the data are frequently well short of being able to bridge the gap between hypothesis and demonstration. The author is consequently forced to rehearse a large number of existing theories—say, on the nature of sacral manumissions (the sale or dedication of a slave to a god in the course of granting freedom), where she reruns the hypotheses of William Westermann, Paul Koschaker, Kurt Latte, Franciszek Sokolowski, Karl-Dieter Albrecht, and Herbert Rädle, among others—without being able to advance beyond them.

Otherwise, Zelnick-Abramovitz limits herself to explicating matters of fact. Here there are some successes. Her claim that she has distinguished the significance of the *apeleutheros* (meaning a conditionally freed slave) from *exeleutheros* (one who is completely free) seems convincing. That the former term is sometimes used more widely for both kinds of freedmen is indeed something that supports her general argument. Since most slaves were conditionally manumitted, it is natural that people would use this same word to designate freedmen in general. In other words, *exeleutheroi* (as she defines them) were rather rare and exceptional—which is indeed what the data indicate. To take another instance, a good case is made that inscriptions at Athens recording the dedication of *phialai* or silver bowls by freedmen

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who won legal cases asserting their freedom reflect trials that were genuine and not legal fictions, as often claimed. Further, she shows that these lists are probably the collated records of legal proceedings that took place over the preceding month. I do not find it surprising (as she seems to) that there might have been between twenty and thirty such cases heard per annum.

Although the author manages to sort out historical problems like these, the nature of the day-to-day lives of Greek freedmen remains obscure and out of focus. To be fair, much of the shortfall can be blamed on the nature of the evidence. It is not without significance that the longest chapters in the book are devoted to technical details concerning the processes and procedures of manumission, and to the legal statuses of the freed, for which there is an abundance of surviving data, and that the shortest and thinnest chapter is on the subject of the postmanumission lives of former slaves.

It is perhaps unfair of a reviewer to ask of an author what he or she has not intended to do. But in this case it does seem a shame that, other than occasional references to Patterson, there is so little use made of the enormous literature on slavery in general and on freedpersons in particular. In this light, it is especially difficult to credit Zelnick-Abramowitz's claim that "only a few scholars treat slavery as a social institution and the slave as a human being" (p. 9). What few ancient comparanda are used, mainly those drawn from Roman slavery, are not handled that well. Contrary to some of her claims, for example, Roman law did envisage restrictive manumissions and Roman freedmen did contract or stipulate to labor and other requirements of them when they were manumitted (p. 337).

If the reader is seeking a one-volume survey that discusses the main traditional problems and most of the individual items of evidence connected with them, then this is a good and a reliable compendium. But there are surely some who would wish that Zelnick-Abramowitz had been a little more adventuresome in interpretation and scope.

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CHRISTOPHER A. FRILINGOS. *Spectacles of Empire: Monsters, Martyrs, and the Book of Revelation*. (Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. 184.

ANDREW BELL. *Spectacular Power in Greek and Roman Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. vi, 289.

It would be hard to find two books on the same topic—spectacle in the ancient Mediterranean—that differed more. Andrew Bell focuses on "the impress of presentations of power upon the senses, emotions and memories of all citizens, . . . including the complicitousness, of civic audiences in determining and sustaining the authority of political leadership" (p. 11). Bell's interest lies in the "normative habits" that guided how citizens viewed their leaders in city-states where there was competition among leading actors that precluded a monopoly of the attentions of their humbler fellow citizens; hence, his book focuses on democratic Athens and republican Rome, ending with the arrival of Caesarism (p. 15). This is pretty much when Christopher A. Frilingos's book begins; like Bell, Frilingos is interested in the political dimensions of spectacles, but his aim is to elucidate *The Book of Revelation*, the visions of John of Patmos. But, Frilingos contends, *Revelation* must be read not simply as a critique of the dominant imperial order. Rather, its imagery, themes, and rhetoric need to be understood as products of Roman culture that "shared with contemporaneous texts and institutions specific techniques for defining world and self" (p. 5). Hence, for Frilingos, ancient spectacles infiltrate *Revelation* in ways that defy making sharp divisions between Roman and Christian. While it is informative to read these books together, the focus and approach of each is so different that I will discuss them separately. In the end of this review, I will draw some conclusions about their contribution to our understanding of ancient spectacle.

Bell focuses on a series of key ancient figures and their impact on select Greek and Roman cities. This approach is apparent even in his arresting, opening discussion of the fall of Nicolae Ceausescu in 1989. Bell continues, in chapter one, "Looking at the Powerful," with a theoretical justification for his approach. He criticizes cognitivist approaches to spectacular rituals—pioneered by the anthropologist Clifford Geertz—for lacking historicity, and Foucauldian views of symbols and social power for being too monolithic, without leaving "the existence of any opportunities for individuals to claw out some subjective space for manoeuvre, innovation or rebellion" (p. 13). Although this methodological justification is too brief to satisfy fully, Bell nonetheless lucidly carves out his topic: "The splendidly vain personalities that are very much products of their time and place but also personalities determined to exploit a freedom to make the most of themselves." They did so, and in turn, "shaped the idioms of spectacular politics" (p. 14).

Chapter two, "Looking at Caesar," examines how Julius Caesar was an heir to a "long and richly various tradition of spectacular practice" that he used with tremendous skill to advance himself and his family. Caesar—like Pompey—had to mediate between the spectacular idioms of Hellenistic king and the "protocols of appearance demanded by all the elements of the idiosyncratic republican political system, of acting in a manner appropriate to both popular and elite audiences, as well as to their own sense of exceptional *dignitas*" (p. 46). What Bell foregrounds so effectively here is the power of the crowd, even in the late republic, to shape political discourse. Similarly, in chapter three, "The Affections of the Athenians," Bell explores these tensions in classical Athens; Alcibiades ran up against suspicions about non-egalitarian behavior as he aimed for political prominence. Of special import in breaking this mold

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and offering new modes of political discourse was the arrival in 307 B.C.E. of the Macedonian, Demetrius Poliorcetes, whom the Athenians hailed as *basileus* (pp. 99–100). Hellenistic spectacular power as manifested by kings from 300 B.C.E. on shaped political discourse in the Mediterranean, and Bell traces the changes as they were played out through parades and public ceremonies in Egypt and Syria. When the Romans encountered these spectacular idioms for power in the Hellenistic age, they adopted them for their own ends. In chapters four and five, Bell focuses on the symbolic and real use of exotic animals, notably the elephant, first in the Hellenistic period, and later by Romans in their triumphs. Chapter six, "Ciceronian Consensus," returns to the late republic, where Bell explores Cicero's attempts to maintain traditional *dignitas* in the face of these newer, Hellenistic models of spectacular power.

One of the important contributions of Bell's book is its emphasis on the role of the people who, even in the late republic, could not be ignored and had to be "flattered and persuaded" (p. 228). The increasing importance of money in putting on spectacle is well discussed, and its impact—decreased competition—decried (p. 237). But there is not an adequately sustained discussion of why Cicero's efforts at resisting newer spectacular models failed. A more systematic analysis of Caesar's "spectacular" failure could also have been included. Moreover, Bell's study alternates between the key political players and the ancient consumers of spectacular culture, the Greek and Roman citizens whose support was deemed critical. Although this dual focus is admirable, Bell does not always succeed in making the connections coherent nor in explaining why he chose certain figures.

Frilingos's book is, like Bell's, aimed at recreating the crowd's reactions to spectacles since, as he rightly posits, the rhetoric and reality of viewing early imperial spectacles shaped the language, imagery and themes in *Revelation*. It may seem strange to historians in the twenty-first century that Frilingos still has to make this argument; the notion that there was a sharp political and cultural division between Roman and Christian in the empire would seem to deny decades of modern scholarship that has emphasized what Christians and Romans shared in society and culture. Nonetheless, Frilingos is right that this realization has not fully seeped into scholarship on Christian texts; hence, his study represents a significant advance. What makes Frilingos's study so enjoyable is the breadth, sophistication, and clarity of his presentation as he uses insights drawn from recent scholarship on the classical world to elucidate selected passages in *Revelation*.

Chapter one, "Gods, Monsters and Martyrs," provides a theoretical framework for this study that shows Frilingos's debt to Michel Foucault and distance from postcolonial theory in focusing on the historical and literary. However, Frilingos too briefly alludes to the work of other scholars who have influenced him; for example, the import of Edward Said deserved a fuller explanation.

Chapter two, "Merely Players," is an overview of Roman spectacle that focuses on the viewing audience and the model of theatricality Frilingos will employ. Frilingos rightly notes "the manner in which Roman spectacles often folded reality into representation, eliding the line between the two" (p. 16), gave to ancient spectacle the power to elide the political and symbolic. Frilingos surveys two institutions that were sites for the "production of knowledge, determining even engendering, the difference between other and self" and where "exhibitions . . . provoked reflection on the instability of this subjectivity of the viewing self" (p. 16); the imperial cult in Asia Minor and public Roman spectacles—such as the gladiatorial combats, beast hunts, and public executions—pervaded urban life in Asia Minor which is the provenance of *Revelation*. These shows and cult acts demonstrated Rome's dominion. At the same time, they displayed and defined Roman notions of identity and, in particular, masculinity.

In chapter three, "A Vast Spectacle," Frilingos reads *Revelation* in the context of other texts concerned with the dangers of viewing in the Roman world, notably Phlegon's *Book of Marvels* and *ekphrases* (narrative descriptive passages) found especially in Greek romances. Such contemporary works allowed the Roman reader to "see" distant and exotic places and animals but required correct interpretation. Frilingos finds that the same was true of certain passages in *Revelation*. For example, the judgment of Babylon (Rev. 17:1–18:24) and its spectacular destruction is interpreted by multiple viewers, including those in Heaven (pp. 58–62). Babylon is, by all accounts, a monstrous perversion of Rome. But *Revelation* does not aim only to signify the destruction of Rome as a sign of divine displeasure; it also aims to establish its own authority (pp. 42, 59). Hence, the correct interpretation is one that owes its validity to John and his Christian perspective.

Chapter four, "Where the Lamb Goes," focuses on how the construction of gender and sexual identity in Roman society, as based on the well-known grid of "active" male penetrator and "passive" female penetrated, can elucidate certain passages in *Revelation* that challenge this grid. So, for example, the figure of the Slain Lamb requires a nuanced reading; it is viewed both as passive and hence feminine (Rev. 5:6), and at other times, as masculine insofar as it oversees the torture of others (Rev. 14:9–10). Such shifting imagery problematizes masculinity and destabilizes the gender grid in ways that, as Frilingos rightly points out, other non-Christian texts had done. In chapter five, "Wherever the Lamb Goes," Frilingos continues his analysis of sexual and political viewing by examining the use of the rhetorical female and feminine. He finds similarities in constructing the feminine when he compares Revelation to some roughly contemporary texts, notably the torture of Blandina in the *Martyrs of Lyons* and the martyrdoms in Maccabees 4. Frilingos concludes with a brief epilogue about the central importance of viewing martyrdom in constructing identity among early Christians.

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Frilingos's study is suggestive, and his approach is surely right. His book, however, seems but the beginning of a more sustained and thorough exploration of the ways in which *Revelation* addresses key issues in the Roman Empire. To do so would require a fuller discussion of *Revelation*; indeed, Frilingos's treatment of individual passages is at times, too abbreviated, nor does he adequately justify why he chose to discuss what he does. A broader study of *Revelation*, with more detailed textual and historical analysis as well as a wider exploration of its themes, remains to be undertaken. But Frilingos's book, brimming with possibilities, takes a significant step forward.

These two books underscore the ongoing, pervasive role of spectacle in the social, political, and cultural life of the ancient Mediterranean over some seven centuries. Bell's focus on the political dimension of spectacle cries out for more social and cultural analysis to help explain the shifting dynamics he so ably traces in the political realm. Bell's book is balanced in this regard by Frilingos's emphasis on the social, sexual, and cultural elements of ancient spectacle. Yet, Frilingos's political discussion is so opaque as to be almost impenetrable. It seems to this reviewer that ancient spectacles demand a perspective balanced between the political and the social. Very positive, however, are the ways in which both authors reflect contemporary theoretical concerns and hence focus on what has often been omitted: namely the audience, the crowd in the city-states that Bell discusses or the earthly and heavenly viewers that Frilingos includes. The result is to provide a more active, vivid, and concrete appreciation of the import of spectacle in the ancient Mediterranean that surpasses the merely descriptive, static discussions so often found in earlier scholarship on this topic.

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NICK WEBBER. *The Evolution of Norman Identity, 911–1154*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 195. $90.00.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, men from the North settled in northwestern Francia and turned into Normans, some of whom then infiltrated southern Italy and Sicily, conquered England, participated in the early stages of the *Reconquista* in Spain, and went off on crusade. Modern historians have often treated these movements as expressive of a distinct Norman identity; but did contemporaries see it that way? Ever since R. H. C. Davis published *The Normans and Their Myth* (1976), Norman identity—especially as it is expressed in histories of Normans by Normans or those living under their rule—has been a well-worked field. Nick Webber hopes to apply "the ideas that form the basis of modern identity writing" (p. 2) to the men who wrote about Normans in France, Italy, and England from the foundation of the duchy of Normandy to twelfth-century "Norman" Italy and England.

In Normandy, Webber concludes, in the early generations "the ruler . . . embodies the Norman identity" (p. 33); the Normans' "military prowess" and "piety" were also important (p. 38). Their tenth-century neighbors, however, emphasized Frankish defeats of Norman raiders, although by the eleventh century "the Normans are warriors worthy of respect" (p. 50). In southern Italy, "[t]here is . . . no sense, as there was in France, that the inhabitants of the areas under Norman control became Norman by default" (p. 70). The first two generations' writers evinced "the concept that exists throughout the Norman identity, both back in the duchy and in Italy . . . the idea that the Normans are a 'chosen' people, and that the lands they conquered were divinely ordained as theirs." After 1085, however, this did not "remain viable, given that the Normans of southern Italy were conquering little" (p. 71). By the mid-twelfth century, "the identity of the southern Italian Normans survived in a way that that of the Sicilian Normans did not" (p. 84). But in French, Greek, Lombard, and papal sources the Normans were "either great warriors or evil butchers; the choice was simply dependent upon whom they happened to be attacking this week" (p. 103).

For England, Webber considers pre-Conquest English views, which show "unsurprising negativity" (p. 122), and then turns to the writers on both sides of the Channel who tried to describe the very complicated post-Conquest interactions among Normans, other Frenchmen (with whom Normans were sometimes lumped and sometimes not), Englishmen, and even the Welsh and the Scots. Twelfth-century writers enable Webber to conclude that "if someone lived in England, was at home in England, and obeyed the king of England, then they are [sic] likely to have considered themselves English." Since, by the twelfth century, "the weight of historical material favours England . . . the *gens Normannorum* actually becomes very difficult both to isolate and to study" (p. 173).

If this study was worth doing, it was, unfortunately, worth doing better than it has been done here. Three types of problems stand out. First, the theories on which the analysis is allegedly based are not given the lengthy, systematic discussion necessary to make the case for their relevance and utility. As Webber remarks, "Identity is a very informative area of study, but without structured analytical and theoretical guidelines, one can conclude almost anything from a given source" (p. 9). Instead of providing these guidelines, however, a few pages briefly present various theories of identity (pp. 5–9); their conclusion seems to be that all theories can be used indiscriminately, as they then seem to be in the rest of the book. Second, the sources used are unimaginative: almost exclusively the same historians whom everyone talks about, because they are the only narrative sources we have. These works are few, and they are often idiosyncratic or not explicit enough to permit clear conclusions. Where they are relatively abundant—for England after 1066—"there is neither time nor space to provide full coverage" (p. 107). Yet potentially useful documents of practice are dismissed

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with a bare glance: "For reasons of convenience (i.e., the limits of time and space)," the only Norman charters used are "the Norman ducal charters" down to 1066 "and their Frankish royal counterparts" (p. 17). The book is not long enough—172 pages of actual text—to warrant these and other complaints about lack of space to do the job. The only post-Conquest English writs and charters consulted are those in the *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*; and, with the exception of one footnote on *rex anglie* and *rex anglorum* (p. 169 n. 187), they are used only to look at addresses to the king's men *franci et angli* and the like. No use at all seems to have been made of southern Italian or Sicilian charters. Place names below the level of the kingdom or province are hardly mentioned, and personal names are brought to bear only briefly with regard to Italy (pp. 82–83). Finally, the book is poorly written—indeed, the logic of various passages defies comprehension—and poorly produced.

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Abigail Wheatley. *The Idea of the Castle in Medieval England*. (York Medieval Press.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2004. Pp. 174. $70.00.

Medieval castles have most often been examined in the context of feudal power, military strategy, or medieval technology. Abigail Wheatley's new book takes a fresh perspective by asking what medieval contemporaries thought of when using the words *castel* or *castrum* or by representing a castle in literary and artistic works. Wheatley begins by surveying the history of scholarship on English medieval castles. Her first chapter examines the origins and early meanings of castle terminology, surveying such problematic words as *castel*, *castrum*, and *castellum*. Interestingly, she draws her examples not only from legal documents but also from biblical and literary texts. Her second chapter, "The Urban Castle," examines ties between the castle and the urban community, pointing out that castles were not always privately held but were often linked to urban and community fortifications. The third chapter, "The Spiritual Castle," begins by looking at fortified churches and cathedrals but expands this topic by examining the spiritual ideology of religion as a defense. Wheatley also traces the motif of the "Castle of Love" as expounded by authors like Robert Grosseteste and images in ivory carvings or manuscripts such as the Luttrell Psalter. Her final chapter, "The Imperial Castle," examines the foundation legends of castles such as Caernarfon and the Tower of London to discover myths of *romanitas* lurking within. She observes the use of banded stone in many of these walls as a way to underscore visibly the classical heritage of such fortifications.

Any study that is painted with a broad brush such as this one has the advantages of a larger perspective. The great merit of this book lies in its original attempt to call attention to the culturally constructed and varied associations of castles in the medieval English mind. This approach opens up castle studies in important ways and takes it beyond the confines of legal definitions and functional explications. The attention given here to literary texts and to the imaging of the castle is laudable. Yet the broad mandate of re-examining the idea of all English medieval castles lays this book open to some risks. Castle terminology is presented as relatively stable. Texts and images from the twelfth and fourteenth centuries are often juxtaposed. There is some attempt to trace developments across time and to identify local variations, but these efforts are of necessity limited. It is to be hoped that the broad questions raised here will stimulate careful and precise investigations in regional and comparative studies in the future.

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Christian D. Liddy. *War, Politics and Finance in Late Medieval English Towns: Bristol, York and the Crown, 1350–1400*. (Studies in History New Series.) London: Royal Historical Society. 2005. Pp. x, 264. $90.00.

The study of medieval British towns—their economies, social structures, and institutional developments—was recently crowned by the publication of *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, 600–1540*, edited by D. M. Palliser (2000). Relations between English towns and crown figure incidentally in that volume, mostly in the context of the granting of charters. The five substantive chapters of Christian D. Liddy's book place Bristol and York, the two largest and wealthiest provincial towns in fourteenth-century England, squarely in the context of royal policy and government between 1350 and 1400. The book approaches the two towns from the crown's standpoint rather than that of the mass of townsfolk. Liddy's method combines a prosopographical analysis of the merchant elites "directly involved in mediating these relations" (p. 217) between town and crown—158 men in Bristol and half that number in York (with no women among them)—as well as a detailed exploration of royal archives. The result is a closely argued assessment of Bristol's and York's provision of loans and ships for the king's wars and in defense of the realm; their reaction to the crown's tax demands, particularly between the renewal of the French war in 1369 and the Peasants' Revolt in 1381; their part in formulating and implementing the crown's commercial policies, including observations about their representatives' attitudes in parliament; and, finally, the significance of those charters of 1373 (for Bristol) and 1393 and 1396 (for York) which elevated the towns into counties with their own JPs. Indeed, the circumstances in which Bristol and York petitioned for these charters, and Edward III and Richard II granted them, suggest the theme of this book: namely, the forging of an intimate relationship between urban governance and the crown. The assertion that "civic officeholders . . . were as much royal officers as urban officials in the sense that they were expected to rule their towns on the king's behalf in matters of finance and law" is a valuable perspective,

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although Liddy's qualification that this does not apply to seignorial (let alone ecclesiastical) towns deserves more than a footnote (p. 14, n. 72).

Bristol and York are well chosen to explore the relationship between urban communities and the crown, but inevitably they (and London, which has already attracted attention) are only part of the story. Liddy occasionally hints at the experience of other towns: Dartmouth and Exeter, whose overseas trade and shipowning were akin to Bristol's, and Coventry, whose merchants had links with Bristol and London. York had somewhat different characteristics and a comparison with, for example, Lincoln or Norwich would have been apt. Liddy's conclusions are important steps toward a broader understanding of the town-crown relationship in the later Middle Ages, and of the king's relationship with his realm at large. The author stresses the mutuality of this relationship: the provision of loans and ships to the king was a tolerable burden for overseas merchants of Bristol and York for, as the commons asserted in 1385, "the protection of merchants" went hand in hand with "the defense of the realm" (p. 53). The customs service in both towns, the establishment there of staple ports for wool exports after 1353, and the use of merchants in diplomacy with the Low Countries and the Hanse emphasized this mutual interest and also fortified the merchant oligarchies in each town. Nevertheless, financial exploitation produced tensions which culminated in disturbances in York in 1380. "At stake were principles of consent, accountability and consultation" (p. 99), even an interest in "ideals of active citizenship based on the common good" (p. 96), although how far this spread across the social spectrum is unclear.

Liddy sees parliament, which met practically every year in these decades, as a forum for demonstrating this common interest. It is an intriguing scenario, though Liddy acknowledges that urban representatives played a modest role among commons and lords, and they did not form a single or stable interest group; moreover, the record of membership of the commons is incomplete and knowledge of discussions in the chamber elusive. But Liddy makes a convincing case for the growing prominence of Bristol's representatives after 1373: "far from conceding autonomy to the town, [the charter] actually bound Bristol's ruling elite more closely into the apparatus of royal government" (p. 155). The charters to Bristol and York were the most formal, public expression of the relationship between town and crown: they met the aspirations of the merchant elites and the crown's purposes. Liddy's careful examination of their background provides a model for investigations of similar grants to other towns later on. His faith in the "essentially co-operative nature of civic government in late medieval England," and in a royal connection that was "founded upon an underlying belief that government should be broadly collaborative and consensual" (p. 214), might seem misplaced in the cold light of urban politics and social relations, but these are not the prime concern of this highly informative book.

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MICHAEL LOWER. *The Barons' Crusade: A Call to Arms and Its Consequences*. (The Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 256. $49.95.

This is an impressive and thoughtful study of a relatively neglected phase in thirteenth-century crusade history: the preaching, planning, recruitment, and conduct of the so-called Barons' Crusade, which comprised a series of loosely coordinated French and English expeditions to the Latin East between 1239 and 1241. Perhaps the most interesting feature of Michael Lower's analysis is that only the final chapter (of nine) is devoted to the business end of the crusade in Syria and Palestine, while most of the book is devoted to detailed narrative explorations of the launching of the crusade by Pope Gregory IX, his attempted diversion of the crusade to help the ailing Latin Empire of Constantinople, and the local responses to the various papal initiatives in those parts of Latin Christendom that were most moved by them: Hungary, Champagne, western France, and England. Lower's principal aim is to challenge the common scholarly perception that the crusades were the expression par excellence of the ideal of Christian unity in action. To this end, the Barons' Crusade is a well-chosen case study, for it took place when papal authority and prestige are commonly supposed to have been reaching their medieval apogee. This was also the first crusade to be preached systematically by the mendicant orders, and it was the brainchild of an able, ambitious pontiff who expanded creatively on the work of his predecessors, most notably Innocent III. Lower's approach is accordingly what he terms "comparative local history" (p. 10), which enables him to draw out the many differences to be found in the responses to the crusade. His most effective diagnostic, and accordingly the most persuasive argument thread running through the book, is the extent to which the preaching and organization of the crusade affected various non-Christian populations. Here his conclusions are fascinating and challenging. In Hungary, for instance, papal concessions to King Bela IV in order to persuade him to join the crusade actually resulted in a relaxation of recent papal pressure on the kingdom's Jews, Muslims, and pagan Cumans. In Champagne, Count Thibaut IV played what Lower convincingly argues was a significant role in stage-managing the burning of 180 heretics in order to establish his penitential credentials before he left on crusade. In England, the crusade affected the Jews very little simply because they were closely controlled by the king, who did not take the cross himself. By offering a series of snapshots of Christian relations with non-Christians in various parts of the Latin world within a relatively short time frame of five or six years,

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the book makes some judicious points about the dangers of scholarly overgeneralization.

Although the various regional analyses cover some familiar ground, particularly the English experience as studied by Simon Lloyd and Christopher Tyerman, the juxtapositions are constantly illuminating. There are also many well-crafted and measured individual argument sequences: for example, on the language of Gregory IX's crusade bull *Rachel suum videns*; on Gregory's close attachment to John of Brienne, the Latin emperor in Constantinople; and on the dangers of assuming that dynastic crusade traditions and ties of lordship applied equally to all those who joined the crusade. The author is somewhat less convincing, however, when attacking the notion that those on the Barons' Crusade were giving expression to a shared and unifying sense of Christian identity. Lower states that our understanding of crusaders' ideas must usually be extrapolated from a close analysis of their actions. But this sensible observation is then taken too far methodologically through the setting up of a rigid correlation between thought and deed: thus, because different people in different places responded to the crusade appeal in different ways, it is argued, their shared Christian identity could not have been a factor informing their behavior. This is a valid hypothesis, and a timely one given the countervailing thrust of much recent research into crusaders' motivations and ideals, but its full exploration would require the sort of cultural-historical investigation into understandings of identity that the author seldom attempts (though some helpful remarks on the crusade lyrics attributed to Thibaut of Champagne point to what may be possible). Similarly, Lower is perhaps too hasty in his insistence that, because the crusaders showed a frequent disregard for papal instructions, they could not have been not motivated by any awareness of their shared Christian identity. This seems to foreground just one possible indicator to the exclusion of many others. These quibbles aside, however, this is a polished and well-crafted study, containing many thoughtful insights. It not only advances our understanding of this one crusade but also provides pointers for the comparative study of other crusading expeditions.

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Lawrence V. Mott. *Sea Power in the Medieval Mediterranean: The Catalan-Aragonese Fleet in the War of the Sicilian Vespers*. Foreword by James C. Bradford and Gene A. Smith. (New Perspectives on Maritime History and Nautical Archaeology.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2003. Pp. xi, 337. $59.95.

The last quarter of the thirteenth century witnessed a remarkable struggle for control of the western Mediterranean by two states with extensive agendas for empire building. Frenchman Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX and uncle of his successor, Philip III, plotted to seize control of Sicily and much of southern Italy. Beyond that, Charles obtained the title of King of Jerusalem and planned to attack the Byzantine Empire. He possessed extensive naval resources, was supported by France and the papacy, and appeared destined to become a major figure in the Mediterranean. However, the emerging state of Aragon-Catalonia under its new king, Pedro III, had recently completed the conquest of the Balearic Islands, received tribute from Tunis, and formed a marriage alliance with the Hohenstaufen family that had controlled southern Italy and Sicily. The result was a conflict, sometimes called the War of the Sicilian Vespers (derived from its most famous incident) waged from 1282 to 1295, outlasting the lives of the initial royal contenders. A stunning series of victories by the upstart Aragon-Catalonia created the opportunity for a large increase in Catalan influence on the great inland sea. Lawrence V. Mott's study seeks to explain exactly how this happened by dissecting the nature of the Catalan-Sicilian fleet and examining the significant role played by its great Calabrian admiral, Roger of Lauria.

Mott first introduces the sources he has exploited, both the chronicles (especially the contemporary Bernat Desclot and next-generation writer Ramón Muntaner) as well as the appropriate archival materials. The resultant work is institutional and fiscal as well as political in its approach, and articulates an effective thesis. It is Mott's fiscal and tax research that underpins, informs, and drives his case, and the documents have been employed in a creative manner. After discussion of the office of admiral as it evolved in the Muslim world, in Norman and Hohenstaufen Sicily, and in thirteenth-century Castile, the author examines the use made of this office by Charles of Anjou and Pedro III, respectively. Both drew initially on the model established by Frederick II in Sicily, and prior historians have assumed that neither leader added significantly to the powers of the admiralty. While Pedro began with the Sicilian model, after his death in 1285 Alfonso III enhanced the admiral's economic power substantially, giving Admiral Roger complete control of collecting the taxes assigned to support the fleet, along with import-export levies for the Mediterranean ports, and the control of arsenals. Roger retained these powers between 1287 and 1295, drawing on them to construct the biggest empire in the western Mediterranean. A good intelligence system and total control of naval planning permitted Roger to time his strikes alternatively against different segments of the Angevin fleets, so that Charles's large numerical naval resources could never be mustered against the Catalan-Sicilian fleets at one time and place. The result was an exceptional string of victories that thoroughly cowed the Angevin navy and kept it in port at Marseilles and Naples.

The actual fleet constructed by Roger was itself a masterpiece, a combination of Sicilian sailors along with skilled Catalan crossbowmen and Aragonese mercenaries, known as the *almugavars*. The design of his ships gave these warriors an edge in ship-to-ship combat that puts one in mind of Roman tactics in similar waters against the Carthaginians in the First Punic War.

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With the Angevin fleet constrained in port, Roger modified his naval forces to pursue a program of raids and land conquest, using his forces like marines. These forces included light and heavy cavalry and utilized ships with large ramps aft to disgorge themselves onto the beachheads. Using such tactics, Roger established the fortress of Jerba in Tunisia, captured several castles in Calabria, and seized territory on the Adriatic coast. Thus, the Catalan-Sicilian fleet could interdict the trade of Genoa and Venice. When Aragon was temporarily required to give up Sicily in 1295 due to the changing political and diplomatic situation, the powerful combined fleet of Catalan and Sicilian forces was dissolved, and Roger was deprived of his fiscal and administrative independence. The great age was over.

Mott's thesis is persuasive and well documented. It offers real insight into the foundation of Aragonese dominance while displaying Roger of Lauria's remarkable skill in achieving a naval force unparalleled until the sixteenth century. While the author's organizational structure leads to a certain amount of repetition, good diagrams, maps, and graphs provide much clarification. Readers will also welcome the ample notes and extensive bibliography.

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BRIAN PATRICK MCGUIRE. *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 441. Cloth $85.00, paper $30.00.

The past forty years have seen a renewed interest in the life and thought of Jean Gerson (1363–1429). This renewal of scholarly interest has resulted not only in new discoveries and editions of his works but also in a series of monographs related to specific aspects of his life and thought: ecclesiology, spirituality, spiritual direction, reform ideology, political theory, and speculative, pastoral, and mystical theology. What remained a desideratum was a new and comprehensive biography that would incorporate all the above aspects into a relatively coherent whole. In the case of Gerson, there has been no such biography since that of James L. Connolly, published in 1928. The present work by Brian Patrick McGuire attempts to produce an updated biography and does so very successfully.

In a preface that enunciates his goals and methodology, McGuire makes clear that his intent is to produce an essentially "life and times" work based on a close reading of Gerson's works, following in the tradition of R. W. Southern's first biographical work on Anselm of Canterbury and Peter Brown's life of Augustine. Accordingly in his treatment of Gerson's life, he shies away from a primarily thematic approach and also strives to avoid scholarly polemics. He accomplishes all this in a series of ten chapters divided chronologically according to the major periods and transitions in Gerson's life. The eleventh and last chapter deals with the legacy of Gerson. Each chapter is provided with copious and informative footnotes. The book also contains a detailed chronology of the major events in Gerson's life together with the writings associated with these events. Finally, there is an excellent bibliography of both primary and secondary sources.

McGuire's biography covers reasonably well the entire scope and diversity of Gerson's interests in and involvement with the major institutions of his day, namely the University of Paris, the church, and the French crown, especially as to their interaction with one another in attempts to resolve the many problems presented by the Great Western Schism. McGuire also gives considerable attention to Gerson's extensive pastoral interests in terms of clerical education, preaching, confessional techniques, spiritual direction (especially of women), and the moral formation of the young. In treating all these aspects of Gerson's life and thought, McGuire's primary goal is to enter more deeply into the interior dimensions of his life, especially in terms of the personal tensions, conflicts, and crises that his involvement with institutions and persons generated.

Although there were many aspects of Gerson's life and thought wherein such internal tensions, conflicts, and crises arose, limitations of space in this review permit the mention of only two. The first relates to the nature of theological education at the University of Paris. Early in his tenure as chancellor of the University of Paris, Gerson became greatly concerned about the overemphasis upon speculative theology and the consequent neglect of moral and mystical theology. Reflecting a common late medieval concern, Gerson deplored the predominance of the intellectual aspects of theological training over the moral and affective dimensions. For Gerson, theology was not only a body of knowledge to be mastered but also something to be experienced and lived. Gerson's doubts about the direction of theological education at Paris and its pastoral consequences were so serious that they resulted in a self-imposed exile in Bruges that lasted over fifteen months. During this period he collected his thoughts on this subject and drew up extensive proposals for the reformation of theological education at Paris.

Another major area of personal tension and conflict in Gerson's life relates to the issue of affective personal relationships, especially as they pertained to men, women, and the young. In this area McGuire concentrates heavily on the issue of friendship, both natural and spiritual, and Gerson's at times cautious attitude toward both. While McGuire generally avoids the pitfalls of psychohistory in dealing with Gerson's views on the affective dimension of personal relationships, he does at times make assertions that transcend the textual evidence. In fairness to him, however, it should be noted that he frequently qualifies his assertions as probable and conjectural. By the time of his last chapter, McGuire arrives at an essentially positive judgment of Gerson on the whole matter of personal relationships and even seems to have undergone something of a scholarly conversion when he complains about "the

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tired contemporary questions about sexual identities of people in the past" (p. 352).

McGuire's biography of Gerson represents the culmination of over twenty years of research and publications on various aspects of late medieval spirituality, especially as they relate to the realm of monasticism and more recently to Gerson and his world. I hope that the quality and comprehensiveness of this biography will serve to make known to a broader audience this most fascinating personality, whose life serves as a microcosm of the ideas and movements that characterized the religious and intellectual world of northern Europe in the late Middle Ages.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

Martin Mulsow and Jan Rohls. *Socinianism and Arminianism: Antitrinitarianism, Calvinists and Cultural Exchange in Seventeenth-Century Europe*. (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, number 134.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. ix, 306. $134.00.

In an age of international cultural exchange, the story of the Socinian antitrinitarian sect in the seventeenth century is especially timely. Emerging in the 1560s from a combination of Erasmian humanism, Anabaptism, and Protestant evangelical rationalism, the sect flourished in Poland in the early seventeenth century under the leadership of Italian refugee Faustus Socinus (1539–1604). The victory of the Catholic Counter Reformation led to its expulsion from Poland in 1660, and Socinian refugees went especially to the Netherlands, home of religious pluralism, from where their ideas filtered into England. Condemnations for heresy by Dutch authorities did not prevent the Socinians from influencing a number of Protestant groups in the Netherlands, including the Remonstrants and the Collegiants. Socinian influence in England touched a number of intellectuals. Known for their biblicism and their steady output of Latin theological treatises, the Socinians and their works were popular in radical religious circles and earned notice from thinkers such as Isaac Newton and Lady Anne Conway, as Sarah Hutton and Stephen David Snobelen remind us.

This volume contains contributions to the Symposium "Socinianism and Cultural Exchange" held at the Ludwig-Maximilian University of Munich on July 12–13, 2003. The essays concern the relationships of antitrinitarianism to liberal currents in Reformed Protestantism such as the Dutch Remonstrants, the French Huguenots, and English Latitudinarians. They cover a wide field with admirable attention to nuance and detail as well as historical perspective. The essays are artfully arranged by the editors around two long bookend pieces, beginning with Jan Rohls's heavily theological introduction to the history of Dutch Arminianism and its relationships to Socinianism before and during the Synod of Dordrecht and ending with Snobelen's study of Socinian influences on the work of Newton. The heart of the volume includes several essays on Arminian and Socinian ideas in the work of Dutch thinkers such as Hugo Grotius and Philippus van Limborch.

Florian Muhlegger writes of Grotius's defense of the Dutch Remonstrants against the charge of Socinianism with his appeal for religious toleration and his insistence on pluralization concerning the doctrine of predestination. Grotius argued that the true Dutch position on predestination was an Erasmian one and that the stricter doctrine came into the Dutch church later and from the outside. Grotius pointed out that pluralization was essential to Christianity, and his reduction of religious doctrine to ethical concerns made him a forerunner of the Enlightenment critique of dogma. Hans Blom examines Grotius's published reactions to charges of advancing Socinianism made against him and the States of Holland. With his discussion of the doctrine of atonement, Grotius steered clear of sticky topics such as free will and hoped to re-establish his orthodoxy and credibility as a political leader, but enemies saw his defense as a disguised attempt to advance the political cause of Holland and the religious acceptance of Socinianism in the Dutch Republic. Dietrich Klein outlines Grotius's position on Islam in a learned essay that also traces prior Western European reactions to the Moslem religion and world.

Roberto Bordoli points to the Socinian presence in the Netherlands and their participation in the philosophical and religious disputes of the seventeenth century with his paper on the reaction to Cartesian thought of the German Socinian Ludwig Wolzogen (1600–1661), whose comments echoed objections made by Pierre Gassendi and Henricus Regius. Luisa Simonutti notes the similarities between the thought of the Socinians and the Dutch Arminians on such points as the doctrines necessary for salvation, the rational free will, and religious toleration by looking at the thought of Arminians van Limborch and Simon Episcopius and the Socinian Samuel Przypkowski. Didier Kahn explores the relationships of theology and alchemy in the works of Protestant polemicist and alchemist Nicolas Barnaud (1539–1604?). Hutton looks at the views on the Trinity of Henry More and Lady Anne Conway (1630–1679), including Conway's interest in Socinianism as expressed in her knowledge of the work of Christoph Crell and Christoph Sand. Douglas Hedley writes about the controversy over the Trinity that took place in England during the 1690s, as well as about the influence of the dispute on the thought of George Berkeley. Snobelen carefully lays out the case for Socinian influence on Newton's antitrinitarian theology, especially the role of Samuel Crell, while also considering the possible impact on Newton of English Unitarians and ancient Arianism. Snobelen makes a forceful case for the possibility that the man that he calls possibly the most important figure in the entire history of science may well have represented one of the most powerful intellectual forces in late Socinianism.

Martin Mulsow establishes the volume's internal co-

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herence and addresses the issue of cultural exchange by pointing out in his fine paper how so-called "new Socinians" of the late seventeenth-century diaspora acted as mediators between cultures when they left Poland for such locations as the Netherlands and England. When these thinkers became followers of René Descartes, John Locke, or Baruch Spinoza, they mixed their religious thought with elements of the new intellectual atmospheres where they traveled to produce complex views that were the result of cultural exchanges and transfers. Whether it be the thought of Noel Aubert de Verse with regard to Islam or the interactions of Samuel Crell in England, these "new Socinians" were part of an international movement, and their work has to be studied in that context rather than within the contexts of given nation-state cultures. Mulsow, Snobelen, and the other scholars represented in this volume show with great clarity what a sophisticated and rich intellectual tradition Socinianism represented with its theological and biblical scholarship in Poland and the lands of the diaspora. All of the contributors, as well as the organizers of the symposium, are to be congratulated for the attention they have given to this dynamic intellectual branch of the Radical Reformation that, with its rationalistic biblical critique, religious tolerance, and emphasis on ethics in the place of religious doctrine, stood on the cusp of modernity. The essays in this volume are of uniformly high quality and represent the best of modern scholarship. They are a fitting tribute to the rich intellectual and religious tradition that they chronicle.

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ADAM S. FERZIGER. *Exclusion and Hierarchy: Orthodoxy, Nonobservance, and the Emergence of Modern Jewish Identity*. (Jewish Culture and Contexts.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. x, 303. $55.00.

This very nuanced and informed study charts Orthodox responses to concrete cases of nonobservance and deviant behavior in nineteenth-century Central Europe and thereby traces the emergence of modern Orthodoxy. Adam S. Ferziger aptly reviews the debates about deviance during the early modern period, when, for example, Hakham Zevi Hirsch Ashkenazi dealt with some Jews' perpetual nonobservance that fell under the talmudic characterization of being a "Gentile in all ways" (p. 30). The rabbinic scion believed that the Sephardic community was either unwilling or no longer able to discipline its members, and, therefore, called for the creation of alternative types of associations based on common religious values and practices (p. 36). This case might seem to precede nineteenth-century exclusionary views, but Ferziger's study is particularly good in revealing the varied responses to nonpracticing Jews that Orthodox rabbis adopted to maintain their communities' identities and to establish visible boundaries between observant and nonobservant Jews.

During the nineteenth century, most of the cases that rabbinic leaders scrutinized concerned deviant behavior rather than beliefs, whereas the eighteenth-century defenders of tradition responded more directly to the dangers of ideas. Ezekiel Landau of Prague, for example, argued for the separation from nonobservant Jews: "Do not mix with the strange, for disaster comes from them suddenly" (p. 49). Landau drew the boundaries concerning followers of Shabbetai Zevi and the proponents of the Haskalah not at practice but at theological beliefs (p. 50). Like Landau, Jacob Emden, too, was mindful of the potential danger of modern philosophy in providing justification for abandoning traditional Jewish practices (p. 56).

With the rapid decline of observant practice during the nineteenth century, Orthodoxy asserted itself and its boundaries in new ways. In his work, Ferziger discusses Hatam Sofer, who, despite his reputation, was, at times, more accommodating, even though he came to favor separation from nonobservant Jews (pp. 74–77). Orthodox rabbis had to face up to the reality that their followers represented a minority. During the 1840s, rabbis investigated cases of fathers in Frankfurt who wanted to register their sons without circumcising them, as well as an eclectic mix of observance and neglect by those who "offer[ed] Sabbath prayers and sanctif[ied] the day and then violate[d] the Sabbath regarding both biblical and rabbinical prohibitions" (p. 99). In response to ever more complex situations, rabbinical authorities favored exclusionary politics to safeguard the identity of their followers. Local considerations, however, might have trumped rabbinic principles. Solomon Eger, for example, agreed with the more exclusionary view, but was fearful that supporting this position would compromise his ability to maintain the traditional nature of his community in Altona (p. 95).

What is most striking about Ferziger's discussion is that the hierarchical vision of Jewish identity and the structure of modern Jewish society were often coupled with an ideal of preserving unity. On principle, separate burial grounds seemed desirable, but the realization of this wish within communities became attenuated, as it would remove Orthodox members from ancestral and venerated graves (p. 106). Reluctance to part with the past prevented many Orthodox Jews from following Samson Raphael Hirsch into the seperationist community in Frankfurt. Hirsch, too, believed that a follower of the Reform was like an "infant taken captive" (p. 118) and, therefore, not entirely responsible for his deviance. Hirsch maintained a more inclusionary attitude toward individual sinners and only shunned collaboration with institutions representative of nonobservance (p. 125).

The fierce debate about the maintenance of boundaries highlighted a level of flexibility. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Orthodox Jews increasingly saw themselves as members of a diverse community and distanced themselves from the view that nonobservant Jews were deviant outcasts. In Berlin, for example, the Adass Jisraoel favored a new model of separation and cooperation, when the founders deliberately presented

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their division in less antagonistic terms to the main community (p. 153). Esriel Hildesheimer in particular showed his willingness to collaborate with less observant Jews, a topic Ferziger could have elaborated upon more extensively.

Ferziger approaches the status of nonobservant Jews from the perspective of the Orthodox rabbis. He is mindful of their changing identity, numerical strength, and power within the community but does not delve into the differences among those outside the Orthodox setting. In particular, the attempt amongst religious reformers to legitimize their innovations within the realm of Jewish law and canonical traditions distinguishes them from adherents to the Jewish enlightenment. Likewise, Ferziger is interested in describing how halakhic debates shaped community politics, but he is less overtly concerned with the overlapping culture that nonobservant and observant Jews shared, notwithstanding their differences. Finally, the modernizing tendencies within Orthodoxy only occasionally intrude upon his narrative. This, however, does not detract from an otherwise important contribution to the history of the modern Jewish experience.

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Bernhard Rieger. *Technology and the Culture of Modernity in Britain and Germany, 1890–1945*. (New Studies in European History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 319. $90.00.

The nineteenth century's belief in progress received a crippling blow in World War I. Cultural despair emerged before 1914, but war turned the preoccupation of intellectuals into a tidal wave of pessimism and angst that became a hallmark of twentieth-century Europe. Technology, however, remained exempt from this intellectual sea change. Technological optimism and faith in engineering survived alongside antidemocratic tendencies, cultural pessimism, and fears of decline, forming a witch's brew of positive and negative energies manifest in the protean character of Europe's twentieth century. Trust in technology and the Enlightenment's geometric engineering spirit abated somewhat after 1945, especially during the 1970s and 1980s.

The theme of Bernhard Rieger's intriguing study is the incongruity of cultural pessimism and technological enthusiasm in Britain and Germany from 1890 to 1945. Logically, he contends, the late nineteenth-century critique of modernity should have included the type of anti-technology movements that only came into being after 1945. Technological innovation, after all, was the underlying cause of most fears about modernity. Why did technology escape criticism and remain the idol of European civilization? That is the historical question Rieger poses, and he answers it by examining public discourse concerning technology in the British and German popular press from the 1890s to the 1940s. Specifically, he analyzes the comments of writers who had a limited grasp of technology and engineering themselves but played a crucial role in shaping the reception of three new technologies—ocean liners, air travel, and film—among an even less informed public.

The author argues that modern technology in general, and his examples in particular, represented esoteric knowledge that neither public commentators nor their audiences fully understood. As a consequence, new technological "artifacts" acquired the aura of "modern wonders." Mysterious by definition, wonders generated not just excitement and optimism but also ambivalence and insecurity. Anxiety was amplified by spectacular calamities such as befell the *Titanic* in 1912 and the *Hindenburg* in 1937. But fear of new technology never became dominant before 1945. The public in both countries continued to enthuse about new technological marvels and thus "foster[ed] a cultural climate conducive to innovation" (p. 5). Why was this so? Historians of technology typically assume that public support for technology could be taken for granted in Western society since the Enlightenment and requires no explanation. Rieger considers this is a "blind spot" (p. 5). In truth, he argues, such support rested on three more or less contingent conditions.

The first was a "cacophonous chorus" of public debate, which by its very preoccupation with the pros and cons of modern technology produced a "basic social consensus" about its importance (p. 15). Technological fears were diverted into recognition of the need to tolerate considerable risk as the price of progress, which in turn deflected criticism of technological change as such. A second factor was the prevalence of "powerful social fantasies" centered on modern technology. Aircraft were associated with pilots' heroism and transcendence of mortal danger; ocean liners with glamor, luxury, and comfort; and film with idealized gender relations and escapism in general. Third, the public in both countries believed that new technology was the key to national strength: maintaining the international status quo in Britain's case and challenging it in Germany's.

The body of the work explores these ideas in detail. A chapter on "Modern Wonders" is followed by one on "Accidents," which discusses the hazards of ocean and air travel and development of the concept of a "risk society." A chapter on film argues that the medium escaped anti-technology criticism because it was never classified as technology but as a new and dangerous form of popular culture instead. Subsequent chapters describe the fascination with airplanes, pilots, airships, and passenger liners (consistently mislabeled as "boats"); the rise of amateur film as a wholesome form of individual self-expression; and technological enthusiasm inspired by nationalistic and military considerations.

Rieger succeeds admirably in demonstrating that attitudes toward technology in Britain and Germany had a great deal of affinity, revealing important transnational commonalities and shared cultural patterns. There were contrasts as well, but he shows that these had more to do with the peculiarities of national po-

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litical cultures and ambitions than with fundamentally different approaches to technological modernity. The author is not nearly as persuasive in other respects. His assertions that technological change was "contingent . . . upon the consent . . . of technical laypersons" and that his study "explain[s] how public debate created cultural environments conducive to technological innovation" remain unexamined postulates (pp. 5, 18). Perhaps more problematical yet is the book's very premise, that faith in the redemptive powers of technology in the first half of the twentieth century was a product of the uninformed comments by laypeople in the popular media rather than of deeply embedded institutions and mental structures concerning the purposes of science and knowledge since the Enlightenment. It is precisely this idea, however, that accounts for the author's convoluted and ultimately implausible argument. He appears vastly to underestimate the depth of Western society's commitment to instrumental rationality and technology both before and after World War II.

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EDWARD VALLANCE. *Revolutionary England and the National Covenant: State Oaths, Protestantism, and the Political Nation, 1553–1682*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 263. $95.00.

This is an important, highly engaging, but far from flawless work of scholarship on oaths of loyalty in England between 1640 and 1702. Edward Vallance explores these oaths as a means of uncovering and measuring the demands made by central authority on the public for their loyalty. Oaths of allegiance were also described frequently as national covenants, and this book develops several key themes in relation to the Long Parliament and the National Covenant (explored in part one) and to the Solemn League and Covenant, 1644–1682 (part two).

The involvement of God as a party, not just as a witness, to sworn contracts is a central concern of this study. In England as in Scotland, the notion of covenanting for political and religious purposes goes back to the 1550s and was integral to Elizabeth Tudor's plans for an association to defend the Protestant succession duly effected when James VI of Scotland became king not only of England but of Great Britain in 1603. Covenanting in the form of Protestant associations was effectively part of a common British (and Irish) discourse that commenced at the Reformation and endured well into the eighteenth century.

Covenanting was a tripartite compact among God, king, and people that redefined political loyalty in religious terms certainly, but also in constitutional terms of limited monarchy. Initially, the monarchy was certainly viewed as a vehicle for defending Protestantism from attack and furthering the process of Reformation. In both Scotland and England, however, Charles I fell short of this godly standard in Presbyterian eyes and it became the central contention of the Scottish National Covenant, reaffirmed in the British Solemn League and Covenant, that the people had the right to resist an ungodly king in order to protect the godly commonwealth. Essentially this involved a distinction between the office of monarchy and the person of the king, a distinction that in no way justified regicide, which was a breach of the tripartite compact. As Vallance perceptively demonstrates, the opposition of English Presbyterians to the trial and execution of Charles I in 1649 was far more overt and vocal than that of the Royalists.

A particularly welcome aspect of this book is Vallance's willingness to run against the contemporary consensus among English and "New British" histories that Parliamentarian writers largely advanced secular arguments for resisting the king's Royalist forces. His projection of covenanting into Protestant associations of the 1680s as a means of protecting England against foreign invasion and domestic insurrection works in relation to Louis XIV of France and Jacobitism, but comes unstuck with respect to William of Orange. The revolution commenced with a foreign invasion and did provoke civil war, if not in England then certainly in Scotland and Ireland.

The impact of a national covenant on early modern understanding of the political nation is traced through the requirements that subscribers reject local allegiances in favor of national loyalties. Individuals whose wealth or sex excluded them from electoral participation were now brought into the political process. Protestant associations, which influenced both the Levellers and the Diggers in the 1640s and continued into the eighteenth century, represented an aspect of constitutional fundamentalism more usually associated with the American Revolution than political developments in Britain and Ireland. Vallance's defense of the term "political nation" rather than "public sphere" or "civic space" represents a commendable and overdue challenge to the anachronistic borrowing of theory from the social sciences. Arguably, however, this should have been articulated at the outset, not in the conclusion.

Although this book is neither insular nor introspective, it is undoubtedly anglocentric in viewing a concept hitherto examined in greater depth in Scotland (and Ulster) and New England. Vallance's uncritical acceptance that covenanting equated with theocracy in Scotland (p. 84) betrays a lack of more nuanced reading of the historiography, which is further compounded by his failure to look at the local phenomena of Presbyterian conventicling in Scotland and Ulster as well as Puritan associations in England. Moreover, while the Scots followed a covenanting tradition that found political expression through confessional confederation on the European model, the English were influenced primarily from New England, where the same tradition was more accommodating to Independents as well as Presbyterians. Vallance seems unaware that the Scottish-inspired Solemn League and Covenant of August 1643 was anticipated three months earlier by the more last-

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ing confederation of the United Colonies of New England.

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GARY S. DE KREY. *London and the Restoration, 1659–1683*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xix, 472. $100.00.

This is an important and deeply researched book. It is about the light that can be cast upon the English restoration process by examining London's participation in it. To it Gary S. De Krey brings the familiarity with the city's social geography, religious, and political culture and governmental institutions established in his previous work, *A Fractured Society: The Politics of London in the First Age of Party, 1688–1715* (1985). London dominated seventeenth-century English politics. In the process it became Europe's largest city anchoring a global empire. The English Civil War was a struggle for control of London and on at least four occasions (1641–1642, 1648–1649, 1659–1660, and 1688–1689) the national government was undone and remade in collaboration with the city. De Krey is right to insist that the participation of London's citizens was crucial to attempts at settlement.

The features of the hero of De Krey's story emerge in the moderate outlook, reasonable aspirations, and busy activities of those he calls Reformed Protestants (otherwise Presbyterians). Cast off the revolutionary juggernaut by Pride's Purge (1648), partially attracted back by the Cromwellian Protectorates, in mid-1659 they found their commitment to a reformed established ministry and participatory political rights imperiled by a restored rump parliament and then military government allied to radical sectarianism. Joining with "civic Anglicans" and eventually George Monck to resist "Anabaptists and overturners of magistracy, ministery, and laws" these citizens laid the basis for restoration. Yet two years later, following the Act of Uniformity and Corporation Act, they were once more cast off. Their new accommodation adjoined that of sectarians in the political and religious dungeon of nonconformity. The Anglican episcopal coup did not marginalize Reformed Protestantism within the city, however. The cavalier establishment had its hands full losing a war, fleeing a plague, and then failing to put out a fire, which underlined a need for ministry while depriving London of two thirds of its churches. In addition the Act of Uniformity was opposed by the governor of the church, King Charles II, who tried to circumvent it twice (1662, 1672). Thus between 1667 and 1683, Reformed Protestants united with other nonconformists to contest the religious settlement. Their cause (liberty of conscience, protestant unity, political rights and liberties) drove the major crisis of Charles II's reign between 1678 and 1683.

De Krey says little about the real cause of this crisis: the perceived relationship between the Stuart monarchy and European (in this case French) Catholicism. He does not consider the extent to which parliamentary resistance to Charles's Declarations of Indulgence hinged upon that license granted to "popish" as well as protestant nonconformity, which was their royal rationale. He does, however, note the extent to which Reformed Protestantism in London was European Protestantism, increasingly fortified by emigrating Huguenots. In the 1670s as in the 1620s, the capital perceived itself on a European religious front line.

Echoing the instincts of Reformed Protestantism, De Krey's response to what he calls the new generation of restoration historical writing is cautiously in favor of reform. Restoration was not an event but a process; not simply structural but ideological; driven by religious and political ideologies of the civil war period (and earlier); to be judged by its capacity to achieve not one governmental form or another but post-civil war settlement. It is as a dense civic sociology of religious settlement and unsettlement that this study is most valuable. The major crisis that resulted was about more than the succession; however, the Whigs (as the nonconformist alliance became) were "not a republican community." The succession issue was still important. And this crisis, and city, gave rise to political parties.

Unlike some participants in these debates, De Krey has usually read and understood the positions he is criticizing. However his concern to inoculate whiggism against republicanism leaves unexplored the republican history and associations of those claims to civic self-government that are his focus, despite relevant recent scholarship (Markko Peltonen, Mark Goldie, Phil Withington) and constant contemporary reference ("Let it never be said of this Famous City . . . as it once was of old Rome . . . Rome's Destruction was from her self"). His assertion that the succession issue drove the Whig petitioning movement is unconvincing alongside the admission that most petitions did not mention the issue (because it was "divisive") although even so the king "perfectly well understood what the petition meant" (pp. 163, 183, 211–212). His characterization of party division and its periodization are less controversial and original than he appears to believe, although in places they are usefully more complete. Ideological polarization at its peak between late 1679 and 1681 gave rise to activities such as processions, petitioning, and electioneering (both civic and parliamentary) that persisted within the city until the royal crackdown of 1682–1683.

In an article published in 1993 I pointed out that all of these conditions pertained equally in London between 1640 and 1649, along with contemporary use of the term party and the religious and political nomenclature of party (*Albion* 25: 4 [1993]: 632). Here De Krey analyzes the spatial organization of party allegiance in the city and finds many continuities in this, as in its ideological content, between 1641 and 1681. I have always accepted, and contemporaries understood, that the restoration crisis exhibited party activity to the same extent as the political crises of the 1640s. What I

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resist is the claim, favored by restoration historians who have not studied any earlier period, and repeated here, that between 1678 and 1683 we see a new party politics for the first time. The only way for such a claim to be supported is by a careful comparison of the two periods. That would be a breakthrough.

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KATE PETERS. *Print Culture and the Early Quakers.* (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 273. $75.00.

Kate Peters demonstrates the pivotal role of printing to explain the sudden appearance of a firm Quaker identity and the rapid growth of Quakerism in the 1650s. What emerges from her analysis of printed tracts from 1652 to 1656 and correspondence among Quaker leaders is a new, authoritative account of early Quaker mobilization.

"Quaker" originated as a pejorative term, like "Leveller" and "Ranter." Peters shows how printed literature by Quaker leaders quickly appropriated the epithet. By the mid-1650s, in Quaker pamphleteering the former epithet defined the identity and reinforced a sense of community among Quakers, who were geographically dispersed in small meetings. In George Fox's fanciful reconstruction of earlier events, his followers adopted the epithet during a hostile interrogation in 1650, using it to describe adherence to biblical injunctions to tremble before God and in fear of sin. With nearly eighty references in the King James Bible to things or persons that tremble, Fox had plenty of material with which to work.

In printed tracts the term Quaker was an authorial device; it anticipated hostile reactions that linked quaking to irrational enthusiasm. These tracts supplied readers with arguments to counter hostility and with assurance that hostility was an inevitable affliction of the saints. Thus, the embraced epithet paradoxically promoted development of a collective identity and facilitated the subsequent mobilization of Quakers as a national movement. Hostile reactions defused by early Quaker literature were similar to the hostility in print that was previously directed against Ranters. Amidst a barrage of anti-Quaker publications in London, one publisher in 1655 issued a pamphlet whose title page displayed the same amusingly salacious woodcut that, five years earlier, adorned the title page of an anti-Ranter tract. But unlike the Ranters, Quakers issued a concerted, collective response in print, from authors who proudly proclaimed their identity as Quakers. This prompted a prominent hunter of heretics, Ephraim Pagitt, to vent outrage in *Heresiography* (1645) over this insouciant use of the epithet.

In conjunction with proselytizing activities, the early Quaker ministry controlled the writing, publishing, and distribution of Quaker literature. Publication of printed tracts was an extension of the circulation of letters written by ministers to other ministers, or to their congregations, whose readers learned about organizational developments and received guidance on doctrinal and pastoral issues. By the mid-1650s, the pace of Quaker publication quickened as Quaker activities expanded across England. In 1655, an average of two new Quaker publications appeared each week. The eminent Puritan minister Richard Baxter enlisted his colleagues in Worcestershire to petition the government to exert greater control over the press as a means to stem the spread of Quaker religion. (To be sure, Fox and other Quakers at this time also called for more censorship, in order to repress printed ballads, jestbooks, and similar materials.) Peters rightly calls attention to the symbiotic relationship among oral, scribal, and print forms of communication. The network of Quaker meetings in the localities provided a conduit for manuscripts destined for printers in London; itinerant preachers facilitated the reverse flow of printed texts to local Quaker groups.

Peters describes the participation of women in writing, publishing, and distributing Quaker literature. This reflects Quaker doctrine on the spiritual equality of men and women and was a natural outgrowth of the right of women to speak and play public roles in Quaker religion. However, these dimensions of gender equality coexisted with continuing reference to the subjection of wives to husbands and with concern over controlling unruly women. Women actively participated in public roles in the Quaker movement in the 1650s, but in this era most Quaker authors were men, and only a few Quaker publications took up the issue of the right of women to preach, although this was often an implied right in other writings.

Finally, in her account of the Quakers and print culture Peters undermines the well-known claim that early Quakers reacted to the experience of failure—the defeat of radical political initiatives in the late 1640s—by disengaging with political life. Building on recent work that describes the impact of printing on popular participation in political discourse, Peters argues that, although Quakers did not advance specific schemes for constitutional reforms, their pamphleteering engaged readers and writers as participants in an emerging public sphere. For example, Quaker accounts of trials forcefully made the point that magistrates had no legitimate role to play in religious affairs. Printing facilitated nationwide campaigns that lobbied the Commonwealth and Protectorate governments to repeal repressive legislation and that engaged Quakers in key political events during this era.

This is a book of great importance that advances our understanding of the early Quaker movement and, more generally, the dynamics of print culture in early modern England.

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JODY GREENE. *The Trouble with Ownership: Literary Property and Authorial Liability in England, 1660–1730.* (Material Texts.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. 272. $49.95.

This book challenges prevailing views that the 1710 Copyright Act made "the business of authorship considerably less risky" (p. 11) by legalizing authorial property. Instead, Jody Greene argues that after 1710 "owning one's work" in any sense of the word (possession, liability, or proprietary interest) "makes one subject to punishment not only because it makes it easier to trace texts back to their owners but also because authors who insist on a proprietary relation to their works are punishable for every subsequent, illicit appropriation to which their printed work is exposed" (p. 11). In part one, Greene seeks the author "in court," first in sixteenth and seventeenth-century documents of control, then in the late seventeenth-century treason and sedition trials of printer John Twyn (*A Treatise of the Execution of Justice* [1663]), publisher Henry Carr (*The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome* [1679]), and author Elizabeth Cellier (*Malice Defeated* [1680]). These trials, Greene argues, revealed the legal system's growing interest in locating and punishing authors, despite authors' "continuing ability . . . to disown their books and slip away" (p. 79). Part two considers how Daniel Defoe, Alexander Pope, and John Gay fared in this increasingly punitive climate, which also produced the 1710 Copyright Act.

Greene reads the 1710 Copyright Act within the context of Defoe's firsthand experience of authorial liability and appropriation. A pirated edition of his works appeared while he was in prison for writing *The Shortest Way with the Dissenter* (1704). In response Defoe wrote *An Essay on the Regulation of the Press* (1704), in which he proposed giving authors full intellectual property rights in return for laws that defined offenses and sanctions. Although benign compared to Defoe's plan, by denying authors legal protection if they failed to publish notice of their ownership, the 1710 Copyright Act, Greene maintains, actually required authors "to expose themselves to the authorities by providing documentation of their ownership in the form of an entry in the register or an advertisement in the *Gazette*" (p. 142). This placed authors "in a perilous relationship to the law by requiring them, for the first time, to dispense with their capacity to disappear" (p. 143).

Greene uses Pope's and Gay's publishing experiences to illustrate "the Faustian bargain by which authors gained the rights of property through relinquishing freedom from responsibility for their works" (p. 151). To have his *Dunciad* and *Dunciad Variorum* (1729) published, because of the new law Pope was forced to employ such strategies of authorial dispossession as publishing with a false imprint, entering copyright under another's name, striking a deal with a bookseller to receive profit from piracies, and seeking aristocratic protection. As a coda to Pope's exploits, Greene reflects on Anne Dod, the woman falsely named on the *Dunciad*'s imprints. Dod and women like her, Greene maintains, played an important role in the book trade's more clandestine activities, in part because their strategies modeled for male authors "strategic self-dispossession" that protected "the embattled subject from the manifold dangers attached to property" (p. 194).

Unlike Pope, Gay "owned" the publication of his play *Polly* (1729) after the Lord Chamberlain had prevented its performance. Gay relied on subscription publishing but published under his own name. When the work was pirated, Gay prosecuted the pirates in the Chancery court. Gay's valiant effort to retain the benefits of authorship required him to rely on the Duchess of Queensberry's patronage, which, Greene maintains, feminized the author and deprived him of the independence requisite in the eighteenth century to "full personhood" (p. 216).

Greene usefully complicates the discourse of early modern authorship by demonstrating how multiple valences of the word "ownership"—possession, liability, and proprietary interest—serve in legal actions to fix and obscure authorial agency. The book's evidence from legal cases lends weight to Greene's contention that author/ownership was fraught with problems. Greene further rethinks authorship by introducing "strategic femininity" as a ploy both men and women authors employed to subvert commercial and government press regulation. The book is less successful, however, in making its argument that the 1710 Copyright Act created authors' problems. Indeed, the examples of Pope and Gay appear counterproductive. Instead of seeing someone victimized by the 1710 Copyright Act, we see in Pope's strategies of dispossession (strategies, by the way, nearly as old as printing) an author masterful in manipulating the system. Gay, on the other hand, took full advantage of his rightful "ownership" of *Polly* and took a literary pirate to court—a strategy common for publishers as early as the 1570s but one that only a few authors pursued before 1710. Greene's case against copyright largely suffers because she bases her historical account of print culture on outdated secondary resources or on primary documents of control, which she reads outside their historical contexts—a particularly problematic approach for royal proclamations.

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STEVE HINDLE. *On the Parish? The Micro-Politics of Poor Relief in Rural England, c. 1550–1750.* (Oxford Studies in Social History.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 521. $135.00.

This substantial book by Steve Hindle sits at the interstices of a complex series of historiographical traditions and debates. In part it is a contribution to a hundred-year-old tradition of Fabian administrative history that has chronicled (in remarkable detail) the evolution of the early modern English and British state and in particular the Old Poor Law—that precocious system of

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taxation and redistribution codified in Acts of Parliament between 1598 and 1601. By providing a rural perspective to complement Paul Slack's recent essentially urban account of the workings of social welfare and policy, *From Reformation to Improvement: Public Welfare in Early Modern England* (1999), Hindle provides a substantial capstone to a project first begun by E. M. Leonard in 1900. As a part of this tradition Hindle's work forms a major contribution to the story of the evolution of the state.

At the same time, Hindle also engages with a newer series of concerns and perspectives. In recent decades the massive administrative legacy of the Old Poor Law—the tons of manuscript records that choke the archives of provincial England—has come to be used more frequently to chart the changing texture of social relations and to create a detailed and individualized "history from below." This newer literature is essentially concerned to humanize and personalize the experiences of the poor and to construct a distant mirror through which to examine the present. Hindle has spent much of a decade in this massive archive and here attempts to bridge the substantial gap between these two historiographical traditions.

Following a historiographical introduction, the volume gets under way with a long chapter on the evolution of the "economy of makeshift." In this section Hindle charts the regulation of gleaning and wood gathering, of social crime and begging. He also explores the perspective of the poor themselves and includes sections on kin support and "The Kindness of Neighbours." There follows an equally long chapter on the "dole" that rehearses the origins of a variety of charities and formal means of redistribution, short of the Old Poor Law itself. An early concern with the administration of charity segues quietly into a concern with pauper scripts and "Narratives of Distress." This pattern is then repeated in sections on "Work" and "Collection" (formal pensions provided to the parish poor), on "Exclusion," and finally on "Negotiation." While the volume begins with the literature and concerns of administrative history, it ends with a conclusion reflecting on notions of "pauper agency" drawn from the history-from-below tradition.

Hindle's book is an intelligent and beautifully researched piece of work. At over five hundred closely printed and substantially footnoted pages, it is also a remarkable feat of scholarship. But as a result of its bifurcated concern with both the evolution of the state and with the strategies and experiences of the poor, the text is shot through with a recurring tension. The history of state formation (at least in the tradition relevant here) is an essentially whiggish one. It seeks to trace the growth of the state toward an apotheosis in the modern European nation with its substantial welfare provision and mixed economy. In this narrative, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are necessarily a dark beginning to an ever brightening story. As a result Hindle is almost inevitably pushed toward a profoundly pessimistic conclusion about the experiences of the poor. In chapter after chapter, the workings of the state are presented as humiliating the poor, grinding their faces in the harsh mill of an inequitable social system. In contrast to this pessimistic tradition, "history from below" tends to emphasize those moments when the poor had greatest power or were most successful. The poor in this tradition might suffer ignominy and pain and be crushed by their social superiors, but the emphasis is usually on those areas of life where they win through.

The book ends with an important discussion of the existence of an early modern English "right to relief" and pessimistically concludes that such a right never existed in law. Hindle is correct about this, but his conclusion largely misses the point. A "right to relief" existed in the minds of poor English men and women, and they deployed that right in their frequently fractious engagement with the state. Hindle has produced a wonderfully articulate statement of early English poor law history that will stand as a powerful element of a broader history of state formation, but because of his primary concern with the evolution of the state, it does not do full justice to the authority, experience, and agency of the poor.

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AMY M. FROIDE. *Never Married: Singlewomen in Early Modern England*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. vii, 246. $74.00.

Historical demographers have long alerted us to the surprising numbers of women who inhabited early modern households as servants or solitary householders, presumably subverting the normal familial norm by living neither within the confines of their natal families nor in wedlock. Much remains unknown about the lives of these women, especially those whose single status endured to adulthood and whom historical accounts tended to ignore. Amy M. Froide's book is the first to explore the varied experiences of English women living on their own over the entire period from the late sixteenth century to the early and mid-eighteenth. It focuses on women's lives between youthful age and marriage but also, and most importantly, on women who remained single all their lives ("ever married" and "never married," respectively).

Based upon a wide array of sources, especially probate and urban records but also diaries, letters, and a host of literary materials, the book offers a broad and richly textured portrait of single women in the early modern English past. The sheer visibility of these women, who in urban centers could comprise at any given point in time no less than a third of the adult population, is reinforced. Equally revealing is the broad and versatile range of their activities as household heads or business partners, as independent traders who bargained shrewdly and pursued their trade well into old age. In towns, Froide finds a surprising number of property owners, rentiers, and moneylenders handling property and devolving it, as well as governesses and

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teachers, apothecaries, mantua makers, and ironmongers. While contributing to urban economies and civic life in their capacity as traders, property holders, or philanthropists, unmarried women also played key roles in the support of their own families and networks of care. Rather than being a burden, these women depended on but also aided their families. Froide's chapter on the kin and social ties of unmarried women ("Single But Not Alone") is especially effective in bringing to light the reciprocities that tied single women to a host of support networks, demonstrating the vital role they played in raising children, supporting siblings, and offering aid to wider kin, friends, and fellow women with whom special ties appear to have been forged.

A central theme of the book is change across time. Eschewing either the "pessimistic" or "optimistic" models within which much of the history of the working life of women has been cast, Froide opts for a more composite narrative that incorporates elements of both. While economic opportunities for single women increased from the late seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth, attitudes toward them hardened. In a buoyant urban economy that was short on labor but abounded with new and unregulated trades, single women found their way into some traditional trades while increasing their power over urban real estate as well as entering some of the newer trades. The more powerful place that single women fashioned for themselves within an expanding market economy produced a backlash in social perception and attitudes to singleness, as the traditional latitude shown toward single women pursuing love and sex was replaced by depictions of single women as pitiable creatures deserving help. By the early eighteenth century, singleness became the subject of ridicule, contempt, and abuse epitomized in the emerging stereotypes of the "spinster" and the "old maid." A final chapter rounds up the varied themes of the book by focusing on the issue of choice, arguing that women rarely made a straightforward decision to never marry but rather were led to lifelong singleness by a set of factors, among which sickness, responsibilities of caretaking, and religious piety loomed large.

The single women who are the subject of Froide's study all belonged to the urban middling classes, and her arguments, as she acknowledges, fit these groups most strongly. The visibility of single women, their dense social ties and networks, their independence and determination, as well as their increased participation in the expanding urban economy all need to be viewed against a background of relative wealth and inheritance portions that sometimes made work unnecessary. Leaving out of its purview women of lower incomes and orders, Froide's book nonetheless demonstrates a range of options made available and conceived as possible for single women in England, pointing out the well-defined if somewhat flexible boundaries within which they could opt to carve out space for themselves. At the same time, the book shows persisting prejudices and the mobilization of cultural resources against women who symbolized the violation of familial norms, discerning conflicting expectations and an enduring gulf between practice and perception.

The book also prompts us to rethink the perennial theme of the rise of the middle class by introducing a whole new dimension to the familial strategies presumed typical of it. It has long been supposed that a family strategy that prioritized lower age at marriage and female domesticity was typical of an emergent middle class by the eighteenth century, but Froide offers a far longer perspective and an almost converse familial strategy. Over the entire period from the seventeenth century onward, English middling families tacitly and at times quite deliberately encouraged a segment of adult women to remain unmarried. Such a strategy, the book amply demonstrates, greatly benefited middle-class families and their wider networks of kin and friends. It helped sustain and expand material resources, provided much needed services over the life course and until old age, contributed to an emergent civic ethos, while at the same time effecting distinctive habits and cultural patterns that ensured the continuing marginalization of women. Whether all this implies, as Froide suggests in her epilogue, that compared to other places on the European continent and the Atlantic world England "may have been an exceptionally difficult place to be a single-woman" remains an open question and seems, even on the basis of the evidence offered here, unlikely. But this valuable study is a reminder that a more systematic comparison of single women in England with those in other places is indeed overdue, and offers a good starting point from which to proceed.

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MARTHA VICINUS. *Intimate Friends: Women Who Loved Women, 1778–1928*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xxxii, 314. $35.00.

In the introduction to this book, Martha Vicinus identifies one of the assumptions around which her project develops. "Identity history can be limiting," she observes; "more interesting and difficult questions can be asked about friendship, intimacy, sexuality and spirituality than who had what kind of identity when" (p. xviii). Vicinus is responding to a pervasive fixation on "identity" within gay and lesbian history. Early historians looked for "gay" and "lesbian" individuals previously "hidden from history," failing to recognize historically specific ways of understanding same-sex desire. Scholars following Michel Foucault in exploring the "making of the modern homosexual" or influenced by queer theory in emphasizing the past's difference have, similarly, remained wedded to identity's usefulness as an interpretative category. Too often, the historian's task has been narrowly defined as mapping the labels individuals assumed. In the process, Vicinus suggests, we lose sight of the complex discourses within which historical subjects made sense of their lives.

Vicinus's book addresses exactly those "interesting

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and difficult questions," focusing upon a series of relationships to explore what the (homo)sexual desires and affective ties she calls "erotic friendships" (p. xv) meant to a group of elite British women. This tight focus is necessary, since the book's chronology is ambitiously broad. Vicinus ranges from 1778, when Lady Eleanor Butler and Sarah Ponsonby set up home as the "Ladies of Llangollen," through to 1928, when Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* was banned in Great Britain. That she carries this off is a powerful tribute to the depth of her scholarship. This book is the culmination of over a decade's work. It is breathtaking in its detail, drawing on, for example, Yorkshire gentrywoman Anne Lister's diaries, the letters of Mary Benson, and Eliza Lynn Linton's fiction. It is deeply engaged, Vicinus's own intimacy with her subjects shining from every sentence to create a moving evocation of love between women.

While many historians have suggested that female intimacies were primarily understood as sexless "romantic friendships" until sexologists defined the "lesbian" in the late nineteenth century, Vicinus uses this scholarship to show the astonishing range of discourses within which women could—and did—imagine an erotic same-sex friendship. The analysis is rich and densely textured, exploring how individuals made sense of their desires within notions of the familial bonds between wife and husband or mother and daughter, the sexually confident figure of the rake, the language of spiritual attachment, and ideas of gender inversion. In so doing, Vicinus argues, they created an affirmative and enabling queer space.

Yet this exploration of erotic friendships is not entirely consistent. At times, Vicinus falls back into the "limiting" "identity history" she is at pains to challenge. Her introduction also expresses an interest in exploring how women fashioned "a *personal identity* based upon a sexualized, or at least recognisably eroticized relationship with another woman." In part, this suggests an implicit notion of the stable lesbian subject that is either present or veiled—something most evident in discussing the "queer triangle" involved in the 1864 Codrington divorce trial. Crucially, it means that Vicinus can drift from discussing "friendship, intimacy, sexuality" into trying to locate her subjects' identities. Her book would be equally compelling without ever making this kind of analytic move.

Vicinus raises big questions about how we write the history of (homo)sexuality. Her book might also prompt us to consider the possibilities and problems of the approaches that characterize cultural history. One issue is the extent to which historians can generalize from any particular case. All of Vicinus's subjects are elite, privileged, or self-consciously "artistic" or "literary" women. They might well be "representative examples" (p. xvi), but what exactly are they are representative of? Here is a challenge to future historians: how were erotic friendships understood in other class, racial, ethnic, or cultural settings?

There is a further issue concerning the way that cultural history handles chronology. Vicinus is most compelling when focusing on a particular historical moment, as in discussing the intimacy between the English poets Katharine Bradley and Edith Cooper, for example, where a biographical method and close reading of letters, diaries, and poems allows her to tease out the centrality of Roman Catholicism to the women's conflicted understanding of their relationship. Her argument can be slightly less convincing, however, when moving between friendships located at different moments across one hundred and fifty years. In part, this reflects a pervasive emphasis on historical continuity above change. Highlighting the commonalities between such lives deliberately and insistently challenges accepted chronologies of a lesbian history that, Vicinus argues, "did not move forward in any simple trajectory, from invisibility and secrecy to visibility and homophobia" (p. 229). This is convincing. Still, Vicinus might do more to historicize or move outside her cases, locating them in the broader cultural milieu within which they acquired meaning. How exactly, for example, was Lister's life as a predatory "female rake" constituted within early nineteenth-century masculinities?

As such questions suggest, this is one of those (all-too-rare) works that forces historians to interrogate their discipline and their own historical practice. At once profoundly intimate yet ambitiously panoramic, Vicinus's book is a genuinely challenging piece of historical scholarship.

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MATT HOULBROOK. *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918–1957.* (The Chicago Series on Sexuality, History, and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 384. $29.00

This theoretically informed, innovative, cleverly researched, subtle, graceful, brilliant book demonstrates just how good history can be. Like George Chauncey's *Gay New York: The Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (1995), another brilliant work and an obvious comparison, *Queer London* shows the real contribution of history to sexuality studies. Although Houlbrook has published some of this material before in well-crafted articles, none of them prepares the reader for the sheer power and delight of this book. As the author's first monograph, it will certainly be a difficult act to follow.

A new generation of historians is demonstrating the complexity of the history of homosexuality; there was no simple transition from acts to identities in Michel Foucault's famous formulation. Matt Cook, another gifted historian, found a multiplicity of London homosexualities in the period before this book's story begins, but Houlbrook extends the complexity into the 1950s. Houlbrook's theme is of divergent forms of queerness in the modern metropolis: the effeminate "quean"; the conventionally masculine working-class male, sometimes known as trade; and the middle-class homosex-

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ual. Although he is aware of the role of the law in the landscape that he charts—indeed, he reminds the reader that the fascinating letter that opens the book only exists because its writer was in trouble with the police—surveillance does not dominate his analysis. Part one, "Policing," is the shortest section in the book. Houlbrook is alert to the role of ideologies. Part four, "Politics," deals with an official discourse that saw homosexuality as a social threat, and with a growing division between "the respectable 'homosexual' and the disreputable queer" (p. 243). There are some true Foulcauldian moments. Repression incited declarations of difference; one offender, the barman "Lady Austin," declared both his attraction to an arresting officer ("I could love him and rub his Jimmy for him for hours") and his certainty that history was on his side: "You call us Nancies and bum boys but . . . before long our cult will be allowed in this country" (p. 245).

The heart of the book—its greatest contribution—lies in parts two and three, dealing respectively with "Places" and "People." Another of the book's main themes is the importance of the urban in the formation and expression of homoerotic desire, and part two explores such sites of male-to-male sexual interaction: the streets, cottages (urinals), and parks; the cinemas, music halls, and theaters; the pubs, eating places, clubs, cafés, and bars; the baths; the chambers, rooms, lodging houses, hotels, and parties. Houlbrook charts the geographies of homosexuality, from the more respectable Piccadilly queers to the rough trade of the Embankment. Part three introduces the people who inhabited the city. Chapter six deals with the "Dilly Boys," the effeminate men who frequented the streets around Piccadilly in the 1920s and 1930s (in contrast to the masculine, "straight" hustlers of the 1970s). Chapter seven, the most innovative section of the book with surprises for all but those who have worked closely on the topic, focuses on the working-class men who had sex with other men (while continuing to have sex with women) but who did not consider themselves to be homosexual provided their publicly perceived role in such interactions was one of dominance. These usually working-class men, including sailors and guardsmen, might accept money or other forms of support, but Houlbrook is careful to argue that their motivations were more involved than mere prostitution: he writes convincingly of friendship, cross-class attraction, and the "complexities of men's desires" (p. 171). For some, it was a phase that ceased once they married, but others continued with their same-sex liaisons, and there are famous examples. Of course, the importance of such findings is not only that they challenge simplistic notions of any unitary homosexuality during this period, and a clear-cut separation between homo and hetero, but that they also rewrite that taken-for-granted history of heterosexuality. As Houlbrook puts it, "That the world explored in this chapter is almost incomprehensible today is a powerful testament to how profoundly masculine sexual practices have changed over the past century" (p. 190).

The book does not include female same-sex attractions and interactions. Yet Taylor Croft, a contemporary used to good effect by Houlbrook, was clear about a visible lesbian presence in London in the 1920s and early 1930s, referring to what he described as a growing kindred between the male and female homosexuals who often inhabited the same clubs, teashops, and cafés and who went to the same parties. Despite the achievements of Houlbrook, there are histories of queer London yet to be written.

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Matthew Taylor. *The Leaguers: The Making of Professional Football in England, 1900–1939*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 320. $25.00.

Association football is much more than just a game or pastime. It is an international business of immense importance, a focus for endless media speculation and economic opportunities in sponsorship and franchising, a site for negotiation about culture and identity between the local, the regional, the national, and the global, and therefore an important component of local and national politics and international relations. Its history is a matter for serious investigation; and it is fitting that the historiography of the sport should have developed most fully in Britain, which is where professional football, as a spectator sport and business with more than local ramifications, began in the late nineteenth century.

Matthew Taylor focuses on the Football League, since its foundation in 1888 the organization behind the highest levels of the English professional club game and unjustifiably neglected by historians of the sport. The period covered runs from the beginning of the twentieth century, with the League firmly established as a concept and an institution, to the outbreak of World War II: forty years during which the League expanded from thirty-six clubs in two divisions to eighty-eight in four, while seasonal attendances for the expanded competition peaked at 25.6 million in 1921–1922 and again at 27.9 million in 1937–1938. In the process the League absorbed its rival, the Southern League, becoming a genuinely national entity in England—with a foothold in Wales—in the process (only a few years before similar developments in the European mainland, for example in Spain and Italy).

After sketching out the expansion of the League and the issues involved, Taylor moves through the evolution of the League's role in the governance of the sport in Britain, its relationship with the players through control of working conditions and oversight of labor relations, its effectiveness in sustaining an exciting competitive environment (with the important distinguishing features of promotion and relegation between the divisions, and a prohibition on the geographical mobility of clubs through franchising). The last two chapters deal with the League's relationship with international football and its policy of promoting the game as commercial

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spectacle and leisure experience. The author's arguments are firmly grounded in archival research, especially in the Football Association (FA) archives, those of several clubs with accessible documentation, and the British Broadcasting Corporation, together with the specialized sporting press. The absence of the Football League itself from this list is telling: Taylor was not granted proper access to the organization's records, although he was able to fill some of the gaps by using the archives of the FA, the overall governing body of the sport at the national level, the evolution of whose relationship with the Football League is a key theme of the early chapters.

The tensions between the FA and the League were enduring and revealing. The FA was more in tune with the public school, amateur ethos of the game's early years, with residual suspicion of professionalism. The League carried increasing clout in the relationship between the governing bodies, but its outstanding feature was the narrow provincialism and deep conservatism of its management. Its long-serving administrators, whose location in Preston, Lancashire, reflected the roots of the professional game in the industrial towns of this northern county, were mainly shopkeepers, tradesmen, and local government employees. They were suspicious of outsiders, especially foreigners, and generally uninterested in the spread of football outside the British Isles. Just as Lancashire's leading industrialists in cotton discounted the ability of overseas producers to challenge the industry's accumulated skills and expertise until it was too late, so the League's management remained conservatively attached to established practices and almost impervious to change. The sections dealing with the League's hostility to innovations such as floodlighting, the installation of clocks at grounds, and even the numbering of players' shirts, and the evidence of its obstructionist attitude to international matches, make for instructive reading. There was no sense that football might be seen as a commercial product, in competition with other sports or with (for example) cinema and music hall. The failure of spectator numbers to pass beyond sustained stagnation during the interwar years, contrary to the usual assumptions, is therefore not surprising. Just as conservative were the League's attitudes to labor relations, with the sustaining of a maximum wage and a ceiling on dividends, and tight controls over bonuses and player mobility. Football was an industry, but an exceptional one.

This is an important and useful book, full of transferable ideas that invite comparison with other sports and cultures. It is weakest on the nature and quality of the spectator experience, perhaps reflecting the League's own lack of interest in such things. A key gap in Taylor's archival coverage is his failure to consult the Home Office and Metropolitan Police files in the National Archives at Kew, which raise issues about ground amenities and crowd safety that have recently been explored by Martin Johnes (in Paul Darby, Martin Johnes, and Gavin Mellor, eds., *Soccer and Disaster* [2005]) and John Walton ("Football, Fainting, and Fatalities, 1923–1946," *History Today* 53 [2003]). Here, too, the League kept its head firmly in the sand. Taylor also misses out on the valuable evidence on business, taxation, and gambling that can be found here. The League's relationship with the FA, the clubs, the players and their organizations, and (especially) the customers is not always made clear. Praiseworthy efforts are made to provide context and comparison, with only the occasional minor slip, as in the endorsement of José Harris's mistaken belief that the main focus of British life was shifting from the local to the national by the late nineteenth century, or the assumption that the British railway network was still expanding significantly in the early twentieth century. But this remains a valuable and important book on a neglected theme.

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RANALD MICHIE and PHILIP WILLIAMSON, editors. *The British Government and the City of London in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 381. $100.00.

For British economic historians working in the modern period, the relationship between the financial institutions of the City of London and successive governments, both Conservative and Labour, has long been the subject of scholarly debate. Over time, two broad interpretations have emerged. In the first instance there have been those, most notably Sidney Pollard, who have offered a highly critical "deterministic" interpretation of the influence of the City on the course and conduct of economic policy, in the sense that a continuing preoccupation with the exchange value of sterling and external finance has had a deleterious impact on the competitiveness of British industry. The converse argument is that central government created, over time, an increasingly restrictive regulatory environment which undermined the role of the City as the major contributor to the current account balance of payments in the form of invisible income. These two concerns provide the broad agenda for this edited volume. Ranald Michie and Philip Williamson are well qualified to undertake the task of editing in hand in view of their own invaluable—and complementary—contributions to the relevant literature. The temporal focus is on the twentieth century, and as an aid to historical understanding the individual contributions are grouped under five appropriate headings: "The Long Perspective," containing the editors' overview chapters; "Markets and Society," with essays by Forest Capie, Yossef Cassis, and Richard Whiting; "Government and Political Parties" with essays by G. C. Peden, Anthony Howe, E. H. H. Green, and Jim Tomlinson; "The Inter-War Period," with essays by Bernard Attard, Robert Boyce, and Neil Forbes; and "1945–2000," containing essays by Scott Newton, Arthur Thomas, Duncan Ross, Catherine R. Schenk, and C. A. E. Goodhart. Together, these scholars represent the current frontier of knowledge on City-government relations and, in this context, it might appear

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invidious to highlight the merits of individual contributions. Certainly, the book as a whole can be read with considerable intellectual profit, but for the present reviewer the following essays stand out as seminal contributions to the literature, not least from the perspective of undergraduate students of the period. Peden's work on the Treasury is well known, and it is gratifying to read "The Treasury and the City," wherein he deploys his knowledge to provide an exceptionally clear analysis of the sometimes fraught relations between the two institutions. So, too, with Boyce's essay on "Government—City Relations under the Gold Standard 1925–1931," which analyses the factors leading to the restoration of the standard in 1925 as a prelude to a vivid account of the subsequent trials and tribulations experienced by the Bank of England, the City, and the Treasury before the formal abandonment of the standard in 1931. Another outstanding essay is Goodhart's "The Bank of England 1970–2000." Here, the author uses his unrivalled knowledge as a former chief adviser to the bank, latterly serving as a member of its Monetary Policy Committee, to present an informed account of the bank's evolving relations with financial markets and institutions, both at home and abroad, before concluding with some thoughtful questions on the possible consequences if Britain was to adopt the Euro and join the Euro system. Finally, there are the editors' own contributions: "The City of London and Government in Modern Britain: Debates and Politics" (Williamson) and "The City of London and the British Government: The Changing Relationship" (Michie), both of which highlight the intermittent tensions between the City and central government across the divide of the two world wars. They underline the fact that modern scholarship has been unkind to the advocates of a deterministic relation insofar as the City of London never presented a monolithic view of the desirable course and conduct of macroeconomic policy. They also succeed in drawing attention to the sheer complexity of the City as it developed in the final quarter of the last century, focusing on its alleged contribution to relative economic decline and the distortion to historical understanding provided by earlier accounts of city-government relationships that assumed a static relationship between the two institutions. In short, this book is essential reading for students of high politics and finance and those with broader interests in British economic and political history in the late modern period.

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LISA VOLLENDORF. *The Lives of Women: A New History of Inquisitional Spain*. Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 266. $39.95.

Lisa Vollendorf argues for the existence of a long-lost female republic of letters in Golden Age Spain. Her book identifies an early modern "boom" in women's literary production that has been neglected by both historians and literary critics. Beginning in the late sixteenth century, an increasing number of Spanish women began writing for the public book market, and the resultant literary ferment, according to Vollendorf, "should be recognized as a foundational period for women's intellectual and educational history" (p. 3). This foundational period was made possible by the confluence of humanist pedagogical programs that advocated expanded opportunities for female education and a Counter-Reformation drive to increase monastic vocations for women. These developments created the conditions for the possibility of a women's literature that dealt with both secular and religious themes and often addressed issues of gender with surprising frankness. Making use of Inquisition records, spiritual autobiographies, legal documents, and private correspondence, Vollendorf does an admirable job of initiating her readers into this unexpectedly rich world of female literary expression.

The central question posed (p. xi) is "What did it mean to be a woman in Spain's early modern period?" In pursuing the answer to this question, Vollendorf divides her work into four parts. The first of these, "Defining Gender," makes use of Inquisition documents such as the records from the case of a Moorish hermaphrodite, Eleno/a de Céspedes, who ran afoul of the Holy Office after it was discovered that he/she had lived as both a man and a woman. Céspedes began life in the mid-sixteenth century as a slave in Alhama, Spain. After being freed by her owner, she went on to marry and bear a child. During childbirth, however, previously hidden male genitalia emerged, and Elena gradually refashioned herself as Eleno, taking up traditionally male occupations such as soldier and surgeon and eventually remarrying a woman before being denounced to the Inquisition in 1587. Vollendorf provides an insightful analysis of this fascinating case, juxtaposing Céspedes's arguments for the malleability of gender with the Inquisition's insistence on maintaining rigid sex roles.

After dealing with early modern Spanish definitions of gender in part one, Vollendorf moves on in parts two and three to examine how women's literature challenged these definitions. Part two, "Imagining Gender," focuses on writers such as María de Zayas and Mariana de Carvajal, whose works were some of the earliest to be produced by women for the book market in Golden Age Spain. Vollendorf argues that these authors, and others like them, created a woman-centered literature that portrayed gender and desire as far more complex and problematic than did the typical offerings of a Spanish culture obsessed with sexual honor. In doing so, according to Vollendorf, they "registered a protest against the restrictive gender codes and misogynist ideologies that pervaded Spanish culture of the seventeenth century" (p. 89).

Part three, "Women's Worlds," moves from the commercial world of letters to the world of the convent. Far from being insular and intellectually impoverished, however, convent culture is revealed here as a vibrant forum for women's talents as evidenced by a prolific literary activity directed not only at fellow religious, but

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at a wider audience as well. This convent literature was, as Vollendorf demonstrates, similarly concerned with issues of gender and in many instances presented a critique of a male-dominated social order that sought to marginalize women in general and female authors in particular.

Many of the examples Vollendorf offers and the analyses she undertakes in these middle sections are compelling. In a few cases, however, she seems to overreach, and this detracts from what is for the most part a carefully argued book. For example, in analyzing a poem by Sor Violante do Ceo, Vollendorf finds it significant that the poet compares the worth of female friendship to "the silver and gold of Arabia and Potosí" (p. 99). We are told that this "surprising metaphor" (p. 116) links the poem to "trade and imperialism" (p. 99) and represents a rejection of "a market economy for an emotional economy grounded in a relational world." Vollendorf also sees a gender angle here, claiming that the metaphor "devalues men's public activity while privileging female intimacy" (p. 99). In reality, the text in question seems a rather slender reed upon which to hang such a weight of interpretation.

Part four, "Women's Networks," is perhaps Vollendorf's most important contribution. In this section she identifies a gap in the scholarly literature and lays out an ambitious research program. She points out that the literary worlds detailed in her work could not have existed without effective networks of instruction, support, and advice among women. Yet these networks have not been sufficiently studied. Vollendorf's final section constitutes a prolegomena to a future educational history of Spanish women in which she expands the definition of education to include informal mechanisms of instruction found in sources such as advice and behavior manuals, religious pedagogy, and fiction. This is a promising approach, and should Vollendorf continue in this vein she will undoubtedly further enrich our understanding of a neglected area of Spanish gender history.

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SYLVIE DAUBRESSE. *Le parlement de Paris ou la voix de la raison (1559–1589).* (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, number 398.) Geneva: Librairie Droz. 2005. Pp. xv, 558.

As Jean Bodin's *Six Books of the Republic* (1576) illustrates, the political constitution of *ancien régime* France was predicated on a contradiction: that of a parlement that publicly represented the crown but was ultimately subject to its absolute sovereignty. The Paris Parlement was supposed to uphold absolute royal legislation (*curia representat regem*) but not legislate. It could inform, criticize, ratify, and even reject royal law, yet all the while, it was subject to the king's ultimate authority. That this remarkable balancing act lasted so long—from the rise of absolutist monarchy in the sixteenth century, to the ensuing breakdown and crisis of this ancient constitution under Louis XIV and XV—is one of the great phenomena of the history of politics.

The story of this institutional balancing act is the subject of Sylvie Daubresse's book, which meticulously illustrates the governmental role of the Paris Parlement during the first upheavals of the French Wars of Religion. Daubresse is a graduate of the École des Chartes, itself a distant relative of the parliamentary, documentarist tradition, and the training ground for French rare book librarians and archivists. Her approach is that of her school: to go through all the archives, essentially providing a catalogue-like documentary chronology of the relations between crown and parlement between 1559 and 1589. In the spirit of governmental historian Roland Mousnier, she uses these documents to provide an anatomy of the workings of French government, dissecting and revealing each mechanism and deliberation in great detail.

Daubresse shows the process by which the Paris Parlement recorded royal decisions, acting as the legal and historical memory of the monarchy. She documents the context, form, and content of parliamentary remonstrances against royal legislation, and the crown's replies. She notes that sixteenth-century remonstrances, the currency of public opinion in the 1750s and 1760s, were kept secret, part of a delicate negotiation between governing institutions (p. 28). But most of all, she provides a heavily documented play-by-play of the actions of the Paris Parlement leading up to and during the Wars of Religion. She shows the potentially dangerous divergences between the court and crown, such as the parliamentary dissatisfaction with the Edict of Amboise (1563), which restored some rights to Protestants (pp. 127–131); the parlement's creeping attempts to gain power during the deliberations over parliamentary rights during the minority of Charles IX (p. 165); and, finally, the untenable and confused role of the Paris Parlement during the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, and its conflict with the principle that all royal officers share the same religion as the king (p. 465).

In the French and Italian tradition, this book is essentially a published dissertation, with many of the patchwork qualities inherent in such works. It lacks any real analytical framework, and its vague title has no real bearing on the content. Nonetheless, it is an important piece of research, for it provides painstakingly detailed, chronological documentation of each parliamentary decision and interaction with the crown. Daubresse reveals the mechanics of how the balancing act worked: the parlement's organization, jurisdictions, institutional framework, role in royal finances, and the crown's reactions to its attempts to legislate and maneuver. The book not only cites a mass of newly organized archival references, it also provides an appendix containing key documents, such as *enregistrements* and remonstrances from the reigns of Charles IX and Henry III.

In the end, Daubresse's documentary chronology acts as a contrast to Albert M. Hamscher's study of the role of parlement under Louis XIV, *The Parlement of*

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Paris after the Fronde 1653–1673 (1976). To be sure, France did not have English mixed government as Hamscher shows (p. xxii), but what Daubresse powerfully illustrates is the extent to which French royal absolutism—still partly medieval and corporative—did have a remarkably sophisticated legal framework. For more than a century before Louis XIV and Jean-Baptiste Colbert's clipping of parliamentary authority, the crown and the parlements governed in close and often conflictual consultation. Reading Daubresse, one realizes how much power the Paris Parlement lost under Louis XIV, and why parliamentarians with long historical memories, such as Montesquieu and Le Paige, so vociferously sought to regain their old rights. Ultimately, this book reminds us that if there is a venerable topic that never loses its vital relevance, it is surely that of the relationship between executive and legislative branches of government, and the long parliamentary tradition of trying to limit the powers of absolutist-minded leaders, who, in times of war and religious strife, attempt to rule outside constitutional law.

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JONATHAN R. DULL. *The French Navy and the Seven Years' War*. (France Overseas: Studies in Empire and Decolonization.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 455. $35.00.

Thirty years ago Jonathan R. Dull's book on the French navy and the American War of Independence put all interested historians in his debt. That was largely a story of French success. Now his credit is greatly expanded by this exhaustive study of an earlier war that witnessed both the virtual annihilation of the French navy and the beginning of its revival. In his first volume, Dull toiled in the absence of significant literature on the topic. Now, with this new study on the misnamed Seven Years' War, he is able to incorporate a growing body of historical writing that makes wide use of French archival sources. Almost none of it derives from the research of French historians, who, with very few exceptions, continue to ignore eighteenth-century French naval history.

While making sensible use of the scholarship on the British navy in this era, Dull is not overwhelmed by its massive extent and depth. However important the work of historians of the British navy, like American colonial historians, very few of them have dipped into French archives. It is their loss.

To explain the behavior of the French navy between 1755, when the undeclared war began, and 1762, when peace preliminaries were signed with Britain, Dull believed that a full account of French politics, diplomacy, and military action was needed. This was a mistake: not only does it make for an overly long book, but his approach frequently pushes the naval account to the margins. *France and the Seven Years' War* would perhaps have been a more appropriate title. This said, Dull's treatment of the European diplomatic background to the war is exceptionally fine. His account seems so much more comprehensible than the version that accumulated in my mind, when I was first introduced to the subject nearly fifty years ago.

If France's naval legacy before the 1756–1763 war was one of failure, the end of the previous war in 1748 witnessed an ambitious rebuilding program. Hostilities at sea were forced by Britain on an unprepared France in 1755 in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Yet the first significant naval success—the 1756 capture of the British naval base on Minorca—went to France. In 1757, a cleverly organized naval concentration at Louisbourg frustrated a planned massive British assault on that Cape Breton port. The failure to do so again the following year led to the permanent loss of the colony and, in 1759, the British attempt, for the first time since 1711, of a seaborne assault on Quebec. As these events in North American waters did not change the relative strengths of the naval rivals, the explanations for Dull's description of 1759 as the "annus horribilis" must be found elsewhere in the Atlantic. It should be remembered that William Pitt's ministry took a large strategic gamble in sending a massive expeditionary force to North America in 1759, at the very moment when France planned an invasion of Scotland or Ireland. It left the English Channel more lightly guarded, and England more denuded of troops, than at any time in the century. Plans to unite the French Mediterranean squadron with the fleet concentrating at Brest were thwarted in mid-August by the British squadron based at Gibraltar. Despite this failure, French invasion plans were not cancelled. Departing Brest, the French fleet of twenty-three ships of the line made for Quiberon Bay, where the transports for the invasion were moored. To French astonishment, the British Channel squadron, having divined French intentions, arrived there simultaneously. In the ensuing battle seven French ships were either taken, wrecked, or sunk. Invasion plans evaporated, while the navy was reduced to impotence when the naval budget in 1760 declined by almost sixty percent. France outfitted no fleet that year, thereby preventing the recovery either of Canada or Guadeloupe. The following year witnessed further setbacks in the West Indies, Mediterranean, and off the coast of France where Belle Isle was seized by Britain. Unable, owing partly to a grave shortage of seamen, to "make use of its ships, the navy loaned nine ships of the line to private contractors for privateering ventures or to carry supplies" (p. 213).

The outbreak of war between Spain and Britain early in 1762 failed to produce for France a reversal of fortune at sea. There was one small expedition of note, when two ships of the line escaped from Brest, sailed to Newfoundland with a regiment aboard, and captured St. John's, along with some 400 fishing vessels. When a small British squadron appeared, the French warships abandoned the garrison and sailed for France. This event perfectly characterized the largely ineffective role of the French navy from 1758 onward, where the bur-

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den of the war was borne by the French army fighting on European soil and the peace terms by French diplomats.

Dull ends his account with an epilogue to bridge the gap between his two fine books. Although wartime losses of ships of the line were made good, the French navy could boast in 1775 of only three warships more than it had possessed twenty years earlier. France's dependence on the Spanish fleet alone gave politicians and sea officers some hope that in a future war Britain, as a naval power, could be humbled.

The forty-page bibliography appears exhaustive. The only item overlooked is *Chasing Empire across the Sea: Communications and the State in the French Atlantic, 1713–1763* (2002) by Kenneth Banks.

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JAY WINTER and ANTOINE PROST. *The Great War in History: Debates and Controversies, 1914 to the Present.* (Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare.) English edition. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 250. Cloth $70.00, paper $28.99.

As primarily a survey and, indeed, a summary, of French historical interpretation of the Great War—it was originally published in 2004 as *Penser la grande guerre: Une essai d'historiographie*—this volume has considerable value. It also draws attention to work with which English-speaking undergraduates may be wholly unfamiliar. While pointing to the significance of much recent scholarship, however, Jay Winter and Antoine Prost also cite the usefulness of the 132 volumes of the Carnegie series on the economic and social history of the war published in the 1920s and 1930s, twenty-five of whose authors had held ministerial office at cabinet rank during the war itself. Similarly, the work of such figures of the 1920s and 1930s as Pierre Renouvin and Jean Norton Cru are singled out for praise.

Generally, each section of the volume—covering political, military, social, economic, and cultural history—detects three distinct and generational phases of historiography, characterized as initial reactions, the revival of interest in the 1960s, and work since the 1990s. Thus, the discussion of political and diplomatic history begins with the work of "nationalist" historians such as Renouvin before moving to the Fischer debate in the 1960s, and then on to "unspoken assumptions." In the same way, discussion of ordinary soldiers' experience moves from Cru to the oral history in the 1960s and the "institutional dimension" in the 1990s. The only exception comes in the investigation of the working class, in which it is suggested that political history merged into social history in the 1960s, with the third phase of cultural history only in its infancy.

Along the way, Winter and Prost contrast French historical concerns with those of other European historians, notably historians of Germany. They make the point, for example, that the course of British historiography was, and to some extent remains, very different from that of France. For obvious reasons, there is not the same popular obsession with the first day of the battle of the Somme in France as in Britain, and the growing body of work in Britain on the army's "learning curve" on the Western Front is also not replicated in either France or Germany. It is certainly useful for British undergraduates to be reminded why *Oh! What a Lovely War* or *Blackadder* could never have been made in France, or A. J. P. Taylor's iconoclastic 1960s illustrated history first published there. As Winter and Prost comment, "In France, no one jokes about the Great War."

While the volume has the merit of ranging widely over political, military, economic, social, and cultural history, the emphasis is always primarily cultural. In effect, all aspects of the war are seen from the cultural perspective, this being claimed as the "pioneering sector" of Great War studies. Here lie some of the difficulties, for there is more than an air of pretentiousness to much of the book and its claims concerning the value of cultural perspectives alone as a means of understanding the real impact of the war. Having attempted to write a thematic history of the Great War, for undergraduates, for example, I now discover that all the time I was reclaiming the battlefield as historical space for my formerly marginalized and now highly politicized fellow military historians. The first volume of Hew Strachan's magisterial account of the war, which will ultimately stretch to three volumes, is apparently intended to build bridges between left and right. Cultural historians are clearly more perceptive in this regard than this reviewer.

Moreover, the world did not change in August 1914 or, for that matter, even in September 1939 or December 1941. It did so in July 1992, hence the emphasis in each section of the book on work since the 1990s. If, at the time, you felt the earth move, it was not the clash of tectonic plates along the San Andreas Fault. In reality, it was the opening of the Historial de la grande guerre at Péronne on the Somme. Forget the Imperial War Museum, the Australian War Memorial, the In Flanders Fields Museum at Ypres, or any of the world's other museums that have attempted to interpret the Great War. Only the Historial comes close to presenting the true meaning of that conflict, having served also to transform scholarship overnight. Thus, for example, it is the opening of the Historial that has brought about the significant attention now devoted to the institutional dimension of the soldiers' experience. All this is a pity, detracting from an otherwise useful analysis of changing historiography.

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DUDLEY ANDREW and STEVEN UNGAR. *Popular Front Paris and the Poetics of Culture.* Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 449. $35.00.

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Dudley Andrew and Steven Ungar open their study of Popular Front Paris with a brief narrative of the rise and fall of the coalition government of the left that held power in France briefly in 1936–1937. The authors seek to supplement this "straight story" using a historiography inspired by Alain Resnais's film *Stavisky* (1974), one "that represents multiple perspectives and temporalities coexisting within a determinate period" (p. 16). Daily newspapers, a wide range of journals, novels, and especially film form the basis for what Andrew and Ungar describe as a "zigzag" tour of French culture (p. 383) as it confronted (and sometimes looked away from) the political events that typically occupy the foreground of historical accounts of the period.

Andrew and Ungar divide their work into two major sections, with part one ("Street Work") treating "impatient intellectuals mobilizing the expanded public reached by the cinema and the illustrated press" (p. 12). In a chapter that focuses on the publishing world, the authors observe the increasingly political focus of the contributions to the *Nouvelle Revue Française* and trace a shift from pacifism to militancy in the leftist weeklies *Marianne* and *Vendredi*, publications that struggled to balance intellectual rigor with commercial success. Louis-Ferdinand Céline and André Malraux occupy the foreground of chapter three. Both novelists were enormously popular, despite their contrasting responses to their period, with Céline's *Voyage au bout de la nuit* (1932) working to undermine utopian hopes, while Malraux, in *La condition humaine* (1933) and other works, defended revolutionary optimism. Denis de Rougement is the central figure in a chapter that focuses on the Catholic journal *Esprit*. As editor of a special issue of the *Nouvelle Revue Française* in 1932, de Rougement collected essays from young intellectuals across the political spectrum, and he sought throughout the period to pursue a politics of engagement while maintaining a position of nonconformity. Part one concludes with a fascinating study of the immediate background, production history, and critical reception of Jean Renoir's *La Marseillaise* (1938), a work that reflected the ultimately unsuccessful effort of the Popular Front to construct a politics of reconciliation.

In part two Andrew and Ungar shift their attention to daily life in an attempt to capture the diffuse atmospheres that surrounded the ordinary people of Paris, looking at popular entertainment, fashion, and representations of the working classes and the colonies. In the chapter on popular entertainment the authors use the film musicals of René Clair as the starting point for an overview of the shift from the café-concert of the Second Empire to the more anonymous music hall and finally to the sound films that were dominant by the end of the 1930s. They then turn to "Art Deco," the sleek and streamlined visual style that Parisian artists used to present their city to fellow citizens and the world starting in the 1920s. In a characteristic move, the authors contrast this vision with that of the Bohemian photographers, such as Robert Brassai, who were preoccupied with a Paris "of poverty, pleasure, and crime" (p. 245). This concern for the underworld shows up as well in a chapter on representations of working-class neighborhoods, which builds around a contrast between Eugène Dabit's novel, *L'Hôtel du Nord* (1929), and its film adaptation by Marcel Carné (1938). Andrew and Ungar see the film, produced on a set rather than in the streets of Paris, as a move toward melodrama and away from the geographic rootedness and social commitment of Dabit.

In "Imagining the Colonies," the authors use the 1931 Colonial Exposition as the starting point for an analysis of how the French empire was reproduced, tamed, and celebrated for a mass audience. Attentive as always to cultural contestation, they cover as well a counter-exposition supported by a coalition of Surrealists and Communists. The core of this chapter is a study of several films that expose the sexual and spiritual tensions that developed as part of France's so-called "civilizing mission." In a final chapter Andrew and Ungar examine the careers of Salvador Dali, Michel Leiris, and Malraux. The authors acknowledge that these figures sit uneasily in a section purportedly on "daily life." In their view, however, their subjects' concern for carving out "aesthetic utopias" within the politically charged space of the 1930s resembles the escapist aspirations found as well in popular entertainment and colonial dreamscapes.

This compressed summary can give only a distorted view of Andrew and Ungar's book, which is rich, complex, and frequently rewarding. It is also occasionally obscure, laced with overextended metaphors, and shaky at times in its historiographical references. Readers of Carlo Ginzburg's *The Cheese and the Worms* (1980) will be surprised to see the miller Menocchio, whose ideas were shaped by the new availability of printed texts, placed in the fifteenth instead of the sixteenth century (p. 6). It is misleading to depict Charles Rearick as an author of "standard histories" since the work Andrew and Ungar cite in making this claim, *The French in Love and War: Popular Culture in the Era of the World War* (1997), deals with many of the cultural forms that they also discuss. The authors are disarming in their acknowledgement that their approach will be selective and diffuse in an attempt to disrupt linear narratives that fail to capture the ambiguity and confusion of the period. Any comment by a reviewer that the work would have profited from more clarity and coherence might appear to be theoretically naïve and methodologically old-fashioned. But Stephen Schloesser's *Jazz-Age Catholicism: Mystic Modernism in Postwar Paris, 1919–1933* (2005) suggests that a cultural history of this period written in the light of current theoretical concerns can also make a strong argumentative claim. Despite these reservations, this is a valuable and fascinating book, particularly in its insightful readings of a broad array of films of the 1930s.

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LIORA ISRAËL. *Robes noires, années sombres: Avocats et magistrats en résistance pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale*. Paris: Fayard. 2005. Pp. 547. €28.00.

Liora Israël presents her work as a "hybrid of sociology and history," an attempt to apply "sociological questioning to the study of an historical period" (p. 428). Although the book includes a chapter on the interwar period and one on the postwar purge, the author uses this "socio-historical approach" primarily to examine the behaviors of lawyers and judges in the French Resistance during World War II. She is particularly concerned to articulate the links between the legal profession and the involvement in resistance activities by a relatively small minority of its members. Israël argues that the commitment of these men and women to the Resistance cannot be understood without an appreciation of the manner through which their choices and actions were determined by a "socio-professional logic" (p. 216). Unfortunately, the author makes a greater claim to originality than is merited by her study, which is marred by a distorted reading of the works of the recent generation of Resistance historians—against whose work she offers her book as an improvement in analytical sophistication.

In addition to dismissing unfairly and gratuitously the scholarship of an earlier generation of historians whose work she says was "that, heroic, of witnesses and their zealots, or on the other hand that of their political enemies" (p. 91), Israel sets up straw men to challenge by misconstruing the arguments of, among others, François Marcot (for his use of the terms functionalism and intentionalism) and Laurent Douzeau (for his discussion of motivations for entry into resistance and the issue of voluntary discipline within the Resistance). She suggests that these historians have attributed "semi-magical abilities" to the leaders of the Resistance, whose roles they "almost mechanically over-represent" (p. 93), while offering a simplistic and deterministic approach to the analysis of the functionality of social groups within the Resistance. This highly selective and contestable reading may be explained in part by Israël's having relied heavily on Antoine Prost, ed., *La Résistance, une histoire sociale* (1997), and other collections of essays rather than plumbing the more detailed analysis found in these historians' monographs.

Despite its weaknesses the book offers some worthwhile insights into the French Resistance. The core of Israël's work, and its primary novelty, is her description of various tactics used by lawyers and judges to facilitate protection of resisters who were jailed or brought before courts by German and French repressive agencies. The author seeks to determine the margin for maneuver that was available to judges and lawyers in the authoritarian Vichy regime and the Nazi occupation. She concludes that, within judicial ranks, magistrates who made final decisions in court cases—especially those for resisters brought before special tribunals that eviscerated the traditional rights of the defense—had very little chance of helping the accused, other than freeing them or pronouncing nominal sentences attributed to mitigating circumstances. Although this occasionally happened, particularly in the first years of the occupation, any judge daring to attempt such liberations was at serious risk from both Vichy and German authorities, whose ferocity in repression significantly increased with the passage of time. By contrast, those judges whose job it was to prepare indictments had far more opportunities for resistance behaviors. For example, cases might be steered toward French rather than German tribunals, files or evidence might "disappear," or procedural delays might put off a court appearance or trial until after the Liberation, at which time the whole procedure could be squashed. Israël frames these actions in the broad category of "passive resistance" or "civilian resistance" (as articulated in the work of Jacques Semelin).

Israël argues that lawyers had far more room for maneuver than judges, and she discovers a higher level of resistance among the former. Unlike judges, who had no professional association to advance their interests, the lawyers were represented by a corporate body, the Conseils de l'Ordre, traditionally responsible both for their well-being and for discipline within their ranks. This legal body was the model used for Vichy's attempted corporate organization of French society, and the author demonstrates that members were able to intervene effectively through recourse to their traditional prerogatives. For example, they might assume the responsibility for "punishing" lawyers suspected of resistance activities, thus saving them from a confrontation with the more closely watched judicial system and producing a minimal sanction for their actions. The body as a whole mobilized the traditional moral authority of the Conseils de l'Ordre successfully to oppose, on the grounds of incompetence or insufficient integrity, the reinstatement of a lawyer who was a protégé of Pierre Laval, the Vichy leader. Individual lawyers employed various tactics to help the Resistance, from rigorously applying every legally available defense tactic, to serving as couriers of information between arrested resisters and their family or comrades on the outside, to complicity in escapes from internment centers. Other lawyers were active in the underground press.

Israël highlights the activities of lawyers organized by the French Communist Party under the Front National des Juristes (FNJ), relying heavily on the archives of Joe Nordmann, one of the FNJ's founders. This is among the most original of her chapters and helps to fill out our knowledge of the relatively understudied Communist Resistance. Israël's attention to the Communists, who were particularly prominent in the Parisian Resistance, is one reflection of the Paris-oriented focus of the book, as is the general emphasis on examples from the Parisian bar. Although there are occasional comparative examples cited from other regions of France, these references are insufficient for a reader to determine how representative the author's descriptions or conclusions may be for the country as a whole. Except for a survey of evidence from obituaries for members of the Parisian bar, Israël refrains from drawing any

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statistical conclusions from her research. Even granting the difficulty of convincingly applying statistical measures to the study of the Resistance in France, a rough estimate of participation in the legal resistance would have helped the reader to better appreciate its significance. Since several of the author's examples of lawyers or magistrates actively involved in the Resistance also note their involvement in military, intelligence, or escape networks or participation (outside their legal activities) in other resistance movements, Israël's insistence on the professional context of their commitment to the Resistance may not be entirely compelling.

Finally, in noting that lawyers who acted in some circumstances to favor resisters might also be conservative Vichy loyalists, that passive resistance might have been more effective than more spectacular public gestures, that black and white portrayals of collaborators versus resisters within the legal profession were inappropriate and that the occupation period is one of great complexity, Israël offers a modest addition to that history—one that, ironically, confirms the main arguments of historians whose analysis the author purports to dispute.

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SAMUEL MOYN. *A Holocaust Controversy: The Treblinka Affair in Postwar France*. (The Tauber Institute for the Study of European Jewry Series.) Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University Press. 2005. Pp. xxii, 220. Cloth $65.00, paper $19.95.

In 1966 the poet Moshe Szulsztein reviewed Jean-François Steiner's newly published documentary novel *Treblinka* in the Zionist Yiddish daily *Unzer vort*. The Holocaust, he wrote, resembled "a bomb with a mechanical time-delay: fragments from it are still falling. They cripple minds and bring about complexes, diseases, and anomalies. And . . . Steiner is one of the victims of this heritage" (cited in Moyn, p. 101). For Szulsztein, the main focus of inquiry should not have been whether the Jews went "like sheep to the slaughter" or resisted heroically, but rather why the Germans targeted them for genocide. But his review was read only by a small number of Yiddish speakers living in Paris. It had little impact on the controversy that surrounded Steiner's account of the uprising in the Treblinka extermination camp.

Samuel Moyn's fascinating new book resurrects not only such obscure voices as Szulsztein's but the entire, now largely forgotten debate. Moyn makes a strong and convincing argument in justifying his journey back to a period in which the mass murder of the Jews was only beginning to feature as a major event in accounts of World War II. In France, he notes, recognizing the centrality of the Holocaust threatened to undermine the "myth of the Resistance," the belief that most of the French had fought the Germans and that the victimhood of the "deportees" was equally shared regardless of race or creed.

By focusing on the unique fate of the Jews, Steiner's book signaled a shift away from this consensus. Born in 1938, Steiner was a young journalist when he published *Treblinka*. The son of a Jewish father murdered by the Nazis and a Catholic mother, Steiner was obsessed with the alleged passivity of the Jews during the Holocaust, and recreated the uprising in Treblinka as a manifestation of the essence of Jewish uniqueness, namely the will to survive and to testify. This view flew in the face of the convention, most powerfully represented in David Rousset's essay, *L'Univers concentrationnaire* (1946), that there were no essential differences among the victims of Nazism, who were united in their solidarity and sacrifice as opponents of oppression and occupation.

Ironically, the insistence on Jewish resistance as opposed to passivity came simultaneously with a shift from glorification of the Resistance to recognition of French accommodation, collaboration, and obfuscation. As the singularity of the Jewish catastrophe was emerging, revelations of commonplace French opportunism under the Occupation overshadowed tall tales of heroism as Marcel Ophuls, Robert Paxton, and Henry Rousso thoroughly dismantled the old myth. The Steiner controversy ended with the publication of Hannah Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (1963; 1966) in a French translation, whose argument that the Jewish leaders had facilitated their people's extermination caused another major uproar. This dispute was in turn sealed with the Six Day War, where the Israelis supposedly demonstrated that the Jews would never again go like sheep to the slaughter.

To my mind Moyn allows Arendt too much of the benefit of the doubt regarding her allegations—largely lifted from Raul Hilberg—of Jewish complicity. One wishes he had referred to Primo Levi's far deeper insights into the "grey zone" occupied by such men as Steiner's protagonists in Treblinka, or to Gidʿon Graif's extraordinary study of the Jewish *Sonderkommando* in Birkenau. He might have also noted that the weeks leading to the 1967 war were perceived by many Jewish communities, not least in France, as the eve of another Holocaust and a general abandonment by the rest of the world, and thus had a traumatic effect on Jewish identity not less crucial than the euphoria of Israeli victory. Indeed, this period heralded the beginning of a new preoccupation with memory and loss exemplified in works by second generation French Jews—curiously unmentioned by Moyn—as Patrick Modiano's *La Place de l'étoile* (1968), Georges Perec's *W, ou le souvenir d'enfance* (1975), and Alain Finkielkraut's *Le juif imaginaire* (1980).

Moyn has provided a subtle and judicious archeology of the gradual resurfacing of the Holocaust as a historical event in French consciousness. I am somewhat more skeptical about his concluding comments on the aftermath of the debate. It is true that the almost obligatory public references to the Holocaust and its use as a core of Jewish identity may enhance neither historical knowledge nor individual self-understanding. But the resistance to the belated recognition of this historical

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event's importance is just as remarkable, not least because it recycles arguments already made during the Steiner controversy. Again insistence on shared victimhood is accompanied by allegations that undue emphasis on the Holocaust threatens solidarity and distracts attention from contemporary atrocities.

In fact the new scholarship on genocide, as well as the attempt to prevent and punish it, has been largely motivated by the growing study of the Holocaust and the realization that impunity is the *génocidaires'* greatest temptation. It was in the wake of the Holocaust that international humanitarian law was gradually, and imperfectly, implemented, as instanced in the Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945, the United Nations' Genocide Convention of 1948, the tribunals of the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda of the 1990s, and now the International Criminal Court. Tzvetan Todorov is right to point out that memory has often been abused. But the memory of the Holocaust has largely been mobilized in the service of humanity. Forgetting past atrocities, with all their unique features, has never served the purpose of preventing their repetition.

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MARKO TIKKA. *Kenttäoikeudet: Välittömät rankaisutoimet Suomen sisällissodassa 1918* [Court-Martial without Law: Punitive Measures in the Finnish Civil War of 1918]. (Bibliotheca Historica, number 90.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2004. Pp. 471. €29.00.

The civil war of January–May 1918 is one of the most traumatic events in Finnish history. In retrospect one can argue it was unavoidable that Finland, like the other border areas of the Russian Empire, should be drawn into the chaos that followed the Russian Revolution. The experience of war between the Whites, aided by a German expeditionary force and volunteers from Sweden, and the Reds, aided with weapons and some volunteers by the Russian troops in Finland, was so shattering that Finns have not been able to agree on what to call it: war of liberation or civil war?

The experience of Finns fighting Finns was bad enough, but what made the events of 1918 a national trauma for decades was the aftermath, what has been called the Red and the White terror. During the interwar period the war of liberation concept dominated, and the existence of anything like a White terror was denied or ignored. The labor movement collected material on the victims of the White terror but scholarly research started only in the 1960s with pathbreaking studies by Jaakko Paavolainen. Since then there has been an ongoing debate and only a few years ago a state-sponsored commission finished investigating and registering all Finns who died as a result of war between 1914 and 1922. All in all 39,550 names were identified, of which 36,943 were killed in the Civil War. Most of the victims were Reds (27,038, of whom around 12,000 died in prison camps).

The first studies on the Red and White terror tended to stress the breakdown of law and order and the release of pent-up feelings and frustrations, an escalation of hate and revenge, the killings often perpetrated by people losing control in extreme situations. Marko Tikka's book has a refreshingly, if grim, revisionistic starting point. His thesis, simply stated, is that the violence on both sides was for the most part rational, a way of establishing control over newly conquered territory. Violence was used as a means of pacification and under the control of the army leadership and the commanders in the field who through different kinds of inquiry commissions conducted investigations of prisoners according to rules issued from headquarters and with, given the circumstances, fair regard to legal procedures.

Tikka concentrates on the court-martials held, by the White army and the Civil Guard, immediately after the fighting but before the setting up of special courts to deal with the Reds. Tikka has made a painstakingly detailed study of the records of the court-martials in twelve localities. He presents a lot of new information on these courts, their composition and modus operandi, especially their classification of prisoners into those to be executed, held, or released. Tikka is able to show that the demands for strict punitive measures originated in the leadership of the White army, not always locally. He also analyzes the conflict between the military and civilian leadership concerning the legal basis of the court-martials.

Tikka's emphasis on rationality is a welcome antidote to some of the psychological explanations offered in the literature. He shows that there was far more rational planning and ordered process in what seemed to the Reds like aimless killings. It is possible, however, to argue that Tikka in some respects overstates his case. For one thing, "rationality," a planned and organized policy of repression in order to terrorize, frighten, and subdue a population, can exist side by side with more ugly consequences of the breakdown of social restraints. Tikka's material consists of the most systematic and documented part of the White repression. Some cases, as well as killings immediately after the fighting, were never recorded in protocols and sentences. Tikka perhaps overstates the case of military rationality. There might have been an element of political rationality. It would have been interesting if Tikka had discussed if and to what extent the Whites used the aftermath of civil war to eliminate future troublemakers by executing possible leaders of a revived labor movement.

Tikka's emphasis on due procedure perhaps goes a bit too far. Even if the records show systematic investigation of prisoners, there were few of the elements normally associated with court procedures. The book is very long, and the presentation of the local cases includes much more or less identical empirical material; a more strictly analytical treatment with concentration on differences between localities would have served the reader better and made the book shorter. Tikka has, however, been able to shed much new light on the court-martials, and his book is certainly an important

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contribution to the discussion of the aftermath of the civil war.

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GEORGE W. DAMERON. *Florence and Its Church in the Age of Dante.* (The Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. 374. $65.00.

George W. Dameron, the author of an important study of Florence's medieval bishops and their economic power, offers in this new book a chronologically narrower but thematically broader study of the Florentine church between 1250 and 1330. His overriding argument is that the church played a more influential and constructive role in Florence's emergence in these decades as a political and economic power than has usually been acknowledged, especially by Robert Davidsohn, who, as Dameron says, saw the church's role as "divisive, corrupting, obstructionist, and negative." Dameron believes that "ecclesiastical institutions, personnel, and traditions promoted and facilitated the rapid ascent of Florence to a position of continental prominence and influence" by providing "the leadership, effective governance, and stability in both city and countryside that helped create the kinds of social conditions that made the rise of Florence to supremacy possible" (p. 5). This is a bold and original argument, but one not completely supported by this book's own analysis.

After a survey in chapter one of ecclesiastical institutions and a profile in chapter two of the clergy (which he estimates at two percent of a population of 350,000 in the dioceses of Florence and Fiesole around 1300), in the next three chapters Dameron discusses the church's landed wealth and economic role, the channels provided by the church for lay piety, and the church's relations with the commune. Working back from fifteenth century data, he estimates that ecclesiastical landowners, chiefly the bishoprics of Florence and Fiesole, the cathedral chapter, and several particularly wealthy churches and monasteries, may have controlled between a quarter and a third of landed wealth in Florence and its surrounding countryside or *contado* (p. 114). Even if this seems high (because large bequests of property by wealthy Florentines to ecclesiastical institutions for charitable purposes and tax exemptions were just beginning around 1300), there is no doubt that churches owned a lot of land (see Appendix E, pp. 261–262). Noting that the commune established its extra-urban power earlier in the areas once owned by bishops and the cathedral chapter, Dameron intriguingly argues that ecclesiastical lordship paved the way for communal domination of the *contado*. But whether it can be claimed on this basis that "ecclesiastical and communal officials worked cooperatively to extend urban jurisdiction throughout the *contado*" (p. 234) seems more problematic. Dameron himself shows that the bishops and cathedral chapter were forced to sell much of their landed holdings and that the commune enacted legislation "that sharply constrained . . . the power of ecclesiastical courts to dispose of landed property" and imposed a "severe limitation on the ability of churchmen to acquire immobile property" (p. 221). He refers indeed to "the subordination by the early 1290s of ecclesiastical institutions to the interests of the commune" (p. 235). Thus the church's contribution to Florentine regional dominance may not have been quite so voluntary and cooperative.

Partly, Dameron says, because so much has been written about the mendicants, he devotes less attention to them and their preaching than one might expect. But his chief reason in this choice is to underscore the continuing vitality of the secular clergy. His valuable analysis of testaments (of which he found 646 from both the city and the *contado* before 1330) shows that half of the 500 testators who made bequests to one or more ecclesiastical institutions included the secular clergy among recipients (pp. 132–135, 175–177). Particularly noteworthy is that slightly more than half of all these testaments were written by women (p. 133). Dameron plausibly links the increase of both testaments and charitable bequests from the end of the thirteenth century to the growing belief in purgatory and argues that, in legitimating wealth as necessary for those meritorious acts that could diminish time in purgatory, the church facilitated the expansion of Florence's burgeoning capitalist economy. But one must ask whether the driving force behind such beliefs and practices, indeed behind all the age's typical forms of piety, charity, ritual, and devotion, was not rather the laity than the institutional church.

In Dameron's interpretations of the church's decisive role, one detects a certain special pleading. He lauds its charitable activities as fundamental to the preservation of social order, when in actuality (as he shows) the clergy largely distributed lay bequests (pp. 145–147, 211–213). He claims that the church's Guelf ideology, ritual, and architecture sustained the legitimacy of communal government, thus ensuring political stability (pp. 224–229), even as he acknowledges that churchmen played leading roles in the rampant factionalism of these decades. He asserts that the clergy's relationship with parishioners over rents, loans, and fiscal burdens was "protective, symbiotic, and cooperative" (p. 154), which was no doubt true in some cases. But he also demonstrates that conflicts, occasionally violent ones, abounded among ecclesiastical institutions over patronage, appointments, and elections (e.g. pp. 57–64) between churchmen and laymen over property (pp. 59–60), and between church and commune over taxes (p. 150), the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts, and the contentious issue of "fictitious clerks" (pp. 219–223). The Florentine church's importance may emerge even more convincingly from these many conflicts, which presumably would not have been so intense and frequent if so much had not been at stake.

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ALISON KNOWLES FRAZIER. *Possible Lives: Authors and Saints in Renaissance Italy*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 527. $45.00.

Renaissance humanism is credited with the birth of modern historical writing. Alison Knowles Frazier here demonstrates eloquently that the same cannot be said of humanist hagiography. Prompted by the late Paul Oskar Kristeller to compile an inventory of fifteenth-century Italian humanist writings on saints, she has unearthed a mass of long-forgotten lives and passions that she details in a finding list of over two hundred works by half as many authors. These she approaches with dry humor through a series of meticulously contextualized case studies. Much of this literature she finds derivative, but its bulk alone requires consideration. It points to continuities between medieval and Renaissance hagiography and between the religious aspirations of the humanists and their clerical and lay audiences: "the effect of the *studia humanitatis* on the field of hagiography is best described as an intensification and redirection of medieval concerns, not as a complete break with, or a series of challenges to, those concerns" (p. 27).There was an audience among reforming clerics and literate laymen for a revised hagiography. But the few humanists who went beyond rhetorically airbrushing previous lives to attempt greater human verisimilitude and historical accuracy failed to reconcile these aims with the liturgical requirements of the genre and its emphasis on idealization and transcendence. Few wrote more than two or three lives, and most were content to paraphrase older sources: Jerome was more revered than emulated. Humanists were drawn to the martyrs of the fourth and fifth centuries, mendicants from the thirteenth to the fifteenth, and to prelates in both periods.

Patristic studies, church reform, and the Turkish menace encouraged a strong fifteenth-century "martyrological *imaginaire*" (p. 48). But if Lorenzo Valla was prepared to advocate immitatible martyrdom most humanists, like Leon Battista Alberti, blanched before the bloody "red" passions of medieval authors and redirected their readers' attention to the civic and domestic value of the martyrs' cults. Antonio degli Agli attempted to revise the old martyrology. But his reordering of the passions according to a rationalized secular chronology rather than traditional liturgical calendar, while reinserting the *ecclesia* into the *saeculum*, also rendered his work liturgically unusable and thus "a failure" (p. 74). Comparable efforts at revision by Giannozzo Manetti and Bonifacio Simonetta foundered on problems of dating and sources.

Bonino Mombrizio's *Sanctuarium* of 326 lives and passions was Renaissance hagiography's greatest success, widely circulated and critically acclaimed by Jean Bolland. Frazier argues that it was rushed into print for political reasons after the assassination of Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza in 1476. Haste, rather than critical restraint, explain why many of its lives are unrevised. Even its innovative alphabetical arrangement may simply have been an attempt to avoid the political implications of following the traditional Ambrosian (republican) or Roman liturgical calendars. "Philology alone," concludes Frazier, "will not account for the *Sanctuarium* as we have received it" (p. 167). Giovanni Garzoni, in turn, was the most prolific humanist hagiographer. But Frazier demonstrates that his thirty-two lives and passions were largely unacknowledged rewritings of Jacobus de Voragine that Garzoni used to teach his Dominican pupils Latin grammatical paraphrase, *oratio recto*, and speech writing. "[S]o simple-minded as to defy explanation" (p. 192), they "fell far below the achievement of many medieval authors" (p. 211).Featuring a symposium among learned pagans (Plato, Cicero), early Christians (Basil, Jerome), and distinguished humanists (Leonardo Bruni, Francesco Barbaro), Giacomo da Udine's life of Elena of Udine (d. 1458) was the most innovative example of humanist hagiography. But after a minute examination of the Augustinian hermits' efforts to promote Elena for canonization, Frazier concludes that Giacomo must have intended the life as a learned experiment, for it "could be of no use for a canonization process. Indeed, the idea is ludicrous" (p. 265). The retired curialist Raffaele Maffei, having translated the homilies of Basil, and reacting against Aurelio Brandolini's new humanist ideal of saintly encomium, argued that excessive panegyric rendered the saints' lives too remote to inspire emulation. Yet in his own efforts to incorporate greater human detail he simply clogged his lives with historical trivia that rendered them "a profound failure of sacred rhetoric" (p. 312).

Whereas Eric Cochrane found "promising experiments" in Quattrocento hagiography (*Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* [1981], p. 418), Frazier confesses to having served up "a sheaf of failures" (p. 315). Charles Trinkaus's analyses of the humanists' religious Renaissance and the studies by André Vauchez, Donald Weinstein, and Rudolph Bell of the surge of popular Italian saints may have made humanist hagiography look more promising at the outset. To her credit, Frazier refuses to explain away its shortcomings as owing to Renaissance secularism or the restrictions of the Latin medium. Rather, in excavating these "evolutionary dead ends" (p. 319), she has produced a series of thickly described vignettes that highlight the rich interweaving of the *studia humanitatis* with lay religious sentiments, secular politics, ecclesiastical authority, medieval hagiography, and the politics of sanctity as it was imagined and promoted in fifteenth-century Italy.

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EVELYN WELCH. *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400–1600*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 403. $45.00.

Evelyn Welch's book offers a fascinating cultural history of consumerism in Italy between 1400 and 1600.

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Produced by Yale University Press, the book is richly embellished with reproductions of art and architecture that provide a stunning visual experience of the period as well as a documentary basis for the study. Welch's thesis is that the Renaissance "challenges rather than reinforces a sense of linear transfer from past to present" and "threatens some basic assumptions concerning the connections between architecture and consumer behavior" (pp. 4–5). Her thesis responds to and advances the larger debate among Renaissance scholars over whether consumerism during this period was the root of modern consumer culture. Most of the research surrounding this debate has concentrated on elite trade and consumption because ordinary people spent most of their resources on subsistence and goods produced at home. There is per force more documentary evidence for prosperous individuals from the past, who left family account books and diaries. Welch puts these to good use, as well as consulting literary sources, criminal records, statutes, and auction price lists. Still, it is important to remember that the parameters of this discussion have little to do with the majority of the population, who were hardly strong consumers.

A fundamental theme that runs through this four-part book is that buying and selling were acts of embedded social behavior. Part one, "Seeing Shopping," presents the literary metaphors and stereotypes found in Renaissance literature to describe behavior in the marketplace. Part two, the "Geography of Expenditure," explores how attitudes shaped urban planning. Trades were grouped and zoned on specific streets. Shops and market places functioned as public sites of visibility where the behavior of commerce and exchange could be publicly regulated. Beyond mapping these sites, Welch explains the division of time for civic and sacred events and the public calendar that encouraged trade, buying, and selling. Part three continues the examination of public sites of acquisition, this time at fairs, auctions, and lotteries, sites that made buying and selling public theater. These events provided people the opportunity to see, touch, and at times taste new goods. At the same time these activities helped form social and commercial communities with common understandings of good and poor value. The fourth and final part of the book examines consumers themselves, sorted in terms of men and women as well as republic and court communities. This section touches the heart of social behavior. Who shopped for the household? How did life cycles, notions of honor and reputation affect buying? Welch's analysis deftly genders consumer space. Men engaged in high-scale buying; women in low-scale. Normally women only received small sums of currency. Noble women, keeping with the expectations of their class, avoided public negotiation, working instead with trusted male relatives. Women of the highest rank, such as Isabella d'Este, could turn misogynist metaphors to their advantage using the courtly discourse of the period to charm competitors into relinquishing prized objects at auction. This section of Welch's book is particularly effective in showing how shopping entailed a series of social relationships. It forged important social connections across class lines, such as god parenting in the case of masters and servants. Buying, selling, negotiating price, and assessing quality were all predicated on trust, which, if successfully established, could reinforce social order. Welch thus illumines some of the glue that potentially held society together.

Welch has made a laudable attempt to grip a vast and in some ways elusive subject. The archival work and secondary bibliography for this study is impressive, and she has employed the evidence in a creative manner. Rather than attempting to quantify consumption, which at times can only be impressionistic, Welch offers us a fresh social and cultural interpretation of a historical period whose origins and fame rest heavily on its commercial axis.

JOANNE M. FERRARO
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AD TERVOORT. *The* iter italicum *and the Northern Netherlands: Dutch Students at Italian Universities and Their Role in the Netherlands' Society (1426–1575).* (Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, number 21.) With CD-ROM. Boston, Mass.: Brill. 2005. Pp. xxii, 438. Pp. xxii, 438. $224.00.

In 1506, Desiderius Erasmus was awarded a doctorate in theology at the University of Turin. He is the most famous of the 640 students who are known to have travelled to Italian universities from the Northern Netherlands between 1426 and 1575 and who are the subject of this admirable study by Ad Tervoort. The *iter italicum* that drew students from across Europe has been the subject of much research; however, this is the first analysis of those students who came from the Northern Netherlands.

The book is divided into five chapters. In chapter one, Tervoort places his work in the context of university history, discusses methodology and sources, and outlines the questions which he seeks to answer. Chapter two focuses on the students in Italy: who went, what they studied, their graduation record, their age, and the possible length of their study. In chapters three, four, and five, the Netherlands are center stage as Tervoort examines the students' geographical origins, their social background, their careers following their return from Italy, networks, and social mobility. The book concludes with a discussion of the place of the *iter italicum* in the culture of the late medieval and early modern Netherlands, especially its role in the Renaissance, the Reformation, state formation, and revolt. Biographies of the students are provided on a CD-ROM.

Based on extensive research in Dutch archives, the chapters on the Netherlands are the strongest part of the book, and Tervoort makes a significant contribution to our understanding of culture and society in the Netherlands during this period. The analysis of the Italian universities and the place of the Netherlandish students in them is sensitive and thoughtful. However, some issues concern me. First, Tervoort's archival research in

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Italy is limited to Bologna and Padua. For the other Italian universities he is dependent on edited sources. Second, most of the matriculation records of Italian universities before the sixteenth century have been lost, so we will probably never know the identities of all of the students. Statistics should therefore be treated with caution. Third, how significant were the students who went to Italy? Of all Northern Netherlandish students, the proportion who traveled the *iter italicum* was tiny, no more than four or five per year on average or one out of twenty even in peak periods. Admittedly there were outstanding scholars such as Erasmus. However, Tervoort notes that "Erasmus was definitely not typical for the students in the population" (pp. 353–354). Fourth, the value of an Italian education is unclear: "the career perspective was to a large extent linked to one's social background" (p. 346). Tervoort estimates that only about a quarter of those who went to Italy rose in social status in their later lives. Finally, since Padua was the most popular destination for those students who went from the Northern Netherlands to Italy, it is surprising that Tervoort does not refer to Jonathan Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors: English Students in Italy, 1485–1603* (1998). It would have been interesting to see the similarities and differences in the experiences of these two groups of students from Northern Europe. Nevertheless, despite these caveats, Tervoort's study can certainly be recommended to all those interested in Italian universities during the Renaissance and in the Northern Netherlands in this period.

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MARGARET STIEG DALTON. *Catholicism, Popular Culture, and the Arts in Germany, 1880–1933*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 378. Cloth $70.00, paper $35.00.

Building on several decades of research by scholars on Catholicism in Germany, Margaret Stieg Dalton's book examines the Catholic cultural movement that followed the *Kulturkampf*, reached its apogee before the war, shifted into new fields in the 1920s, and, finally, declined in the last years of the Weimar Republic. Suggesting, as have other scholars, that the Catholic cultural movement was analogous to the alternative culture of the German labor movement, Dalton points out that the question driving the Catholic cultural movement was how Catholics should respond to secular, modern culture.

The primary sources for her study are diocesan archives in Germany and the various Catholic publications that emerged during this Catholic cultural revival. Reading widely in the newspapers and journals, Dalton traces two major themes: the effort to develop cultural art forms that were "truly Catholic" and, simultaneously, the need to protect Catholics from the dangerous, immoral aspects of modern culture. Efforts on both of these levels were complicated by differences on how to define the problems, much less find solutions. By approaching these issues through the debates and conflicting ideas of the Catholic writers, Dalton seeks to capture the interwoven texture of aspiration and anxiety that marked Catholic efforts in literature, visual arts, music, theater, cinema, and radio. She discusses the difficulty intellectuals faced in defining both the appropriate Catholic response to modern forms and what should constitute the contemporary Catholic art form. Defining her approach as intellectual history, she deliberately focuses only on debates and ideas occupying Catholic intellectuals, not on "cultural products" (p. 5). This decision to ignore the works of art, literature, music, and popular culture against which the Catholic intellectuals reacted yields an analysis that rests on a simplistic and undifferentiated "modern culture."

Dalton's treatment of literature is the most effective section of her book. She outlines the literary wars over modernism and the continued weakness of Catholic literature. These controversies, mirrored in the formation of oppositional journals and organizations, were finally worn out by their own ineffectuality. On the level of popular culture, Dalton credits the work of the Borromäus Verein and its creation of libraries for making appropriate books available to the faithful.

Given the central importance of music within the Catholic liturgy, the chapter on the role of music in the Catholic cultural movement raises different issues. Here controversies arose over efforts to reform liturgical music. Dalton provides a thoughtful discussion of the dimensions of the reform, led by the Cäcilien Verein, which championed choral music, particularly Gregorian chant. Further issues dealt with lay—especially women's—participation in the choirs, the exclusion of popular German hymns, and whether any form of "modern" music could be used in the liturgy.

Pointing to the virtually universal Catholic condemnation of modern art before the war and claiming an "absence of the popular-culture dimension" (p. 113) in the visual arts, Dalton concentrates on debates over religious art, which was an integral element of Catholic liturgy. She dwells on the paucity and weakness of Catholic religious art, most of which she condemns as kitsch. Unfortunately, she does not appear to be aware of research over the last decade about the resurgence in Germany of both Catholic and Protestant religious art in the last years of the nineteenth century. Nor, more puzzling, in light of her basic theme of the Catholic response to modernism, is the book's failure to treat the public protests by Catholics against religious paintings by major German modern artists, protests charging blasphemy that reached the level of parliamentary debates.

In the last chapters of the book, Dalton depicts Catholic intellectuals' responses to the burgeoning forms of popular culture represented by music halls, theaters, cinema, and radio. The Catholic cultural movement sought to present its own forms of popular entertainment, as seen in the Catholic film movement and in extensive radio programming. Dalton devotes a chapter to a cogent discussion of Catholic efforts, associated

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with the rise of moral purity associations, to establish censorship that could control the most dangerous manifestations of popular culture. Ultimately, however, despite the activities and organizations chronicled here, Dalton concludes that the Catholic cultural movement failed to establish a viable alternative to modern secular culture or to commercial popular culture.

I found the first three chapters of this book to be tedious disquisitions on the Catholic cultural movement and on the concepts of milieu and culture. Despite—perhaps a result of—the voluminous supporting citations, these pages often seem pedantic, oversimplified, and insufficiently integrated. Much of the material could have been more effectively utilized within the following chapters.

BETH IRWIN LEWIS
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MICHAEL STOLLEIS. *A History of Public Law in Germany, 1914–1945*. Translated by THOMAS DUNLAP. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 489.

The twentieth century has been called the "German Century." Germany's worldwide influence in economics, technology, and science, its infamous role in two world wars, its prominence as a *Frontstaat* during the Cold War, and its major role in bringing the Cold War to an end: can all this be put into the nutshell history of the German state, German public law, and public law doctrine? Michael Stolleis does a masterful job.

In this, his third volume, Stolleis focuses on the first half of the "short" century—the period from the outbreak of World War I in 1914 up to the end of the national socialist regime and World War II in 1945. He tells a complicated story with great skill, exhibiting profound knowledge and a high degree of sensitivity for the political ruptures in German public law as well as public law doctrine from the height of their influence to the depth of their decline. Stolleis's main focus is not on public law per se but rather on the history of German public law doctrine and its scholars.

Public law comprises both constitutional and administrative law. Stolleis' history of public law between 1914 and 1945 unfolds in ten chronologically ordered chapters, beginning with "the long farewell" to the nineteenth century. In chapter one the author addresses the fading continuities of the corporate state, the primacy of nationalism amid initial trends toward "internationalizing" public law, and the rapid evolution of the industrial state and the ever-widening range of its legal intervention into society. The rise of the intervening state, in contrast to the liberal *Nachtwächterstaat* of the nineteenth century, was accompanied by the steady expansion and growing importance of public law vis-à-vis the hitherto dominant civil law.

World War I (chapter two) unmasked this development with the breakthrough of new legal forms that stressed the increasingly instrumental character of law for political purposes, especially for winning the war. This development was reflected in the curtailment of legal protection and the expansion of bureaucracy in order to better organize the wartime economy. The tendency was to retreat from individual legal purposes in favor of collective ones, toward utilitarianism and the legal structuring of extensive bureaucratic organizations. Stolleis, in contrast to the views of other scholars, argues that this bureaucracy helped to guarantee the state's ability to function in the face of "traumatic" experience—in this case, the socioeconomic disruption and severe national depression following defeat after the November Revolution and the "dictate" of the Versailles Treaty (chapter three).

The first republican German Constitution enacted in Weimar in 1919 codified the revolutionary impetus against monarchy. Although this constitution represented a compromise on practical and theoretical issues, it was nevertheless accepted as valid by the majority of monarchical and republican, positivist and antipositivist scholars of public law (pp. 46, 67). Among the essential points subject to constitutional interpretation, the status of the reich president, the limits of constitutional change, and the role of parliamentarianism were fiercely debated. Behind these debates stood the quest to unify an idealistically transfigured neutral state based on a professional civil service that stood above and was directed "against" the political parties. Stolleis shows how the vehement quarrels over methodology in public law doctrine at that time reflected the serious, underlying struggle over political form in the Weimar Republic from the second half of the 1920s onward (chapter five, pp. 140–146). The loss of political terrain by the formerly dominant positivists to the internally diverse but forceful current of antipositivism weakened the resistance of positive constitutional law against attacks by antirepublican and totalitarian political forces.

Although Stolleis rightly shows that the methodological debates in Weimar "were carried on against an open horizon" and not in the light of the Nazi "total state" (p. 139), the rapid loss of autonomy and the destruction (and ultimately self-destruction) of public law (chapters eight and nine), both in substance and as a scholarly discipline after 1933, were prefigured in the deep intellectual divisions that characterized Weimar Republic public law doctrine and policies. The abdication of the state bound by the rule of law and the revoking of legal protection by the courts were welcomed by an overwhelming majority of legal scholars after 1933, who denounced the *Rechtsstaat* as "liberalistic." These measures paved the way for the "Final Solution" (chapter ten): German public law and its jurists legitimized the destruction of European Jewry. The majority of the "functional elite" among German public law jurists "welcomed and supported the regime, expanding it and maintaining it to the end" (p. 440). This is the most disturbing message of Stolleis's seminal analysis. His is by far the best book we have on German public law doctrine in the first half of the twentieth century—a doctrine that began with the great intellectual force of

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an academic discipline but ended with its self-destruction.

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CHRISTIANE CRASEMANN COLLINS. *Werner Hegemann and the Search for Universal Urbanism*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2005. Pp. 417. $50.00.

For decades the story of German architectural modernism was largely told by recounting the careers and contracted work of its lionized protagonists. That the Nazis condemned many of the *Neues Bauen* crusaders as "degenerate" has long assured their place as besieged yet noble prophets of twentieth-century modernity. Many of the standard surveys and monographs on the subject derive their drama by chronicling these cultural wars between heroic modernists and their reactionary enemies over the course of the century. Only recently have scholars begun to look beyond the high-profile battles and roster of notables to explore how lesser-known figures and movements enriched German architectural modernism in significant ways.

Christiane Crasemann Collins's book is a key contribution to this burgeoning literature. Werner Hegemann is hardly a well-known figure today, but he was a significant cultural broker in German and American architectural circles from the late nineteenth century through the mid-1930s. Although lacking formal architectural training, he was an extremely influential publicist who possessed a great gift for punchy architectural criticism (Crasemann Collins likens his fierce prose to that of American muckraker Lincoln Steffens) and for communicating new urban planning ideas to the wider public. Hegemann lectured widely in Germany and the United States, organized a number of important exhibitions in both countries (including the "Berlin 1910 City Planning Exhibition" and "Boston 1915"), wrote popular urban histories such as *Das Steinerne Berlin: Geschichte der grössten Mietskasernenstadt* (1930), and served as editor of the highly regarded cultural journal *Wasmuths Monatshefte für Baukunst*. Having spent many years in the United States, he acted as an energetic ambassador of new transatlantic urban planning ideas and played an instrumental role in introducing American architectural modernism to a German audience before World War I.

The obvious strength of this book is the great depth of research, and Crasemann Collins's ability to bring Hegemann's colorful career to life. Her larger point—that Hegemann has been forgotten precisely because he was not beholden to any architectural camp—is persuasively rendered. Early on Hegemann developed an unwavering and quite idiosyncratic view of modernism informed by classical culture. The Austrian city planner Camillo Sitte and his American counterpart Frederic C. Howe were key influences on his thinking. What he took from them was the notion that urban planning was above all a "civic art" that blended past and present in a harmonious whole, as he made clear in *The American Vitruvius: An Architects' Handbook of Civic Art*, co-authored with landscape architect Elbert Peets (1922). This often meant that he at turns championed and criticized the modernists, many of whom he felt sacrificed ideals of progressive urban culture on the altar of polemic formalism. Sometimes he even wrote approvingly about the early work of antimodernists Paul Schmitthenner and Paul Schulze-Naumberg, although he never missed a chance in print to skewer their efforts to try to combine race, culture, and German architecture. His 1933 book, *Entlarvte Geschichte*, was so scathing in its attack on Adolf Hitler that it resulted in his exile in New York. Underlying all of Hegemann's work, as Crasemann Collins rightly notes, was his driving aim to unmask all forms of "hero worship," even if this included the sacred cows of hallowed modernism. Not for nothing did Walter Benjamin brand him a *Heldenschläger*, or "killer of heroes." Still, Hegemann harbored great idealism, and he was never swayed from the conviction that proper urban planning and city design were necessary preconditions to social progress and even global peace.

Even so, there are some weak spots in the book. For one thing, Crasemann Collins's overarching concern to recount her subject's life often ends up unwittingly cutting him off from the larger cultural currents of the day. Much is made of his travels across America and busy social life, but there is not enough on the coming of modernism to Germany and America. More significantly, there is precious little treatment of the theme Hegemann himself embodied: the rise of the architectural publicist. After all, his career in many ways reflected the golden age of architectural manifestos and writing, and Hegemann was at the center of it. What this says about the period and its shotgun marriage of architecture and mass media is largely unexplored here. Not much is provided in the way of influence, either; this is a pity, given that one of his assistants, Joseph Hudnut, became a powerful dean at Harvard's Graduate School of Design (1935–1952). How Hudnut and others (critics Reyner Banham and Robert Hughes are arguably kindred spirits) carried forth Hegemann's vision long after his death deserves more consideration. Even so, Crasemann Collins has performed an admirable service in recalling Hegemann's vital role as a transatlantic mediator of twentieth-century modernist architectural culture.

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SHIRLI GILBERT. *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 243.

Now that the interstices of music and politics have been examined for some years, in particular of totalitarian politics on the left and right, Shirli Gilbert offers a new study on music in concentration camps. Again, this is not the first of its specialized genre but follows remark-

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able treatises on music in Terezín by Jožа Karas (1985) and in Auschwitz by Szymon Laks (1989). Gilbert does not write about Terezín, perhaps because too many former professional musicians performed there (about whom she is also silent). However, contributing to a general anthropology of music, Gilbert shows both the integrative and disintegrative powers of this medium in extremely adverse circumstances and in various settings, and this is one of the admirable uses of her book. The other is for students of the Holocaust, for it shows how the lives and deaths of Nazi victims were affected by an artistic medium, in this case music. Music is more easily produced than other forms of art; one needs only to open one's mouth to sing. Music can be done in a concentration camp.

Gilbert demonstrates a surprising spectrum of uses for music in the Holocaust, anything from expressing elation to marking hostility and opposition to the SS. But since life in concentration and liquidation camps was mostly terrible or sad, joyful music did not predominate. The saddest functions of music in captivity occurred when child beggars in the Warsaw Ghetto sang songs to aid their quest for food or pennies or, worse, when groups of Jews sang defiantly before their deaths in the gas chamber. The most unnatural use of music was made by the SS, whenever it forced Jews to sing as a form of torture. Students of the Third Reich already know that the Nazi command *Singen!* belonged to the arsenal of totalitarian crowd and individual control; it was used in Hitler Youth columns, in the Wehrmacht, and on formations of concentration camp inmates when they were returning to camp from a work site. At the other extreme, songs in the Warsaw Ghetto were sung as lullabies, but they also told stories—for example, of clever street crime—before the Ghetto community fell apart completely. Departing from the Vilna Ghetto, Jews used songs as battle hymns as they joined with Communist Jewish partisans in the woods outside. In Vilna as in Warsaw or Auschwitz, song assumed the quality of chronicle as it told of the ongoing suffering, of recent massacres, and of corruption by rich Jews inside the ghettoes. The surviving ballads remind us of important milestones in the history of the Shoah. Hence texts in music were of utmost significance, now and in those decades when Polish or Yiddish could not be understood by the German guards.

Gilbert employs a wide definition of the Holocaust, including in its victims not only Jews but also Communist prisoners of Sachsenhausen, for example. Although examples of their songs are given, most of the book's text deals with Jewish suffering and song. Why only amateurs' songs—and sometimes instrumental music, as with the classical players of the Warsaw Ghetto—are included in the study and not professional musicians like Karel Ančerl and Viktor Ullmann of Terezín escapes my comprehension. It would have been interesting to probe the differences in approach and quality of the music by these diverse groups. And although Gilbert mentions some of the reactions of the captors to this music, by and large the role of the SS as listeners and sometimes even active participants (in Auschwitz, for example, the brilliant German-Brazilian accordionist, SS Guard Perry Broad) is ignored. (For Auschwitz, because she did not read all of the literature, Gilbert has missed the Swing band, "The Merry Five.") Finally, the entire discussion of this part of music in the Holocaust should have taken aspect against the background of music and musicians in the Third Reich, if not, even more broadly, music and musicians in Western society at large.

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DAVID MONOD. *Settling Scores: German Music, Denazification, and the Americans, 1945–1953.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 325. $45.00.

Is music political? Can a cultural product be separated from the artist or its environment? The historiography of German modern history has recently witnessed a number of studies dedicated to the role of classical music in the nation's history. In the nineteenth century, music became a principal ingredient of Germans' imagined community, a process that began long before there was a German national state and that survived two world wars.

David Monod wonders why. His study of the American occupation of post-World War II Germany addresses a number of questions related to denazification, democratization, reeducation, cultural reform, indictment, and culpability, but they all boil down to one concern: why did Americans fail to reform the German musical scene after 1945 when they had the powers to do so? By "reform" Monod refers to a complex network of names, beliefs, and administrative structures firmly entrenched both in Germany's cultural scene as well as in the German mindset. When the Nazis had come to power, in 1933, they constantly invoked the nation's superiority by pointing to past cultural achievement, above all in the field of music. From Bach to Brahms, German composers and performing artists served as pillars of the Nazis' claim that they represented a master race. To denazify the German people, Americans had to destroy their faith in cultural superiority and, with that, their belief that German music was somehow better than other nations' compositions.

In search for an answer, Monod focuses on the Music Control Branch of the Information Control Division, charged with supervising and restructuring German musical life. He looks at the initial plans for music control, the visions of individual officers, their first impressions, and obstacles in postwar Germany—as well as the rocky course and silent death of denazification policy. In some of the book's best passages, Monod outlines the lives and careers of those twentieth-century artists whose works are so much better known than their political background: Richard Strauss, whose status as head of the Reichsmusikkammer should have automatically rendered all denazification impossible. Wilhelm

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Furtwängler, chief music consultant of Joseph Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry and frequent conductor in newly occupied territories. Herbert von Karajan, who despite his early membership in the Nazi Party practically charmed the occupation authorities into clearing his tainted record.

In the end, Monod offers a simple answer: Americans could not denazify the entire German music scene because they did not wish to do so. Many officers remained unwilling to tear the icon of German music down from its international pedestal, partly because they themselves admired it and partly because they "continued to feel intimidated by Germany and its cultural heritage" (p. 245). The musical branch was divided on the question of whether radical dismissal of all Nazi collaborators constituted the appropriate approach, or whether talent and art merited exceptional treatment (meaning circumvention of the denazification process). Such a schism weakened the effectiveness of the officers in charge and, eventually, the advocates of cultural preservation won. But not completely. American artists traveling to Germany during the early years of the Cold War—for example, the Everyman Opera Company's production of Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess*—and their enormous success constituted a silver lining foreshadowing Germany's readiness to accept the musical achievements of other nations.

Monod clearly feels American reformers should have done more, but was this really possible? The officers' cultural mindsets originated in a transatlantic musical alliance that looked back on more than one hundred years. German artists and German music had been instrumental in shaping the American symphony scene since the 1840s and there was a time when the words "German" and "musical" were almost synonymous. Even two world wars could not sever this musical alliance and to many Americans, the German masters represented the antithesis to the evils of the Third Reich. If Thomas Mann's *Doktor Faustus* (1947) drew a direct line between the good and the bad in Germany's psyche, most postwar audiences—and not only American musical officers—whisked these concerns away as either ludicrous, irrelevant, or simply too disturbing. What matters, then, is not whether music is political but whether people eventually believe it is.

This is a unique study in so many ways: by addressing musical as well as political issues it represents interdisciplinary history at its best. Monod writes his chapters in a canny, sometimes slightly biting prose, with an eye for the important detail, respectful to the source and the historical actor but always willing to provide an interpretation. Most importantly, at a time when key words such as "reeducation" and "democratization" have once again become common catchwords in the media, Monod rejuvenates the forever-haunting question of to what extent a nation can be politically redirected without either reverting to violent resistance or social collapse.

Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht
Johann Wolfgang Goethe-University, Frankfurt am Main

Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann. *Painterly Enlightenment: The Art of Franz Anton Maulbertsch, 1724–1796.* (Bettie Allison Rand Lectures in Art History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 162. $34.95.

This book validates the adage that "Good things come in small packages." Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann's work is good because it enhances scholars' appreciation of an artist who worked in a pivotal time in Central European history but who is much neglected in Western histories of art. It is good because it is a gracefully written, clearly expressed description of the artist, his work, how his work was related to his times, and how it may have foreshadowed modern expressionism. To do all that in a slender book of 173 pages (and thirty-two colored plates) is a very ambitious undertaking. Lecture series often do not translate into well-wrought books, but, in this case, Kaufmann has carried it off so adroitly that he satisfies the demands of *cognoscenti* and pleasurably enlightens readers less familiar with the period, place, issues, and art of Franz Anton Maulbertsch.

The title of the book implies that Maulbertsch was an artist inspired by the Enlightenment or was, through his art, himself an engine of the Enlightenment in Habsburg Central Europe. It poses a familiar conundrum: Does the artist shape the Zeitgeist, or does the Zeitgeist shape the artist? The only satisfying answer is that there is a symbiosis at work that seldom provides a clear assignment of influences either way. Maulbertsch certainly was exposed to the ideas and practices of the Enlightenment in its Austrian expression. He had some traffic with exponents of Enlightenment, Joseph von Sonnenfels and Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz among them, and some of his works are expressions of the Enlightenment (*Allegory on Education*, *Allegory on the Edict of Toleration*, *Glorification of Joseph II*, for examples). But most of his work was in frescoes on ceilings and walls in buildings of religious purpose, allowing only narrow opportunity for themes of Enlightenment, even during the time of Reform Catholicism. There is insufficient evidence to judge Maulbertsch to be either a champion of Enlightenment or a product of it. He executed commissions as they were defined in consultation with his patrons, and when, in his later career, Enlightenment notions were anathema in the Habsburg lands, his work went with the change.

This is the first book in English about Maulbertsch. His work was so powerful as to inspire awe in young Oskar Kokoschka and persuade him to follow art as his profession, so it may come as a surprise that Western European and American historians of art have directed little attention to Maulbertsch. But Kaufmann explains that there are practical reasons for the relative obscu-

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rity of Maulbertsch outside Central Europe. First, Maulbertsch's greatest works were frescoes on ceilings and walls. Such works do not lend themselves to depiction in plates that can be studied; so much depends, especially in Maulbertsch's case, on light striking color over a large area, changing with time of day and position of the viewer, none of which can be captured in still photographs. Also, the sites of most of the frescoes are remote, difficult-to-reach structures of lesser significance. (The ceiling fresco in the Maria Treu Piaristenkirche in Vienna, the work that so impressed young Kokoschka, is a happy exception!) Maulbertsch did not found or exemplify a school of artistic philosophy. He worked in the fading days of baroque, the height of Enlightenment, and advent of neo-classicism, times of swift transition—all soon to be denied in reaction, revolution, and war. Maulbertsch's painterly genius was in vivid, powerful color with bursting light, often intensified in *chiaroscuro*, a style highly charged with passion, fitting for baroque, and suggesting him to be a forerunner of modern expressionism. But it was a style at odds with a time when reason was discounting passions (pace Alexander Pope and his *Essay on Man*). His art for religious buildings won less attention when even pious Maria Theresa was disciplining the church, and Joseph II later was abolishing monasteries and imposing Spartan limitations on church decoration. In his later years, when the Enlightenment brought neo-classicism to art, his brilliant, intense displays of color did not fit the times and tastes. Maulbertsch's extraordinary use of color was both his triumph and his undoing. During the Enlightenment, and thereafter until recently, one held color to be the conveyor of emotion, feeling, passion, and it was not to be defined by reason or depicted by words. Line and form were the artistic vehicle for description, discussion, and for the delivery of rational messages. Since historians of art must use words and treat characteristics of artists that words can compass, the powerful, emotion-charged, but word-transcending colors of Maulbertsch, his painterly genius, afforded historians too little vocabulary with which to write about him.

Nevertheless, Kaufmann has written an excellent study of an artist and a period of art history that has until now been served only meagerly in English. His is a worthy lead that one can hope will bring followers.

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RICHARD S. GEEHR. *The Aesthetics of Horror: The Life and Thought of Richard von Kralik*. (Studies in Central European Histories.) Boston: Brill. 2003. Pp. x, 166. $120.00.

The last third of the nineteenth century and the first third of the twentieth witnessed radical changes in the political, cultural, and intellectual life of Austria. Nationalism, secularism, modernism, and antisemitism all intensified during the last few decades of the Habsburg Monarchy, World War I, and the First Austrian Republic. These developments were especially difficult for conservatives such as Richard von Kralik to accept.

As the undisputed leader of Vienna's cultural conservates during the First Austrian Republic (1918–1938), Kralik was the "poet-laureate" of the Christian Social Party until his death in 1934. At the height of his popularity in post-World War I Austria, he was revered by numerous followers and highly respected by conservative politicians and ecclesiastical dignitaries. Although he was incredibly prolific—writing over 300 books as well as numerous articles and even plays, poems and musical works—Kralik is today almost entirely forgotten. If he is remembered at all, he is usually ridiculed as an eccentric. Nevertheless, it is probable that Kralik was one of those Austrian intellectuals who helped prepare the way for the Holocaust, even if that was not his intention.

Kralik's writings were in many ways compatible with those of the Nazis and Adolf Hitler himself. His works sometimes included pagan elements drawn from German legends. He was an ardent proponent of "pure German culture" and a prophet of an authoritarian Greater Germany, albeit one led by the Habsburgs, something obviously anathema to Hitler. However, Hitler would have approved of Kralik's opposition to both democracy and socialism. Until the last days of World War I, he was an enthusiastic proponent of the German colonization of Ukraine. Also like Hitler, he was an adamant opponent of what he called "faceless," purely functional architecture as well as atonal music.

Kralik also had numerous character traits that resembled the Führer's. Like Hitler, he was extremely closed minded, especially in his later years, toward people who disagreed with him or who were insufficiently deferential. He was dictatorial and vindictive in his personal relations. He was unceasing in promoting himself and attained the role of a cult figure among his followers. Kralik, very much like Hitler, could never bring himself to admit that he had been wrong about anything. He even resembled the youthful Hitler in having positive relationships with some Jews, although Kralik, like his (and Hitler's) favorite Viennese mayor, Karl Lueger, but unlike Hitler, went so far as to have Jewish friends into his mature years. Like Hitler, however, Kralik rejected the notion that Jews could ever really be assimilated into Christian society, and he remained an "enthusiastic Jew hater" (p. 8).

Kralik, however, like most Austrian Catholic conservatives of the First Republic, was not an uncritical admirer of either Hitler or National Socialism. He disapproved of modern nationalism in general and condemned Hitler's racial politics as unchristian. An ardent Roman Catholic, he rejected what he regarded as the Nazis' atheism, which he associated with the brutally post-World War I secularized world.

This book is far from being a life-and-times biography. Richard S. Geehr, the author of a major biography of Lueger, acknowledges that his study is largely limited to the last fifteen years of Kralik's life, when the latter's reputation and influence were at their height. Although

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we learn that Kralik was independently wealthy during his whole life, thus enabling him to devote himself exclusively to writing, we learn relatively little about his personal life. We do know that he was born in a rural section of Bohemia in 1852; his father, who owned a glass factory, moved the family to Linz when the boy was four years old. Kralik later studied with some of the leading scholars of the time at the universities of Vienna, Bonn, and Berlin. He married rather reluctantly in 1883 but delighted in his sons. Geehr notes that Kralik influenced the work of Hans Eibl and Oswald Menghin, both professors (of history and philosophy) at the University of Vienna, but he is vague about Kralik's broader influence—for example, on the actual policies of the Christian Social Party and Austria's chancellors toward the Jews. Although Geehr stresses the importance of Kralik as a kind of *Vorbereiter* of the Holocaust, he actually devotes only one of six chapters to Kralik's antisemitism.

The book is written in a clear and succinct style unadorned with engaging anecdotes. It is well grounded in numerous archival sources and a reading of over twenty of Kralik's books as well as nearly seventy secondary sources. Fourteen pages of illustrations are included at the back of the book, including six pictures of a grim and unsmiling Kralik himself. The book also includes a four-page name and subject index.

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Alison Fleig Frank. *Oil Empire: Visions of Prosperity in Austrian Galicia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 343. $49.95.

Three currents in Habsburg historiography come together in this book by Alison Fleig Frank. One, dating to the 1970s and 1980s, is the revisionist trend in the monarchy's economic history, which makes the case that Austria-Hungary was nowhere near as backward or unmodern as had been thought. Another is the literature specifically devoted to the crownland of Galicia, which began to develop intensively in North America in the 1980s. And the third, touched off by István Deák's study of the Habsburg officer corps in 1990, is a focus on questions that go beyond nationalism, long the overriding concern in studies of the monarchy from 1848 until its collapse in 1918.

Although this book is situated on the confluence of these currents, it complicates each of them. Frank shows, for example, that the Austrian law on land mineral rights for the oil industry was economically superior to that of most other countries, belying "the image of Austria's economy as unabashedly statist and inhospitable to new ventures" (p. 54). But after tracing the ups and downs of Galicia's oil industry, which once held third place in world production, she eschews the narrative of progress of the revisionist economic historians, concluding that "in the oil fields of Galicia we see no progression from the characteristically 'traditional' to the stereotypically industrial modern. There is no progression, only movement" (p. 254). Before Frank's book, almost all of the North American publications on Galicia concentrated on issues of nationalism, both Ukrainian and Polish. She demonstrates that one can write an interesting book that looks at something else: a particular industry whose pioneers were a Prussian Pole and an expatriate Canadian as well as small Jewish investors, whose major investors in the end were French and even American, whose skilled workforce was Polish, and whose unskilled workforce was Ukrainian and Jewish. But although her study is poised to move beyond nationalism, in the end it cannot. The last chapter describes the military and diplomatic confrontation between Poles and Ukrainians for control of the oil fields after the collapse of the empire. It also shows that odd kinds of national conflict accompanied the development of the industry: Austrians against foreigners, Galicians against Viennese centralism, and gentile workers against Jewish workers.

The narrative begins with the mid-nineteenth-century extraction of oil, before anyone was sure what to do with it. Poor people captured it from oily pools with brushes and sold it, mainly as medicine for cattle and as a lubricant for wheels. Later, entrepreneurs dug pits and used windlasses to lower workers into them to scoop oil into buckets. By the turn of the century, however, extraction became very profitable, and the technology advanced. Huge gushers—with nicknames like Wanda, Jakób, and Oil City—delivered thousands and tens of thousands of tons of crude each year. Such abundance led to a decline in prices, only relieved when the Galician oil fields began to dry up a few years before World War I. Galicia still managed to supply sixty percent of the Central Powers' petroleum during the war, but this was its last gasp. Although the Ukrainian and Polish republics waged war over them in 1918–1919, the Galician oil fields were basically used up.

Most of the research for this book is based on contemporary publications, including the periodical press and official reports on the industry. Also brought to bear, though, is some interesting material from archives. Particularly well done are the account of the important strike of 1904, based on the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv, and of the role of Galician oil during World War I, based on the Austrian State Archives.

Frank does not ignore labor history. For the most part, the oil workers were young men from the surrounding countryside, hard-drinking and irresponsible. They were largely Christian and occasionally engaged in pogroms against Jewish workers; Jewish workers also attacked the Christian workers. Sometimes these ethnic/religious divisions also corresponded to corporate divisions. Rather more disciplined strike action only began in the twentieth century. Galician socialists were generally much more interested in the oil workers than the oil workers were in them.

This book is a good read. Not only is the material absorbing, but Frank often phrases things in refreshing ways. It is an important work for those interested in the

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history of the Habsburg monarchy, Poles and Ukrainians, and the oil industry.

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GÁBOR GYÁNI. *Identity and the Urban Experience: Fin-de-Siècle Budapest*. Translated by THOMAS J. DEKORNFELD. (East European Monographs, number 652.) Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Monographs. 2004. Pp. ix, 271. $40.00.

This book by Gábor Gyáni endeavors to provide a social historical introduction to the development of Budapest at the turn of the century. It attempts to set Budapest in international context, looking at both public and private, psychological aspects of the city. The study concludes by trying to address the role these factors played in the city's cultural modernism. It does not succeed very well at achieving these goals.

Partly this is because Gyáni has written a very Hungarian account of the Hungarian national capital. Substantial work has been done on the history of Budapest and its cultural achievements in recent years by English-speaking scholars, most notably by Mary Gluck, Lee Congdon, and Alice Freifeld, and John Lukacs's more popular *Budapest 1900: A Historical Portrait of a City and Its Culture* (1988) also has its merits. Of these only Gluck's work is cited by Gyáni, and then only superficially. Concentration on works in one's own language is probably inevitable, especially when writing on one's national capital, but Gyáni's neglect of more international perspectives on Budapest is problematic.

Gyáni does cite many international authors, especially Carl E. Schorske, Thomas Bender, and Richard Sennett, but he appears to do so from a rather narrow perspective, without much context. Gyáni's methodology consists of a comparison of the theory of urban development and urban experience, as developed in Sennett and others, with the social historical facts of Budapest. He relies on our understanding of "bourgeois" patterns of interaction and sociability, and the distinctions between private and public, acceptable and unacceptable behavior and taste, but there is little sign that Gyáni, having entered this discursive realm, has read the work of key figures such as Pierre Bourdieu. The result is that while there is much to be gleaned empirically from Gyáni's accounts of such topics as Budapest's parks, cafés, bridges, department stores, and panoramas, it all adds up to much less than it ought. While there are "European and American perspectives" provided, the Central European perspectives that would have been of great interest are largely missing. Conversely, when Gyáni's study gets quite interesting theoretically, as in his account of the peculiarities of Budapest's language(s), he cuts off his discussion without giving much in the way of example. Where there is interesting empirical evidence, theory is shortchanged; where there is an interesting thesis, the evidence is kept from us. For all its information, therefore, this is an oddly frustrating and sketchy book, which cannot, I fear, be trusted much in its conclusions.

Particularly disappointing sections of the book concern Gyáni's discussion of the role of Jews and antisemitism in Budapest's development. Gyáni appears to be operating with a rather outdated view of what Central European Jews were attempting to achieve, or rather what they should have been achieving. The emphasis is on the assimilation of Budapest Jewry, and while there is much evidence to confirm the wish of Jews in Hungary to become fully Hungarian, some of Gyáni's comments appear highly dubious, as when he attributes the very high proportion of Jewish divorces in Budapest in the 1890s to the wish of Budapest Jews to escape the confines of endogamous marriage patterns, and truly structurally assimilate.

In his concluding chapter, Gyáni mischaracterizes, indeed caricatures, the by now quite substantial literature on the Jewish aspect of much of Central European modern culture at the turn of the century. Gyáni sets this literature up as claiming that "the principal, or perhaps sole, cause" of "every modernist movement in Europe" was the identity crisis of Jewish intellectuals (pp. 220–221). He disproves that this Jewish identity crisis could serve as "a general explanation" for Budapest modernism by pointing out that one of its main figures, Lajos Fülep was not Jewish but rather a Calvinist and provincial Magyar. How the example of one individual can prove or disprove anything is puzzling, but in any case no serious advocate of the Jewish aspect of Central European modernism has claimed the sort of absolute, hermetic exclusivity that Gyáni would appear to assume. Gyáni follows this argument up by pleading for a social explanation of modernism that has to do with the individual's experience of coming to a big city, which is really not much help when trying to explain the specific character and power of Central European modernism.

Turn-of-the-century Budapest is a fascinating subject, which makes the shortcomings of this book especially disappointing.

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LÁSZLÓ BORHI. *Hungary in the Cold War: Between the United States and the Soviet Union, 1945–1956*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 352. $49.95.

The fiftieth anniversary of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution provides a good opportunity to assess documentary findings on that crucial event and also on the decade that "prepared" it. László Borhi's book represents a major contribution, as the author has explored very thoroughly not only the Hungarian but also the US, Russian, and French archives and nearly all the available sources published after the collapse of the communist regimes in 1989–1991. The main focus of the work is not the conclusion, but the beginning of the above-mentioned decade, particularly the period im-

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mediately following World War II, when Hungary's occupation by the Soviet Union began and the presence of the Western powers had not yet been almost completely eliminated. This is a good approach, for while there is an abundance of general works on the origins of the Cold War, country studies based on scholarly sources are still quite scarce.

Borhi is certainly the first scholar to have provided a full, 360-degree picture of the ruinous consequences of the Soviet occupation on the Hungarian economy (although three previous books by émigré Hungarian authors should have been mentioned: François Fejtö's *Behind the Rape of Hungary* [1957], Béla A. Balassa's *The Hungarian Experience in Economic Planning: A Theoretical and Empirical Study* [1959], and Pierre Kende's *Logique de l'économie centralisée* [1964], all of which assessed the fundamentally exploitative nature of Moscow's presence in the country). Borhi shows that when the Soviet army defeated the German Wehrmacht and replaced it as the occupying power, Hungarian industrial machinery and agricultural production were preyed upon almost without restraint, far beyond the limits eventually set by the provisions of the peace treaty on war reparations: furthermore, this all happened without the Western Allies or the local noncommunist political parties being able to utter more than weak protests.

Such ruthless exploitation was accompanied by a subtle political strategy that seemed to respect the principles of democracy. Along with Czechoslovakia, Hungary was the only country among those controlled by the USSR where one free election was allowed to take place. Borhi convincingly demonstrates that this was only a cover for a thorough Communist takeover. The basic rules of the parliamentary game were violated right after the November 1945 vote, as the absolute majority winner Independent Smallholders' Party was not permitted by the Soviet representative in the Allied Control Commission to form an executive without the other three "antifascist" parties, including the poorly scoring Communists, who swiftly took control of the Interior Ministry and the political police. Borhi examines thoroughly how democratic politicians, such as Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy, were ousted from power one after the other through a combination of Western inaction and Soviet lack of scruples. What we learn from his analysis is that in no moment of the years 1945–1947 was Hungarian democracy more than a façade: Western democratic powers nurtured no illusions in this respect but were unwilling to dispute what they considered almost legitimate Soviet "war booty."

As totalitarian dictatorships were established throughout the Soviet bloc, both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations oscillated between options ranging from overt subversion and encouragement of rebellion, to acceptance of the status quo. They failed to identify the opportunity provided by the appointment of the reform-oriented Imre Nagy government in the summer of 1953, and the events of the year 1956 caught them off guard, from the June workers' riots in the Polish city of Poznan to the October-November revolution in Hungary. While not elaborating on all the details, Borhi tries to address the issue of what ultimately prompted the new Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, after much hesitation, to crush the rebellion. Despite his familiarity with the multiple sources that emerged from archival research, his answer is only a tentative one. One can only completely agree with him that the Suez affair and the ensuing deep divisions among the Western powers played the most important role, while the weight carried by other components, such as the position of world communist parties or the fear of widespread anticommunist violence, is not entirely assessed. The incontrovertible fact remains, though, that Hungary in 1956 was left alone in its struggle for freedom and independence, consistent with the Western power's actions of the previous decade: while never giving in to emotional assessments, Borhi skillfully steers his research, and the reader, to this unequivocal and bitter conclusion. His book is a major contribution to scholarship on Cold War Europe, an illuminating and insightful exploration of what Soviet rule in Eastern Europe was really about.

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ALEXANDER POLUNOV. *Russia in the Nineteenth Century: Autocracy, Reform and Social Change, 1814–1914.* Edited by THOMAS C. OWEN and LARISSA G. ZAKHAROVA. Translated by MARSHALL S. SHATZ. (The New Russian History.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 2005. Pp. xvi, 286. Cloth $64.95, paper $25.95.

Alexander Polunov's survey, intended for a lay audience, is a work of impressive erudition, that displays a sure command of the relevant primary sources and secondary literature in Russian and English.

Polunov chose to write a severely political history; the "social change" of the title does not figure in his text except as a product of government policy. Chapter six, "Russia's Economy and Finances after the Emancipation of the Serfs," is written from the perspective of the Ministry of Finance. Gender, ethnicity, religion, *mentalité*—all are ignored except when they are entwined with statecraft. Polunov deals with Jews in a half-paragraph concerning the May Laws of 1883 (p. 178) and thereafter in four scattered sentences concerning pogroms; that is all. I would argue that imperial Russian history was shaped by the gulf between educated society (*obshchestvo*) and the common people (*narod*) and by the lack of intermediate strata between them. Polunov makes one allusion to this gulf (p. 140) and states that the intelligentsia provided an intermediate stratum; this position is untenable, since the distinction at issue was cultural, and members of the intelligentsia were by definition bearers of cosmopolitan rather than popular culture.

Polunov's fixation on politics and statecraft is consonant with the interpretive scheme that drives and unifies his book. He maintains that the history of the cen-

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tury he covers and the events of 1917 were the product of the interplay of reform and counter-reform. Associated with this view is an emphasis on the significance of wars. He argues that the War of 1812 was the "shock" that made the abolition of serfdom "irreversible" (p. 27), while defeat in the Crimean War "largely determined [the] direction and character" of the reforms of the 1860s (p. 87). "The event that tipped the scales to the side of revolution was Russia's entry into World War I" (p. 239). All of this is coherent and persuasive, but the exclusive focus on politics sometimes may, paradoxically, impede the reader's understanding of political matters. *Sosloviia*, which Polunov calls "social estates," figure in his narrative from time to time, but he does not address them directly or explain the estate system. His account of the peasant commune, three-field agriculture, and related matters is sketchy and fragmentary, so that some readers will be puzzled by aspects of his treatment of the abolition of serfdom or the Stolypin reforms.

Polunov's analysis is fresh and incisive. Notable are his treatment of K. P. Pobedonostsev, supreme procurator of the Holy Synod, and of the abolition of serfdom. His chapter on the reign of Nicholas I is balanced and discerning. Only occasionally does he pass along the conventional errors that are common in survey works. Like other historians, he holds that in a speech of March 30, 1856, Alexander [II] "openly proclaimed the inevitability of the abolition of serfdom." But the emperor opened the speech with "It is rumored that I want to give liberty to the peasants; this rumor is unjust, and you can say this to everyone." And Polunov passes on the textbook commonplace that, during the "Movement to the People" of 1874, peasants often handed propagandists over to the police (p. 148), citing an article (by this reviewer) that demonstrates that the commonplace is false.

If ever a book cried out for a second edition, it is Polunov's, for he has been badly served by his publisher. The lack of a glossary is a shortcoming. In covering a century in 250 pages of text, Polunov struggled with limitations of space, yet almost one-tenth of these pages are given over to muddy and unedifying illustrations. Most important, it appears from marked changes of style, tone, and coverage that Polunov faced arbitrary constraints of time. In the early chapters, the style is agreeably discursive. Polunov makes effective use of extracts from primary sources. He likes, as in his other writing, to begin paragraphs with rhetorical questions. In the latter chapters, the writing is increasingly telegraphic. Extracts from sources and rhetorical questions disappear. Worse still, there are striking imbalances of coverage. The Slavophiles of the 1840s get three pages, and the radicals of the 1860s–1870s get a whole chapter, while the Socialist Revolutionaries, the largest political party in Russia in the early twentieth century, are treated in one page. V. M. Chernov is the only Socialist Revolutionary mentioned by name, while the names of six members of the Lovers of Wisdom, an early nineteenth-century philosophical circle, are provided. The Decembrists and their uprising in 1825 are covered in about six pages; the Moscow insurrection of December 1905, the turning point of the Revolution of 1905, gets one sentence.

It is hard to believe that the differences between the early and the later chapters represent the author's deliberate choice. A second edition, in which he could more fully deploy his gifts and his learning, would be welcome indeed.

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STEPHEN F. JONES. *Socialism in Georgian Colors: The European Road to Social Democracy 1883–1917*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 384. $49.95.

The Russian Empire was composed of diverse nationalities, as was the revolutionary movement that sought to overthrow it. Georgians played a prominent role in both the evolution of the empire and the revolutionary movement. Russia offered Georgians protection from nearby Islamic states, an administrative and military alliance against the enduring mountain insurgency in the North Caucasus, and institutional and intellectual resources in their historic struggle to build a nation and overcome regional fragmentation. The Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP), however, proved to be more centralized and inflexible than the empire of the tsars. Russian revolutionary thought "was a desert for innovative ideas on nationalism's relationship with socialism," and Georgia's socialists gradually found themselves disappointed in not just the Bolsheviks but Russian Mensheviks as well (p. 227). Stephen F. Jones describes the valiant but futile efforts of Georgian Social Democrats to redirect and moderate the interests of their revolutionary comrades in Russia, and "establish a European path for Russian social democracy" (p. 218).

Georgian Social Democrats consistently addressed their own historic national dilemmas regarding geopolitics, regional fragmentation, ethnic diversity, and the role of Russian "enlightenment" in the region. They viewed socialism as a means to "modernize, integrate and nationalize Georgian society and territory" (p. 15). Between 1893 and 1905 Georgian Social Democrats were the "most effective Marxist organization in the Russian Empire," and they successfully established the first legal Marxist newspaper in tsarist Russia (p. 30). Georgia's radicals drew on the traditional concerns of the Georgian intelligentsia, and emphasized literacy, self-help programs, and the preservation of the Georgian culture and language. Many socialists were veterans of the many autonomous societies that had emerged in Tbilisi and throughout the region from the 1850s on that were dedicated to the collection of Georgian folklore and the description of Georgian cultural traditions. Others were former village teachers who shared similar concerns. Georgian social democracy, Jones emphasizes, "reflected the pragmatic radicalism and socialist

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nationalism of its own native intelligentsia as much as Marxist universalism" (p. 47).

Again in contrast to their comrades in Russia, the Georgians addressed the contradictions of a proletarian vision in a largely agrarian society. The peasant rebellion in western Georgia from 1902 to 1905 was accompanied by the formation of the Gurian revolutionary committee, successful railway and telegraph strikes, and smaller peasant revolts in eastern counties such as Dusheti and Gori (pp. 152–158). The events provided new members, knowledge, and experience for Georgia's Social Democrats, who after 1905 further concentrated on distinctly national and local issues. They increasingly published in Georgian for Georgian readers, while RSDLP publications addressed Russian-reading workers. Georgian leaders and theoreticians such as Noe Zhordania closely followed debates among Austrian socialists about regional autonomy, federalism, and language use, and took the lead, along with the Poles, Jews (the Bund), and Latvians, in pushing Russia's revolutionaries to think through the relationship of the national question to socialism (pp. 228–232). After 1905 Georgia's Social Democrats were increasingly distant even from the more open-minded Mensheviks, while Bolshevism in Georgia was largely irrelevant. Joseph Stalin (Ioseb Jughashvili) was generally absent from the region after his participation in the successful and spectacular robbery on Erivan Square in Tbilisi in June 1907 that netted some 250,000 rubles, and Pilipe Makharadze was rarely in Georgia after 1908. The Bolsheviks produced only two newspapers on their own between 1907 and 1917 in Tbilisi (pp. 198–221). Georgian Social Democracy, Jones concludes, was tragically obscured and distorted by the more powerful Russian variety, but it anticipated the innovations and flexibility of the diverse forms of national socialism of the twentieth century.

The mix of archival experience, linguistic competence, and mature scholarship that informs this book allows the author simultaneously to address numerous other issues beyond the history of socialism that are currently pertinent to the study of Russia as a multiethnic society. Jones contributes to the literature on imperial administration in the Caucasus, the social history of Tbilisi, Armenian-Georgian relations, the emergence of Georgian civil society and the interest of various autonomous societies in the development of Georgian culture, the history of the Georgian-language press, and the events of 1905 in the region. The author promises a much-needed companion volume on the history of the short-lived Georgian republic of the revolutionary era.

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Elizabeth A. Wood. *Performing Justice: Agitation Trials in Early Soviet Russia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 301. $49.95.

How the Russian Revolution of 1917 deteriorated from a grandiose experiment in reconfiguring the human condition into authoritarianism in little more than a decade is a question that has preoccupied analysts since the early Soviet period itself, but few investigations have achieved the sustained focus of Elizabeth A. Wood's book. This impressively researched study examines a key Bolshevik didactic instrument, the mock agitation trial, as it reflected important shifts in the transition from revolutionary energy to dictatorship between 1919 and 1933: the subordination of the individual to the collective, of private prerogatives to public responsibilities, and of initiative and dialogue to coercion. As she charts the transition of agitation trials from a humanizing and socializing device to a shaming and accusatory ritual and finally an instrument for enforcing conformity, Wood's interdisciplinary methodology unearths rationales that are as often theatrical and discursive as they are political. This book is a valuable addition to the growing body of work that scrutinizes early Soviet attempts to inculcate a new social consciousness among citizens.

Party leaders initially strove to encourage local initiative following the revolution while maintaining strict preferences regarding forms to be encouraged or discouraged. The staging of mock trials as agitation—which was fully consistent with the Bolsheviks' view of law as a revolutionary instrument rather than an expression of abstract principles—offered the opportunity to lead audiences while not overtly appearing to do so. And this mode of Bolshevik agitation, Soviet claims to originality notwithstanding, tapped a preexisting Russian fascination with trial as theater: religious mystery plays, the trials of revolutionaries, mock trials of Silver Age literary works. Soviet mock trials were never solely the product of central direction, however, and including the audience as participants fed the illusion that the staged proceedings were the product of spontaneous local initiative. Needing to find entertaining ways to engage masses who were bored with slogans, speeches, and rallies by 1919–1920, local activists initially staged trials of military desertion and White generals as well as of Vladimir Lenin and the October Revolution (as a means to answer existing criticisms of the regime and debunk rumors). When it then turned to issues of pressing local concern—syphilis, prostitution, sanitation, medical care, abortion, hooliganism, and the responsibilities of women in the home—the genre hit its stride. Even as the trials became more scripted in 1921–1923, they featured a dialogue between opposing points of view and often incorporated spirited defenses based on mitigating circumstances such as ignorance and the failure of society to provide correct guidance. In this morality play format, audiences deliberated whether a prostitute on trial for infecting a soldier with a venereal disease was a legal perpetrator or a social victim, while the medical experts who appeared as witnesses provided the audience with information about syphilis and living examples of the voice of scientific reason.

The tenor of the trials changed significantly in the

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mid-1920s when the party generally shifted responsibility for social propaganda to higher organs. As workers' club directors and trade union officials assumed responsibility for the agitation trials from local activists, verdicts that focused on individual guilt superseded collective social responsibility for problems, and punishment for wrongdoing displaced social enlightenment as a prime objective. Crimes of commission (mistreatment of machines) and omission (failure to join "voluntary" Soviet social organizations such as the Society of the Friends of the Air Force) both brought forth denunciation under the guise of criticism and self-criticism, which replaced the dialogues characteristic of the earlier agitation trials. As distinctions between reality and theatricality thus became even more blurred in the second half of the 1920s, the Communist Youth League staged trials of private behavior that signaled the state's increasing intrusion into the spheres of family, morality, and personal life. And by the time the party began conducting real show trials of engineers and technical specialists in 1928, emphasis had permanently shifted to identifying scapegoats rather than debating values. As Wood demonstrates convincingly, the mock trials of 1930–1933 had become so dominated by schematic characters and stories that they lacked dramatic interest, even as they laid the foundation for the Manichean Stalinist show trials of 1936–1938.

This book stands on a substantial body of sources. Researching a genre that valued spontaneity and sometimes proceeded without a script presents special problems to the researcher, which makes Wood's vast array of sources all the more impressive. Moreover, she enhances the volume of the evidence with the keen insight she shows in analyzing the large number of plays that illustrate her story. Drawing on anthropology and sociology, Wood weaves a sophisticated interplay between the perspectives of the organizers and audience/participants that no short review can reproduce adequately. The result is a fascinating account of the rapid road from socialist utopia to Soviet distopia that deserves a wide audience.

WILLIAM B. HUSBAND
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CATRIONA KELLY. *Comrade Pavlik: The Rise and Fall of a Soviet Boy Hero*. London: Granta Books. 2005. Pp. xxxii, 352. £17.99.

Pavlik Morozov was arguably the most famous child in Soviet history. Catriona Kelly's account of his life, death, and legend begins with a description of Soviet ten-year-olds gathered around a bonfire at a Young Pioneer camp, listening to the story for the first time: "Long ago, before you were born . . . back in the early 1930s, there was a little boy, not much older than you" (p. xxii) whose father was working against the collectivization of the Soviet countryside. When good little Pioneer Pavlik found out, he reported his father to the police. In retaliation, his relatives brutally murdered him and his younger brother.

The rest of Catriona Kelly's wide-ranging and engaging book aims to destabilize and deconstruct every aspect of this campfire story. Kelly seeks to uncover Morozov's "real life" and to trace the creation, transmission, reception, mutation, and eventual eclipse of the Pavlik legend. The result is a book that is part murder mystery and part scholarly analysis of Soviet propaganda in the making that may hold as much appeal for real crime buffs as for historians of the Soviet Union and of childhood more generally.

Kelly's examination of the rise and fall of the Pavlik legend proves a useful lens through which to view Soviet conceptions of children and childhood. From the first years of Bolshevik power, Soviet propaganda pictured children as active fighters for revolution. During the campaign to remake the countryside, the Pioneer press featured stories of children clashing with neighbors and even parents who were reluctant to join the collective farms. She emphasizes that such propaganda had the capacity to inspire the young, and "children who denounced were not just a figment of propagandists' imagination" (p. 41).

Still, whether Pavlik *was* a dedicated Pioneer denouncer, as the legend claimed, remains unclear. Granted unprecedented access to the once secret Morozov case file in the Central Archive of the Federal Security Service (formerly the KGB), Kelly provides a detailed—perhaps too detailed for some tastes—account of the murder investigation. Ultimately neither the case file, other archival sources, nor interviews with surviving villagers yield definitive answers to questions regarding Pavlik's life and death. An exhaustive review of the available evidence leaves the central event of denunciation "not proven" (p. 239).

The case file does, however, shed considerable light on how investigators and journalists began the process of turning Pavlik into a national cult figure. The local police initially viewed the two boys found murdered in the woods in September 1932 as victims of a village quarrel. Within a few days, however, the arrival of the district political police (OGPU) turned the investigation in a more ideological direction. Investigators now described Pavlik as a prominent pro-Soviet activist and sought evidence of a murderous conspiracy of wealthy peasants. Some two months later, when the central press picked up the story of the grisly murders, Pavlik's denunciation of his father gained new prominence, and the local boy activist began to be transformed into a "Soviet saint" (p. 109). The process culminated a year after the murders, when the novelist Maxim Gorky decided to promote the story.

Just as Pavlik was reaching the pinnacle of fame in the mid-1930s, however, the legend came into conflict with changing conceptions of childhood. By 1936, Soviet propaganda and law (notably the banning of abortion) sought to endorse and enforce "traditional family values" (p. 148). Kelly surveys updated Stalinist versions of the Pavlik legend that turned the boy into a model pupil and downplayed the "junior vigilante" (p. 155) theme. After Joseph Stalin's death, his successors

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made what Kelly judges to be an unsuccessful attempt to rehabilitate the Pavlik cult in tandem with a rehabilitation of the "ideal of the self-assertive child" (p. 198), whose self-assertion was in the service of Soviet values.

While focusing on shifts in official conceptions of childhood, the book also attempts to discern what children made of the legend. Drawing on oral histories and memoirs, Kelly argues that young people in the 1930s often responded to Pavlik's self-sacrifice, rather than his act of denunciation. She finds that by the 1940s, Pavlik was less popular—among both the producers of the Pioneer press and the children who consumed it—than wartime martyrs and the fictional Timur, a lovable youthful adventurer. In the late Soviet period, distaste for Pavlik the denouncer seems to have grown, even as war heroes remained on their pedestals. By the post-Soviet period, Pavlik had become a "fallen hero" (p. 218), a symbol of the worst excesses of the Soviet state and, Kelly argues, a cause of post-Soviet society's deep suspicion of whistle blowing. While not all readers will agree that "the Pavlik legend is central to the understanding of Soviet history" (p. 15), Kelly's book provides a nuanced account of how Soviet practices, from police investigations to campfires, turned a real life and death into myth.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

DONALD BLOXHAM. *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 329. $35.00.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire tried to stave off military defeat and dissolution as it was beleaguered by the Great Powers and harried by its own minorities. In dealing with the European empires, various sultans tried to strengthen the state, modernize the military, and balance one power against the other in the great game of international politics. In dealing with minorities, the sultans vacillated between reform on the one hand and repression on the other. Nor did the Ottomans shrink from widespread massacre as a method of intimidating or even eliminating minorities that called for or seemed to demand self-determination.

In 1894–1896, under the rule of Sultan Abdülhamid II, tens of thousands of Armenians were massacred, following a period when some political parties had agitated for Armenian independence and had called on the Great Powers for aid in their efforts. In 1908, the Young Turks staged a political revolution. They were led by the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), whose original purpose was to reform the empire in order to preserve it. But after the disastrous Balkan wars of 1912, the Young Turks and the CUP were themselves further radicalized as they abandoned earlier pluralist notions and became converts to a hard-edged integral Turkish nationalism. Whereas even under Abdülhamid II, Armenians and other minorities had legitimate albeit inferior roles to play in the empire, increasingly under the nationalists no Christian minority had a secure place in the new Turkey. The Armenians especially aroused the CUP's suspicions: they could make claims to be the original settlers of Anatolia—the heartland of Turkey—and their population centers in the east were located on the border with Russia, Turkey's traditional enemy.

Even before World War I, the Armenians were viewed as a possible fifth column, an internal threat linked to an external enemy. Once the war started, what seemed to be theoretical became perceived by the CUP as a real danger. It is in this context that Armenians in the army were grouped into labor battalions, which were later massacred. At the same time Armenian communal leaders were forced on the pain of death to surrender weapons, even if they had none to give up. (Some communities actually purchased weapons so that they could be seen as complying with government orders!) Then in 1915, as the war turned against the Turks in the east, the CUP orchestrated the deportation of the Armenians, supposedly to protect the eastern provinces from Russian invasion and Armenian collusion. It soon became apparent that the deportations were not a means for moving a possibly unreliable population from the front; instead they became the principal method for destroying the Armenian community. More than a million Armenians perished as the deportee caravans were set upon by organized killers and tribesmen. What mass murder left undone, mass starvation and disease finished off. Some scholars estimate that about ninety percent of the deportees perished en route to the Syrian desert. This destruction has come to be known as the Armenian Genocide by most scholars of the events. To this day, however, the Turkish government denies that the deportations were genocidal and claims that the Armenians perished in the course of a civil war that they themselves had provoked.

Donald Bloxham has recast and reinterpreted these events, and in doing so he has made an important and original contribution to the historiography of the Armenian genocide and to the analysis of its denial by the Turkish authorities. Bloxham disagrees with a standard explanation that posits a prewar conspiracy among CUP leaders who took the opportunity of war with the Entente, especially Russia, to commit genocide against the Armenians. Neither does he subscribe to the "provocation thesis." Instead, Bloxham tries to demonstrate how, during World War I, integral Turkish nationalists like Mehmed Talât Paşa, Enver Paşa, and others magnified the Armenian threat, which led to a self-fulfilling prophecy whereby Turkish repressions evoked Armenian resistance in some cases like Musa Dagh and Van. Turkish nationalists then reinterpreted Armenian self-defense as aggression and treachery. Bloxham calls this a process of "cumulative policy radicalization," a term which he borrows from the historiography of the Ho-

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locaust (p. 69). This is an important way of discussing the genocide because it accounts for the actions of Armenian resistance movements without blaming them for the genocide, as the provocation theorists do.

Neither does Bloxham shrink from noting that Armenian nationalist parties and the Great Powers played roles in the disaster, in that the former hoped for external intervention on behalf of Armenian self-determination while the latter encouraged such hopes without backing up their promises with actions. Such observations are often missing from standard interpretations of the genocide, perhaps for fear of giving ammunition to those who deny it. However, Bloxham rightly stresses that there were a number of instances during World War I when minorities in Europe and elsewhere called for self-determination, and one or more of the Entente or the Central Powers promised to help them in order to undermine their enemies, but it was only in the Ottoman Empire that such calls and such promises provoked genocide.

ROBERT MELSON
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MICHAEL PROVENCE. *The Great Syrian Revolt and the Rise of Arab Nationalism*. (Modern Middle East Series, number 22.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 209. Cloth $50.00, paper $21.95.

As there is no mention of the rise of Arab nationalism in Michael Provence's book, this review will only relate to the Syrian revolt against the French referred to in the first half of the book's title. The revolt, described by the author as the first mass movement against colonial rule in the Middle East (although the Iraqi revolt against the British in 1920 preceded it), lasted from mid-1925 to mid-1927, but only its first phase (up to early 1926) is described in this book.

Contrary to other writers about this period, who concentrated on the Syrian urban elites, Provence lays emphasis on the Syrian masses in the countryside. His main interest is in the Druze regions of southern Syria, the revolt's stronghold, and the connections that existed between these rural regions and Damascus. Provence's main theory is that the grain trade between the Druze producers and the Damascene merchants created a relationship that later made possible the outbreak of a joint revolt against the French. Also participating were Syrian former officers in the Ottoman Army, men of a modest background who gave the revolt much of its national character. Hence, according to Provence, the Syrian revolt also constituted the first collision between the old urban elite, dominant in Syria from Ottoman times until the end of the French mandate (hardly any of it took an active part in the revolt), and the new rural elites, who would take the reins of government afterward.

It was not a sectarian revolt. According to Provence, the Druzes, who initiated it, were Syrian nationalists and considered themselves part of a larger Syrian nation, unified against the French. For them, Syrian nationalism meant liberation from foreign rule. The revolt's ultimate goal was Syria's reunification and the creation of a Greater Syria. Although the revolt failed, it enabled the Syrians to view themselves as one unified nation, despite the mandatory efforts to divide them.

The book is based on both Arab sources and French intelligence reports, available in the French diplomatic archives in Nantes and hardly used before by chroniclers of the revolt. At times one may question the selection of sources supporting the text. For example, the description of twenty-seven successive French air bombings on retreating Druze rebels, allegedly causing the death of hundreds, is based on one Arab source exclusively (p. 93). One might expect to find in the following reference (note 26) the pertinent French record as well.

What detracts from the book's value, however, is the fact that it is replete with moral judgments. One might expect a scholarly author to write objectively and let the facts speak for themselves. Provence definitely takes sides. The French are the villains, the self-appointed rulers of Syria who betrayed the mandate granted to them by the League of Nations. Wherever Provence describes French cruelty, he compares it to Druze superior behavior. While the French executed most of the males in rebel villages and demolished their houses, the rebels only pillaged pro-French villages but did not destroy them nor execute their occupants. Druze leader Sultan al-Atrash released French officers fallen into his hands, a treatment captured rebels could not expect at the hands of the French. When rebels demanded money from Syrian notables, "the demands were not simple extortion," according to Provence. In any case, "the crimes of French forces were invariably worse." Actually, it is not just a matter of the French, but of the West in general. It was the British blockade of Syria's shores during World War I that, according to Provence, caused the death by starvation of hundreds of thousands—the naive local inhabitants pinned it on the Ottomans. The Western press is also reprimanded for concentrating on the damage caused to ancient monuments during the revolt, instead of on the loss of life and the demands of the rebels.

Provence establishes that French strategy in Syria was based on "orientalist assumptions" (p. 150). It is evident that Provence is substantially influenced by Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978). He argues that "behind a screen of self-described 'objectivity,'" European chroniclers of France's mandate "sought to advance a privileged argument for European supremacy over the rest of the world." "It is deeply unfortunate," he continues, "that the lesson has not been learned. Americans and Europeans still publish books and articles about postcolonial countries that advance the shopworn theories of their colonial forebears. Many still insist on their objectivity and fitness to define, and indeed to rule, the rest of the world" (p. 17).

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GÉRARD PRUNIER. *Darfur: The Ambiguous Genocide.* (Crises in World Politics.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. xxiii, 212. $24.00.

This volume places the recent Darfur crisis in western Sudan in deep historical perspective. Termed "genocide" by the international community, the crisis began three years ago when rebels, disgruntled with the central government's neglect in their far western province, attacked government outposts. In response the latter sent in armed bandits, *janjaweed* (evil horsemen), to punish the rebels. This resulted in the death of a quarter of a million people, while a third of the province has been displaced, many Sudanese fleeing west into Chad.

There are five chapters. Gérard Prunier begins with deep background into what was originally an Islamic sultanate, birthed in the fourteenth century and annexed by the British to Sudan in 1916. The following chapters concern the relationship between Darfur and Khartoum, Sudan's capital; the region has never been fully integrated into the modern nation of Sudan but remains peripheral. The volume then proceeds quickly to the initiation of the present-day tensions when neighboring Libya and Chad became involved during the devastating famine of 1984. Chapters four and five cover the subsequent Darfur revolt and the resulting retribution and slaughter by agents of the Sudanese fundamentalist Islamic government.

Prunier asks, ten years after the Rwandan genocide of 1994, could the same nightmare be occurring again in another part of the African continent? Is the international community guilty, yet again, of blindness and neglect? In response he suggests that although events in Darfur are now termed a "genocide" (as per the 1948 definition: to deliberately inflict on a group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part), he prefers his own definition: a coordinated attempt to destroy a racially, religiously, or politically predefined group in its entirely; the total obliteration of a group. By this definition the Darfur crisis does not constitute a "true" genocide.

Further, Prunier suggests that Khartoum has never observed a well-organized policy of destroying its citizens with one exception: in the Nuba Mountains in 1992. There, after proclaiming a jihad, the government bombed and deported thousands of civilians, imprisoned them in concentration camps, and sold them as slave laborers to "Arab" farmers in Kordofan. In this instance many victims were also Muslim, a factor that should have provided an early warning to international observers; it was, however, largely ignored.

The present crisis in Darfur represents an often used spontaneous tool of the government to maintain a "country" under minority "Arab" domination. Ultimately, events in Darfur are more representative of a far deeper and complex problem: racism. Racism is the central theme of this book, and Prunier suggests that the present crisis operates within the context of a completely reordered system of perceptions, an "Arab" versus "African" ideological construction which has festered for centuries but crystalized in the mid-twentieth century. Today "Arab" has come to mean the true elite of the central riverain Sudan, as opposed to the *awlad al-gharb* (children of the West and, although Muslim, African by race). Further, Sudanese elites are deeply concerned about their racial acceptance in the Middle East. Although in Sudan they are "Arabs," elsewhere they are recognized as mongrels, even *abd*, the dreaded term used for "Africans" of slave ancestry, particularly southerners and westerners. The resultant racial dichotomy and tension has given rise to a new consciousness in Darfur. The *awlad al-gharb* had previously bolstered the northern Sudanese forces in the decades-long north/south civil war but now finds itself identifying with the southern rebel group, the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army, as racial outcasts.

The author, located in Chad, also conducted interviews in Khartoum, Addis Ababa, the United States, and Britain. The strength of his book lies in its willingness to observe a far deeper and complex burden that plagues this already troubled nation than simply one of an Islamic fundamentalist government killing insufficiently Islamized citizens on its marginalized periphery. Rather, it highlights the deeper and more complex trouble that has emerged after festering for centuries: that of cultural racism.

This book comes highly recommended. Of all the themes presented, that of race relations in Sudan is the most profound and well argued and goes to the true nature of the troubles plaguing Darfur and the nation of Sudan today. For new scholars of Sudan, as well as those of us who are more seasoned, Prunier provides a profound look at an extremely complex and troubled nation.

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FAISAL DEVJI. *Landscapes of the Jihad: Militancy, Morality, Modernity.* (Crises in World Politics.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 184. $25.00.

ADNAN A. MUSALLAM. *From Secularism to Jihad: Sayyid Qutb and the Foundations of Radical Islamism.* Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2005. Pp. xiii, 261. $44.95.

For those seeking to navigate the turbulent waters of global Islam, these two monographs will appear less as new compass readings and more as familiar signs of the murky depths that mark not just Islam but also the scholarly study of Islam. Faisal Devji's book is clever and facile. It is neither an analytical essay nor a historical review of Islamicly justified violence. Instead, it offers a manifesto against liberalism in all its forms. Devji rejects any attempts to construct a new paradigm of Islamic legitimacy, favoring instead fragmentation of authority at every level; the only mantra that matters is globalization. Drawing on continental theorists to support his contrapuntal reading of Islamist rhetoric, Devji favors Olivier Roy in concluding that "the kinds of individuals, practices and religiosity common to Al-

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Qaeda [read: terrorism] do not differ significantly from quietest forms of Islam [read: Sufism] or indeed from globalized religions more generally [read: contemporary Islam, Judaism and Christianity]" (p. 161).

Such a sprawling, uncritical conclusion is the hallmark of this quirky, often obtuse foray into contemporary Muslim thought. Jihad becomes objectified as *the* jihad, and what is then put on display are myriad landscapes or portraits of the jihad as a new trope. Since political Islam never existed for Devji, except as a spurious genealogy of influences, the jihad becomes redefined "in accidental terms as a series of global effects" (p. 26). Landscapes function as horizons of global Islam that encode the jihad as logo or brand name. One landscape projects militancy, or confrontation between the West as pseudo-democracy and Islam as the true democracy of monotheism. Another landscape projects martyrdom as a media spectacle, albeit one "that has as much to do with the nature of media as it does with anything Islamic" (p. 103). A final landscape is modernity. The jihad embraces, even as it effaces, modernity: instead of signaling an apocalyptic end to humankind, in the manner of earlier Islamists or Zionist Christian fundamentalists, it opts for the normality of pursuing reciprocal interests, with mutual benefits, as the next stage of Muslim-Western relationships.

Inscribed in all these rhetorical somersaults is the elusive shadow of Osama bin Laden. He is not a terrorist but a protagonist, not a misguided warrior but a mystical guide or Sufi master. He is the hero of monotheist geographies at the same time that he is the harbinger of a new world order. More significant than his instrumental use of violence is the family resemblance of al-Qaeda to environmentalism and to antiglobal protests but *not* to prior moments of Islamic radicalism (p. 160).

Devji's study resembles nothing so much as a maze. It requires the reader to navigate constantly between common-sense perceptions of militancy and violence, democracy and world order, and those marked not as jihad but as *the* jihad in new landscapes chartered only in Devji's often inchoate imagination. By contrast, Adnan A. Musallam's study is more like molasses. It is palpable and sticky, at once thick and sweet, and best digested in small portions. What Musallam provides are not postmodern ramblings but old-fashioned soundings. His book is nothing less than the full biographical recapitulation of Sayyid Qutb, arguably the most influential Islamist thinker and, apart from Osama bin Laden, the most famous Islamic radical of the late twentieth-early twenty-first century.

None of the categories broached by Devji, other than martyrdom, appears here. Instead, we have an intentionally narrow focus on the life story of Qutb. It is divided into two phases—his development as a secular *adib*, or man of letters, during the 1930s and 1940s, and then his emergence as an Islamic propagandist or *daʿiyah*, following a trip to America in the late 1940s. Qutb was executed by order of the Egyptian president, Gamal ʿAbdel Nasser, allegedly on grounds of treason, in August 1966.

This book is almost slavish in its dedication to tracing, and making clear, the broad outlines of Qutb's major writings. Musallam relies on Qutb's own words to explain the influences and the motivations for his intellectual and his spiritual development. One example is the seminal tract titled *Social Justice in Islam*. Musallam reviews its publication, from the first 1949 edition through several subsequent editions, and suggests that later editions indicate changes in Qutb's thinking, especially the 1964 Cairo edition, appearing as it did after his ten years' imprisonment (1954–1964). Yet no further insight into Qutb's state of mind is offered. Also omitted from both Musallam's analysis and from his bibliography is Roxanne L. Euben's pioneering study, *Enemy in the Mirror: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Limits of Modern Rationalism* (1999). Euben has refashioned and enlivened the debate about Qutb's legacy. While lauding Qutb's logic as a modern-day scripturalist, Euben also shows the gap between his plea for racial and gender equality as an Islamic norm, especially in *Social Justice in Islam*, and his concomitant neglect of religious dissent or the role of religious minorities in an Islamic state.

Musallam's book despite its omissions helps to underscore the fatal ahistoricism of Devji's approach at two levels. First, Musallam actually believes that jihad did not emerge full blown as *the* jihad but was itself constructed, or reconstructed, by major Islamist thinkers. In other words, contra Devji, Musallam argues that there was a version of political Islam, framed as global jihad, that predated and also informed bin Laden's thinking. It also has a genealogy that can, and should, be traced through various antecedents (Musallam, pp. 179–182), even if the precise chain of influence remains speculative. Second, Musallam, because he seeks to demonstrate the continuity between Qutb the *adib* and Qutb the *daʿiyah*, provides quotes from Qutb's prison poetry. We find verses that have not been used in prior analyses of Qutb, and they are especially important in showing how carefully bin Laden followed not just the general outline of Qutb's binary logic but also his use of particular literary tropes. One such is Hubal, the pre-Islamic idol of pagan Mecca, housed in the Black Stone or Kaʿbah. Hubal was destroyed when the victorious Muslims conquered Mecca in 629. Qutb claimed that Hubal represents not just an ancient idol but modern day political idols, including Nasser and "Uncle Sam."

Is it mere coincidence that when Osama bin Laden critiqued President George W. Bush as the head of global unbelief, he decried Muslim allies of America as "the hypocrites all (of whom) stood behind the head of global unbelief, behind the Hubal of the modern age"? It may be that one of Osama bin Laden's teachers, ʿAbdallah bin ʿAzzam, actually mediated Qutb's vivid imagery to the leader of al-Qaeda, but either way, the lesson of reading Qutb along with bin Laden is to find the traces as well as the outline of thinking that links these modern giants of radical Islam. History may not tell the

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whole story of militant Islamic movements, but it tells parts of the story that inform as well as complicate other analyses.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Y. G-M. LULAT. *A History of African Higher Education from Antiquity to the Present.* (Studies in Higher Education.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2005. Pp. xii, 624. $129.95.

As Y. G-M. Lulat rightly observes in his preface, there are an amazing number of lacunae in Africana studies. In the field of African higher education, Lulat's work fills an important gap by providing the first comprehensive overview of the subject, beginning with Pharaonic Egypt and Axum in "premodern Africa" and continuing through to the early twenty-first century. Contained within this thick (539 pages of text) and expensive volume is a wealth of valuable information and analysis that will serve as a guide and reference for all future studies.

Lulat has organized his work into eight chapters and three appendixes. Following a long introduction and the premodern chapter, he discusses Afro-Arab Islamic Africa; anglophone Africa generally; anglophone Africa focused on Ethiopia, Liberia, and South Africa; and europhone Africa, or the former French, Portuguese, Belgian, and Italian colonies. There is no reference to education in former German colonies, although this has received increasing attention of late. Lulat concludes with a long discussion in chapters seven and eight of the role of foreign aid and a reflection on the colonial legacy and beyond. The first two of his three appendixes are essays on "An Exploration into the Provenance of the Modern African University," and "The Historical Antecedents of the Disjuncture between Premodern and Modern African Higher Education." The third appendix is simply a list of colonial empires in Africa. There is a short glossary and an extensive bibliography.

If this were a straightforward, concise account of African higher education as it developed over the centuries, noting the influences and imprints of Islam and the various colonial powers, and concluding with a description of the difficulties associated with constructing a viable, credible higher education system in Africa today and in the future, then it would be a valuable, original contribution to the field. And, actually, all of that is here. But Lulat notes in his introduction that "this work is less about the inner details of higher education . . . than the external society/higher education nexus" (p. 21). Regrettably, I think, Lulat's survey of the history of African higher education is too often buried among pages of descriptions of the external society and historical context in which such education evolved. Among five of the twenty-eight pages of the introduction and a further eleven pages of footnotes, there are, for example, lengthy discussions of the debate in history departments between generalists and specialists; overspecialization and career advancement; the disciplinary versus the interdisciplinary approach; mono- and multicausal explanations of historical events; the value of history; historical perspective; institutions of higher learning as the highest achievements of civilization; and Lulat's use of "too emotive" language in his text, which then veers off into references to Rwanda, Bosnia, Cambodia, poison gas used on Ethiopians by Italians, and apartheid South Africa. At the end of chapter one there are six pages that focus on the Hamitic thesis, the story of Ham in the Hebrew Bible, and how Europeans rationalized their acceptance of Egyptians as Caucasians.

This is not to say that these digressions are not interesting in themselves. They are well-documented, thoughtful considerations of questions in the external society that sometimes are tangentially related to African higher education. It is frustrating, however, to try and follow Lulat's thoughts about a myriad range of topics when one has settled in to read about African higher education.

That having been said, Lulat deserves the highest praise for his meticulously researched, comprehensive survey of African higher education over five millennia and across the entire continent. The chapter on pre-European, Afro-Arab Islamic education is especially illuminating and informative. His chapters on the European colonial era are deeply considered examinations of European attitudes about education for Africans and African attitudes about the nature, value, and usefulness of an education based on Western models. Lulat's analysis of the state of higher education in post-independence Africa is particularly worth noting, as are his assessments of foreign assistance and the role of the World Bank. Policy makers and educators will do well to consider his well-reasoned, knowledgeable discussion of the current state of, and future options for, higher education in Africa.

Lulat's work is intended primarily for scholars and educators interested in the history of higher education, especially as it developed in Africa. Because of the wide range of topics he brings into the discussion, however, students of African studies, imperialism, historiography, African Islamic history, the development of European universities, and eurocentrism, afrocentrism, and orientalism, among other subjects, will find something of value in this book.

ROGER B. BECK
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EDMUND ABAKA. *"Kola is God's Gift": Agricultural Production, Export Initiatives and the Kola Industry of Asante and the Gold Coast, c. 1820–1950.* (Western African Studies.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 173. Cloth $44.95, paper $24.95.

In the twentieth century, cocoa occupied a crucial place in the economy and political development of Ghana. The concerns of cocoa farmers shaped both domestic

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and foreign policy and informed social structures and the state economy. Cocoa price fluctuations even, in several instances, helped to bring down governments. In recognition, the production and sale of cocoa from the last quarter of the nineteenth century onward has been featured in numerous scholarly studies. Yet little attention has been paid to the question of how the cocoa industry was able to materialize around the turn of the twentieth century. In this compelling study, Edmund Abaka argues that cocoa's rise was made possible by (and came at the expense of) a crop of greater significance for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: kola.

Abaka's investigation of the kola industry is a brief but significant addition to the scholarship on this important but little-studied commodity. The text works backward from Paul Lovejoy's highly regarded *Caravans of Kola: The Hausa Kola Trade 1700–1900* (1980), which focused on the export trade in kola from Asante to Islamic West Africa. Situated firmly in the kola-producing Asante and surrounding regions, Abaka's study examines the production, cultivation, and sale of kola such as that carried by these caravans. Thus it is not surprising that its heart, the book is a work of political economy focusing on production and distribution, rather than an in-depth investigation of the social significance or consumption patterns of kola. This narrow focus is fortunate, as it enables the author to pursue a coherent narrative focused on a definable region of the Gold Coast in just 134 pages. The story he recounts follows farmers' and governments' attempts to exploit and control a wild crop and three volatile markets. In descending order of importance these have historically been the Islamic world, domestic demand, and Western medical and beverage industries.

The first substantive chapter of the book comprises a tutorial on kola cultivation, propagation, and harvesting. Kola is indigenous to the West African forest zone, and the most desirable varietals have probably been harvested and later cultivated within the Volta River basin for a millennium or more. However, it was the late eighteenth-century establishment of Asante hegemony over this zone and its expansion to the north that stimulated a major export trade by creating a safe context for both production and commerce. The resulting commercial stability, described in subsequent chapters, encouraged Akan farmers to expand both the range and density of kola cultivation by the mid-nineteenth century. The fruits of their toils engorged markets at the northern and eastern edges of the Asante confederation—especially Salaga—and were eagerly snapped up by Hausa traders, who carried them to waiting consumers in the Sahel zone and beyond. Improvements in transport during the early colonial era—especially the introduction of steamship lines and railways—reoriented this trade through the coastal towns of Accra, Cape Coast, and Takoradi to Lagos, but without significantly dislocating the Hausa mercantile network that handled the kola nuts.

For Asante, kola was a strategic commodity and the backbone of both the state and private economies. Thus, unsurprisingly, the kola trade was carefully controlled by the state. Administrative agencies based in Kumasi regulated trade routes and excluded foreign merchants through a process that carefully channeled a portion of the profits to the treasuries of the state treasury major officeholders. Official traders dominated the exchange and ensured an ongoing favorable balance of trade for the state and a stable income to the administration. The defeat of Asante at the hands of a British-led coalition in 1874 shattered this system. The weakened state was unable to prevent inroads by Hausa and other merchants, Salaga erupted into civil war, and refugees fleeing the rebellious Asante state of Dwaben helped to expand kola production to eastern districts of the Gold Coast. British prohibition of slavery around the turn of the century caused a gradual decline in slave labor, as well, although this was probably not as significant as Abaka suggests. Thus whereas kola production had helped insulate Asante from the impact of the British abolition of the Atlantic slave trade in 1807 by absorbing slaves into kola production, after 1896 slaves tended to drift away from kola cultivation or, conceivably, to transform themselves into sharecroppers or migrant laborers.

In weaving this narrative, Abaka firmly establishes the important place of kola in the region's history. Yet the brevity of the text leaves a lot of ground for other scholars. Abaka only briefly touches on the consumption of kola as food or drug in Ghana, the Islamic world, or elsewhere. He doles out brief paragraphs to describe alternate histories he chooses not to explore: the evolution of kola as a consumable of ritual and ceremonial significance, the shift in consumption from elites to the poor, and the significance of kola in the everday. Because kola is not widely consumed in Asante, these omissions are excusable. Somewhat more problematic is Abaka's failure to substantiate his most ambitious assertion: that kola was a bridgehead to capitalist production of cocoa in Ghana. He neither proves that "it was the capitalistic outlook of kola nut farmers and traders that made the success of cocoa production" nor that "capital that had been accumulated through the kola trade . . . was transferred to cocoa production" (p. 134). Nevertheless, this volume makes a valuable contribution as a history of kola production and export from Asante and the Gold Coast.

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KATE B. SHOWERS. *Imperial Gullies: Soil Erosion and Conservation in Lesotho*. (Series in Ecology and History.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2005. Pp. xxix, 346. Cloth $55.00, paper $26.95.

The past decade has seen the publication of histories of sugar, corn, happiness, tea, opium, coffee, tears, and clouds. That list is an indication of a shift in the subject matter deemed suitable for historical inquiry. Historians of southern Africa have recently turned to the phys-

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ical environment as a way of exploring the colonial legacy. Among the notable results are William Beinart's *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa: Settlers, Livestock, and the Environment, 1770–1950* (2004) and Nancy J. Jacob's *Environment, Power and Injustice: A South African History* (2003). In a wider setting there is Alfred W. Crosby's *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (1986) and Mike Davis's *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World* (2001). The new environmental history pays close attention to the workings of colonial science and in that sense it falls into a wider body of scholarship. Some of that scholarship is as distant in time as colonial psychiatry with its concept of the African personality and as recent as research on lung disease among South African gold miners. In each instance, historians have shown how local knowledge and its subtleties has been pushed aside in favor of universal science.

Kate B. Showers has written a history of soil and human need in one of Africa's poorest countries, Lesotho. The challenges facing Basotho farmers include droughts, frosts, electrical storms, and erratic rains capable of stripping topsoil from fields in an hour. The political challenges have been even more daunting with the regional dominance of South Africa and its apartheid-based economy. Lesotho is a cold place' and the first thing that strikes visitors is the lack of trees and the deep gullies or *dongas* that run across the landscape. Those gullies identify Lesotho as one of the most eroded countries in the world and have given the Basotho a reputation as ignorant and uncaring farmers.

In exploring Lesotho's modern history, Showers uses archival and oral evidence and draws upon a variety of natural and human sciences including social anthropology, hydrology, political economy, meteorology, and geomorphology. Her book is an ambitious narrative structured around the histories of soil, water, and cultivation and includes an insightful analysis of colonial perceptions of land and climate and a case study of a lowland valley. The intellectual rewards for such scholarship are substantial, and Showers draws out the hitherto hidden responses by Basotho farmers to the destruction of their land, in particular their reactions to the work of foreign experts who since the 1930s have overseen soil reclamation programs. Showers succeeds in demolishing the inherited wisdom that the Basotho are poor farmers.

Under the Treaty of Thaba Bosio in 1866, the Basotho lost control over to two thirds of the arable land. The discovery of diamonds at nearby Kimberley in 1867 ushered in a brief period of prosperity for Lesotho's skilled and entrepreneurial farmers. That ended abruptly in the 1880s with the construction of the railway to Kimberley. Showers describes how, in the space of three decades, Lesotho's rich grasslands were transformed into farmlands with ever declining levels of productivity. Then came the discovery of gold. Migrant labor to the Rand soon became the dominant feature of the economy and by 1930 over half of the adult males worked on South African mines. Many of those men returned home with their lungs ruined by silicosis. The men of Lesotho spent the twentieth century being underpaid as miners while Basotho women received a pittance for their farm produce. The harder the people of Lesotho worked, the poorer they have become. That this has been a common fate in southern Africa makes Showers's book all the more important.

The British began the use of international experts and spent large sums of money on reclamation and prevention programs involving terracing, tree planting, and irrigation schemes. The success or failure of those techniques and the expert advice on which they were based was never evaluated. Farmers were never asked what they thought of such innovations. Nor were the causes of erosion identified. As Showers's review of postindependence conservation programs suggests, the ideology inherited from the British period continues to inform government policy. Lesotho governments have shown little understanding of the physical environment and even less concern with the needs and ideas of those who work the soil.

Using oral evidence, a range of sciences, and a case study of the ha Tsilo Valley, Showers sets out to identify the origins of the *dongas*. Erosion began in the colonial period, and, as Showers explains, the causes included road construction, commercial cropping and cattle, soil type, and rainfall patterns. Then came the soil conservation schemes. The terraces built to prevent soil loss collected water and accelerated the formation of *dongas*. Showers presents a compelling case that the Basotho have been blamed for the failures of experts.

The strength of this book lies in its vision of history as a process. Its only limitations are Showers's failure to connect Lesotho's experience with the play of other imperial sciences and a rather schematic reading of the philosophy of science. In such an ambitious project they are minor blemishes. The book contains numerous illustrations and a detailed chronology and concludes with a bibliographic essay.

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Marc Epprecht. *Hungochani: The History of a Dissident Sexuality in Southern Africa*. Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 317. Cloth $75.00, paper $27.95.

This book by Marc Epprecht is a major contribution to the study of sexuality, politics, and culture in southern Africa. Its main political and scholarly value, at this point in the twenty-first century, lies in providing a well-documented corrective to the two most common fallacies circulating about same-sex sexuality in Africa: that Africans in their heterosexually pure, idealized state have no tradition of same-sex involvement, and that Africans, as antimodern and illiberal peoples, are always viciously repressive of non-normative sexualities. Epprecht works with a catholic array of archival, documen-

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tary, and oral sources, bringing to light evidence of same-sex sexuality across time and space in southern Africa, yet without oversimplifying or opting for easy truisms.

The refusal to oversimplify means that the title of his book is something of a double misnomer (I say this not as a complaint, but as testimony to the complexity of Epprecht's argument and the richness of his material). First, this book is not about a sexuality, but about a broad constellation of practices and people that differ from normative heterosexuality. Second, the word "dissident," with its connotations of deliberate refusal and contention, does not seem entirely accurate (at least when speaking of the period before the 1990s), as not all same-sex activity fits into a neat dialectic of oppression-and-resistance (or dissent). One of the strengths of this book is how it reveals the extent to which Africans have been able to fly under the radar of customary, colonial, and postcolonial sexual surveillance and carry out same-sex relationships without attracting the attention of moral authorities, much less challenging them. Epprecht does not read same-sex sexuality as a refutation of or a form of dissent from heterosexuality, and he makes a good case that the interpersonal relations surrounding same-sex activity were often isomorphic to predominant heteronormativities.

This book also avoids the structuralist explanations of sexuality that have dogged popular and scholarly writing on sex. Other historians have explained widespread homosexual activity contexts such as mines or prisons as a consequence of the absence of women, but Epprecht demonstrates that it was also well established in rural homeplaces and peri-urban settlements, where such functional explanations do not hold. Epprecht argues for the role of same-sex desire, as well as frustrated heterosexuality, in producing gay sexuality, without glossing over the power discrepancies and violence that often accompanied homosexual encounters.

This same-sex desire was not necessarily incompatible with hegemonic heterosexuality. The main heterosexual imperative in most southern African societies was to produce children for the patrilineage: if this goal was met, men might be able to distribute their affections and attentions among other men, as long as this was done discreetly. Epprecht makes a good case that discretion and tact, rather than repression and surveillance, were the watchwords of nonheterosexual activity in the villages and in the townships, particularly in the earlier part of the twentieth century. Strategies for maintaining this discretion included the adoption of spirit possession as an explanation for men and women who were not overtly interested in the opposite sex, or the historical existence of occupational castes in which men were expected to dress or act as women. He argues for a much greater tolerance for same-sex relations among the "popular classes" in Africa, as compared to the educated elite who made up most of the anticolonial political leaders. The emergence of a violent, politicized postcolonial homophobia, most notably in Zimbabwe but also in other countries of the region (Namibia), is presented as a recent phenomenon, linked to ruling parties' autocratic tendencies and their need to find scapegoats.

The politicization of homosexuality and homophobia is a theme that runs through the book, so that this work of social history is actually two parallel histories in one: the history of same-sex sexuality, insofar as it can be read from the existing record, and the history of claims making about homosexuality in southern Africa. As a subject of rhetoric, African homosexuality lies squarely at the juncture of gender, nationalism, and morality, and thus it is hardly surprising that at various times interest groups have found it expedient to claim that homosexuality was introduced by white colonists; was widespread among Africans before the first colonial encounters; marked the degeneracy of the white "nation"; marked the degeneracy of the African "nation"; was encouraged by "primitive" customs; or was the product of damaging encounters between "traditional" and "modern" lifestyles. One consistency across colonial and postcolonial claims about homosexuality is the persistent "othering" of same-sex activity: its origins are always located in another place, another time, or another social group, linking homosexuality with alien contagion. Epprecht's careful parsing of judicial records and other sources does not uncover any evidence that homosexuality diffused from any central place or time in southern Africa, suggesting instead that it is always already present.

This is not a perfect book; its two main flaws, neither of which is the author's fault, are its emphasis on male experiences over female, and its reliance on judicial and criminal records as a source of information not only about same-sex activity that involved conflict or misdemeanor but also about more normative, less conflictual same-sex activity. Both of these problems are intrinsic to the existing sources of information on homosexuality and will likely be addressed by future scholars as once-silenced topics are opened up for historical query.

Finally, this book is also that rare thing in social theory, a good read. Fortunately for the reader, Epprecht is not above inserting the odd sly aside or dryly irreverent choice of words into the flow of his argument. This study will undoubtedly lead to heated discussion and argument inside and outside classrooms, and should inspire other historians and sociologists to delve into the sociopolitical history of non-normative sexualities.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

WILLIAM C. KIRBY, ROBERT S. ROSS, and GONG LI, editors. *Normalization of U.S.-China Relations: An International History*. (Harvard East Asia Monographs, 254.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xix, 376. $49.50.

ROBERT ACCINELLI, In Pursuit of a Modus Vivendi: The Taiwan Issue and Sino-American Rapprochement, 1969–1972. LI JIE, China's Domestic Politics and the Normalization of Sino-U.S. Relations, 1969–1979. ROSEMARY FOOT, Prizes Won, Opportunities Lost: The U.S. Normalization of Relations with China, 1972–1979. GONG LI, The Difficult Path to Diplomatic Relations: China's U.S. Policy, 1972–1978. WANG ZHONGCHUN, The Soviet Factor in Sino-American Normalization, 1969–1979. LI DANHUI, Vietnam and Chinese Policy Toward the United States. JAW-LING JOANNE CHANG, Taiwan's Policy Toward the United States, 1969–1978. VITALY KOZYREV, Soviet Policy Toward the United States and China.

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DAVID DER-WEI WANG and SHANG WEI, editors. *Dynastic Crisis and Cultural Innovation from the Late Ming to the Late Qing and Beyond*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, 249.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 620. $60.00.

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MICHAEL A. GOMEZ, editor. *Diasporic Africa: A Reader*. New York: New York University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 317. Cloth $70.00, paper $23.00.

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITORS:

In his otherwise excellent article "The Disenchantment of Magic: Spells, Charms, and Superstition in Early European Witchcraft Literature" (*AHR*, April 2006, 383–404), Michael D. Bailey claims that "Max Weber first articulated his notion of 'the disenchantment of the world' " in a speech in Munich in 1917 and only later incorporated this idea into his seminal *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. This is clearly wrong; *The Protestant Ethic* was first published in 1904, thirteen years before the Munich speech.

EUGENE CLAY
Arizona State University

MICHAEL D. BAILEY RESPONDS:

Professor Clay is correct that Weber first published "Die protestantische Ethik" as two lengthy articles in the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* 20 and 21 (1904–1905). Here he developed many ideas, mainly concerning ascetic Calvinism, that would underlie his notion of disenchantment. He did not, however, employ the phrase "Entzauberung der Welt" in this earliest version of his work, nor did he include the passage I quoted from *The Protestant Ethic* in my article. These were added to the later, revised version published in 1920–1921.

MICHAEL D. BAILEY
Iowa State University

AHR FORUM

TO THE EDITORS:

In the *AHR* Forum "The Problem of American Homicide" (*AHR*, February 2006, 75–114), Pieter Spierenburg cites the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776 as proof that Americans in the Revolutionary era understood the right to bear arms as an individual right of self-defense. Spierenburg is not alone in using this text to support the so-called "Standard Model" view of the right to bear arms that has been industriously propagated by pro–gun rights supporters both inside and outside the academy. Indeed, the Pennsylvania Constitution's guarantee that its citizens had the right to "bear arms for the defense of themselves and the State" has been cited more than any other eighteenth-century constitution in the debate over guns and gun violence. And yet, no other text has been so misunderstood.

My research, recently presented at the 2006 AHA Annual Meeting ("Defending Themselves: Understanding the Historical Context of the Right to Bear Arms in Revolutionary Pennsylvania"), argues that the modern gun debate misrepresents this text by ignoring the complex history leading up to the drafting of Pennsylvania's Declaration of Rights and the tradition of community self-defense that defined the province since the 1750s. Viewed in the proper historical context, the Pennsylvania Declaration fits better into the emerging "civic rights" model, which sees the right to bear arms as having been an essential requirement for all citizens. Bearing arms was not the right of the state as a legal entity which was then conferred onto citizens acting collectively; it was the obligation of all male citizens so that they could participate in a militia. The new Pennsylvania constitution demanded militia service from every citizen, and with every member of society contributing his share of the defense of Pennsylvania as a whole as well as the smaller communities within its borders, the framers of the 1776 constitution felt they could realize the true goal of responsible government stated in the preamble, namely, the "security and protection of the community."

Given that Pennsylvania was the first state to provide a constitutional right to bear arms, and since this text

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has played such a key role in the debate over the meaning of the Second Amendment, we need to remedy this text's constant misinterpretation.

NATHAN KOZUSKANICH
The Second Amendment Research Center
The Ohio State University

Pieter Spierenburg does not wish to respond.

REVIEWS

TO THE EDITOR:

I appreciate Alison Games's comments on my *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (*AHR*, April 2006, 434–435), but I am surprised by her saying that I have omitted Africa and blacks from the story. They are central to both essays. In the first—an exploration of how Atlantic history emerged as a historical subject as distinct from a geographical reference—I stress the critical importance of the outpouring of studies of the slave trade and Africa during and after the 1960s; and in the second essay—a sketch of the substantive historical shape of the subject—I revert to it again, specifying the African population as far and away the largest component of the Western Hemisphere's labor force: "it was of course from Africa that by far the largest number of workers were drawn to the Western Hemisphere: a total of over 5.5 million by 1775—36 percent to British America, 32 percent to Portuguese territory, 13 percent to French territory, 9 percent to Spanish. Enslaved and distributed by a pan-Atlantic, Afro-European coercive commercial system, they were people whose presence almost everywhere in the Western Hemisphere was a major demographic, social, and economic force—in some places (St. Domingue, South Carolina) an overwhelming force." As to Africa and slavery's place in the historical phases I sketch, slavery in and from Africa was in its essence barbarous and hence is central to the early phase of the region's development. And there are references to Africa and slavery throughout the book. Of course I do not attempt to incorporate a sketch of the history of Africa in this outline story, any more than histories of England, Spain, the Netherlands, or France.

Professor Games, who has made her own substantial contribution to Atlantic history, may have reason to know that Harvard's Atlantic History Seminar, to whose members the book is dedicated, has had numerous sessions on slavery and the Black Atlantic; and we will continue to do so in the future. The Seminar's papers on those subjects, as on all others, are available on its website: http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~atlantic.

BERNARD BAILYN
Harvard University

ALISON GAMES RESPONDS:

I am grateful to Bernard Bailyn for taking the time to raise such an important issue. I would like to clarify that I did *not* say that Bailyn "omitted Africa and blacks from the story." Rather, I said that Bailyn's book was "less satisfying" in his efforts to integrate Africa fully into a history of the Atlantic world. The point I sought to make was that Bailyn's conceptual framework for the Atlantic was derived primarily from the themes and transformations most apparent in the Americas in the period from 1492 through 1830. I regard the difficulty of integrating multiple distinct regions and political units, each with their own unique histories and historiographies, as a fundamental challenge confronting historians of any large geographic region such as the Atlantic. This exchange illustrates one of the greatest limitations of the idea of Atlantic history: despite the labors of Africanists for some forty years, we continue to know little about the lived experiences of the majority of those who experienced the Atlantic world. African captives were the dominant human face of Atlantic history for over two centuries, and the cultural hearth for much of the Americas and the Caribbean was African. The history of Atlantic Africa therefore strikes me as central to a study of the Atlantic in a way that the individual histories of France or the Netherlands are not. In a compact essay of this sort, Bailyn undoubtedly had to be ruthlessly selective in what he included, but I disagree with the point Bailyn raises in his letter that, in his "outline story," the history of Africa is equivalent to the histories of single nations such as Spain or England. Historians are likely always to disagree about the relative and appropriate interpretive weight to assign different regions and historical actors, and it is precisely this sort of professional disagreement that provides the necessary avenue to greater understanding. Thus I appreciate Bernard Bailyn's gracious response to my review.

I agree wholeheartedly with Bernard Bailyn on the value of Harvard's International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World. I urge interested colleagues to study the Seminar's offerings and resources and to take part in its extensive array of seminars and workshops.

ALISON GAMES
Georgetown University

TO THE EDITORS:

I wish to respond to the review by Ifi Amadiume of my book *Igbo Women and Economic Transformation in Southeastern Nigeria, 1900–1960* (*AHR*, April 2006, 600–601). While I have decided not to respond to her biased remarks in reference to my comments on her book *Male Daughters, Female Husbands*, because I believe that every reviewer is entitled to her/his opinion depending on how she/he understands and interprets the issues raised in any work reviewed, I am particularly amazed at her accusation that I failed to acknowledge

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Nwando Achebe's "historical research" on Ahebi Ugbabe. This letter is intended to correct Amadiume's uninformed remarks and to put things in their proper perspective. I am compelled to set the record straight for the sake of my scholarship and academic integrity.

First, I did not read Nwando Achebe's book that Ifi Amadiume cited in the review. The reason is that while my book was released by Routledge in January 2005, Achebe's *Farmers, Traders, Warriors and Kings: Female Power and Authority in Northern Igboland, 1900–1960* came out toward the end of 2005. Therefore, there is no way I could have read and acknowledged that work in my book.

Secondly, the subject in question, Ahebi Ugbabe, as the only female warrant chief in the whole of colonial Nigeria, is well known to any serious historian of Igbo history. Ahebi Ugbabe was among a group of powerful Igbo women I wrote about in 1999 in my "Women as Actors and Victims of the Slave Trade in Igboland, Nigeria" (Working Paper no. 99-16, International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World, 1500–1800, Harvard University, 1999). Nwando Achebe was still a graduate student at the University of California, Los Angeles, when I wrote this paper. I had no access to her research. But Achebe had interviewed me both in Nigeria in 1996 at the beginning of her doctoral research and in the United States in 2000 on different aspects of her research. She had also read my publications on Igbo women, including my doctoral dissertation, "The Changing Role of Women in Igbo Economy, 1929–1985" (History Department, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, 1995), for the same purpose.

Thirdly, it is true that Ifi Amadiume is one of those who wrote blurbs for Nwando Achebe's book. As an experienced scholar and author, she cannot deny knowledge of how long it takes a submitted manuscript to make it into print. Since she knew when Achebe's book came out, she should have known that it would not have been possible for me to read and acknowledge Achebe, whose book came out several months after mine was released. Moreover, the fact that my book was sent to her for review is an acknowledgment of her expertise on Igbo women and gender relations. This recognition requires her to be current with the state of scholarship in this particular field of study. Thus, Amadiume could not claim ignorance of my scholarship on Igbo women, which dates back to the early 1990s. I therefore believe that this baseless accusation could have been avoided if Amadiume had not allowed her vested interest in Achebe's work to overshadow true scholarship and common sense.

GLORIA CHUKU
Millersville University of Pennsylvania

IFI AMADIUME RESPONDS:

I noted that Gloria Chuku did not acknowledge Nwando Achebe's book. My comment is not based on any "vested interest in Achebe's work," as Chuku puts it. The works of these two scholars are excellent and important. In her book Achebe acknowledges an interview with Chuku in 2000, and Achebe's bibliography also shows that articles based on Achebe's work were already published in 2003.

IFI AMADIUME
Dartmouth College

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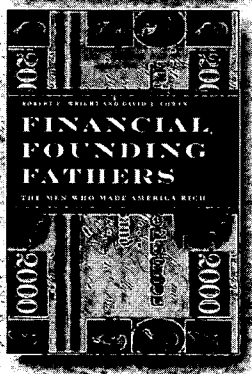
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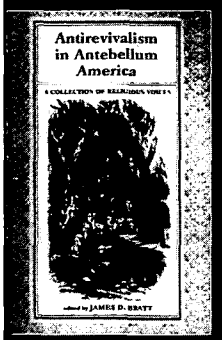
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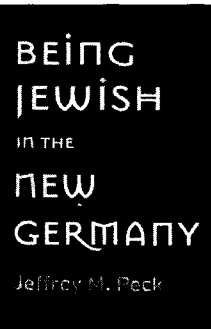
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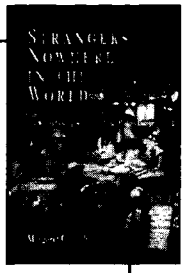
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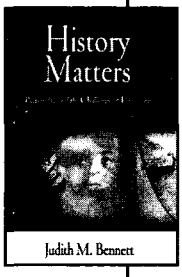
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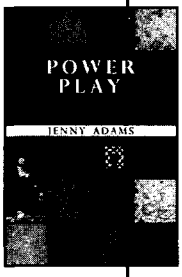
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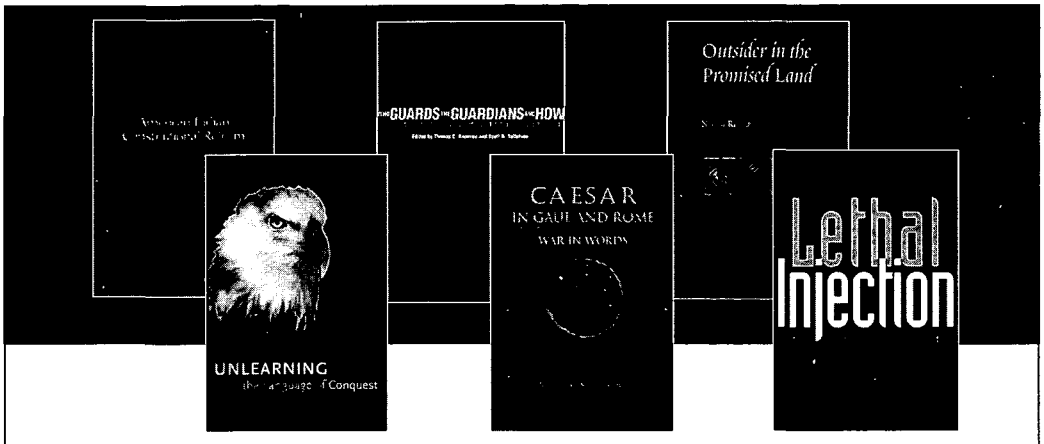
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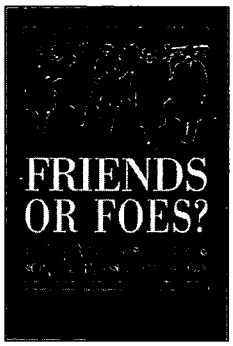
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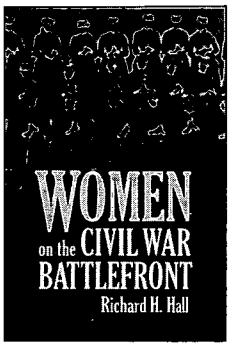
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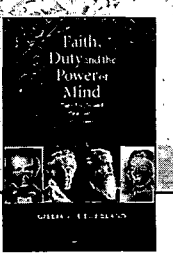
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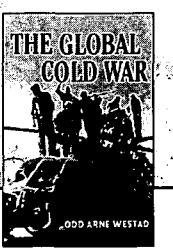
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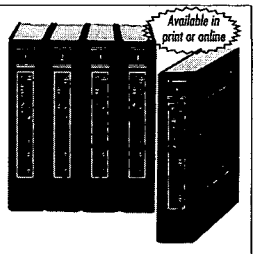
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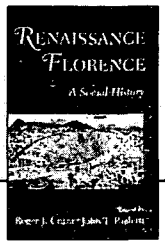
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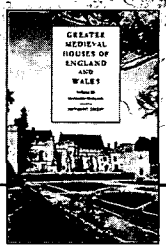
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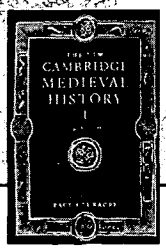
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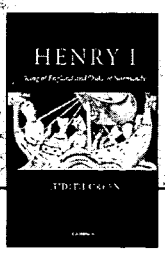
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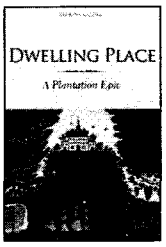
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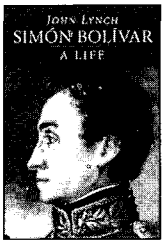
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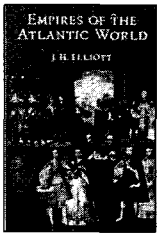
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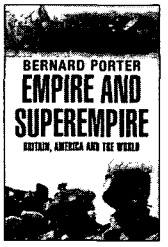
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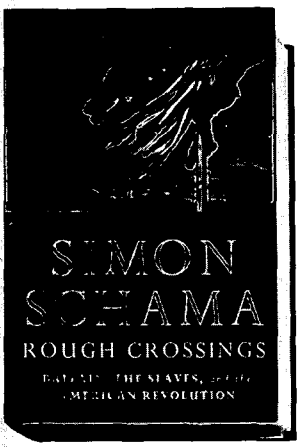
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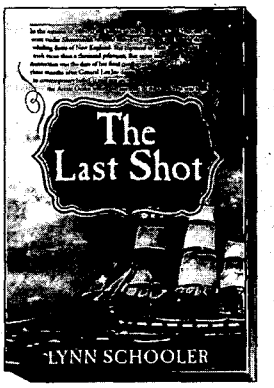
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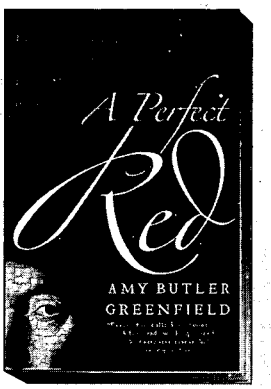
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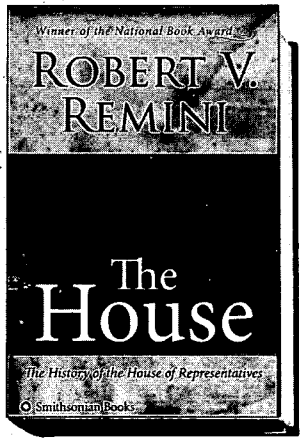
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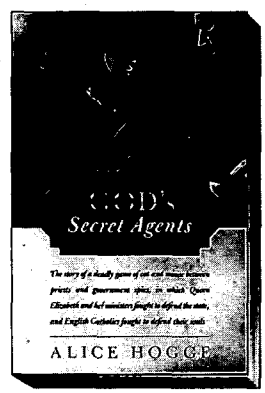
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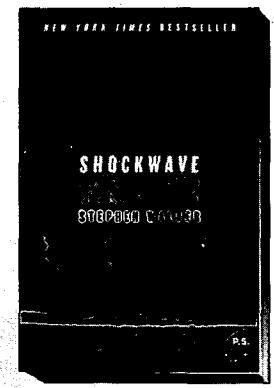
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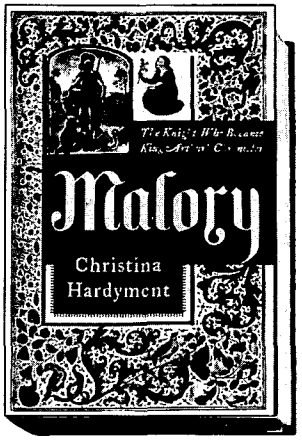
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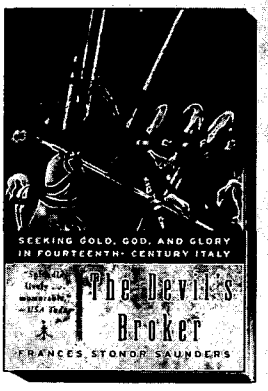
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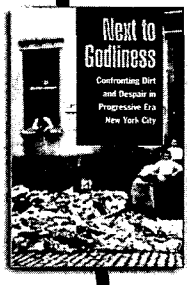
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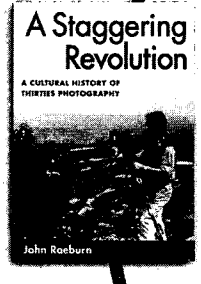


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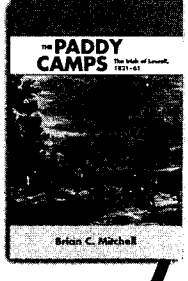
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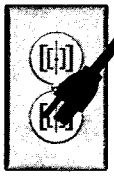
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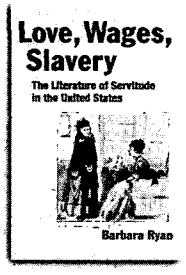
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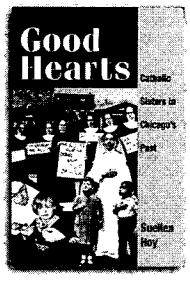
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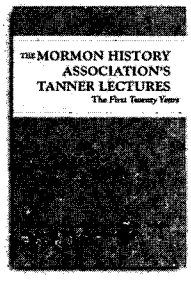
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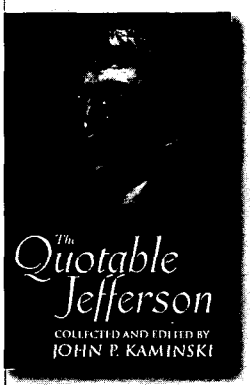
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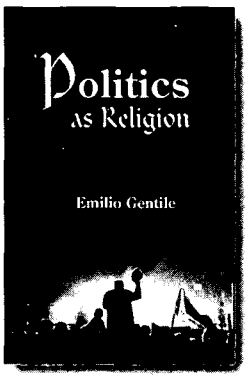
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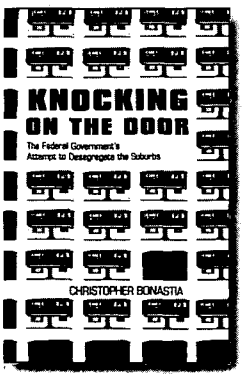
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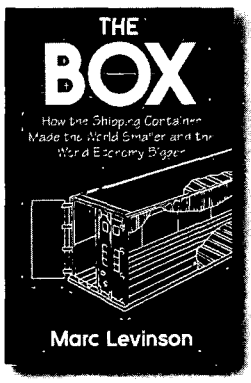
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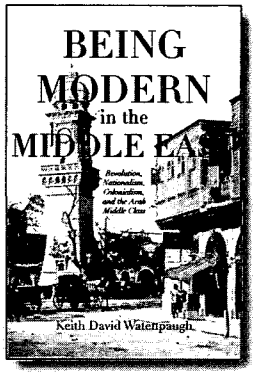
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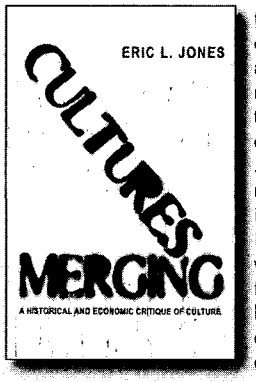
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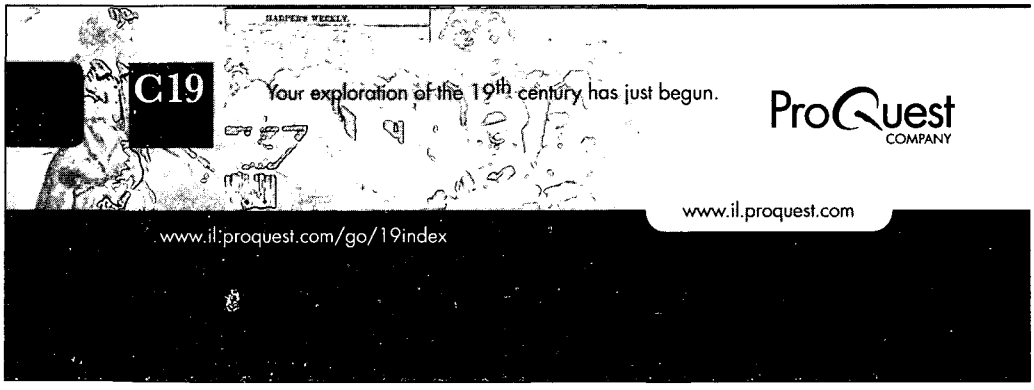
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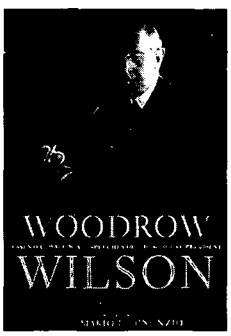
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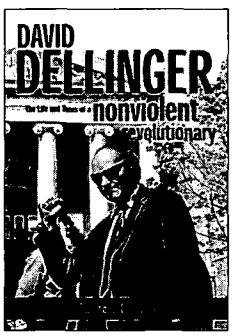
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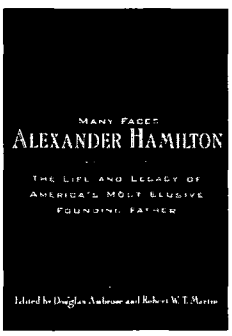
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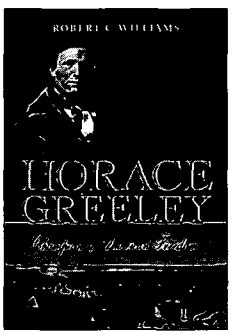
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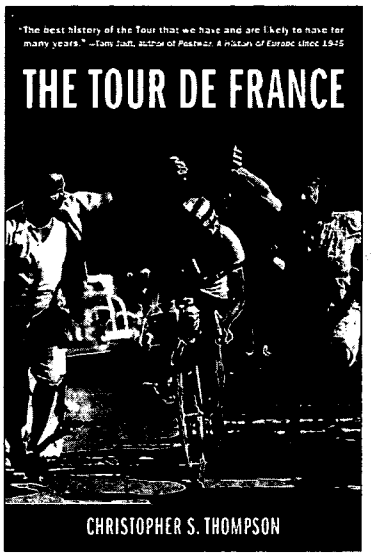
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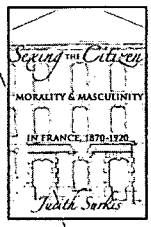
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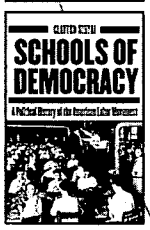
















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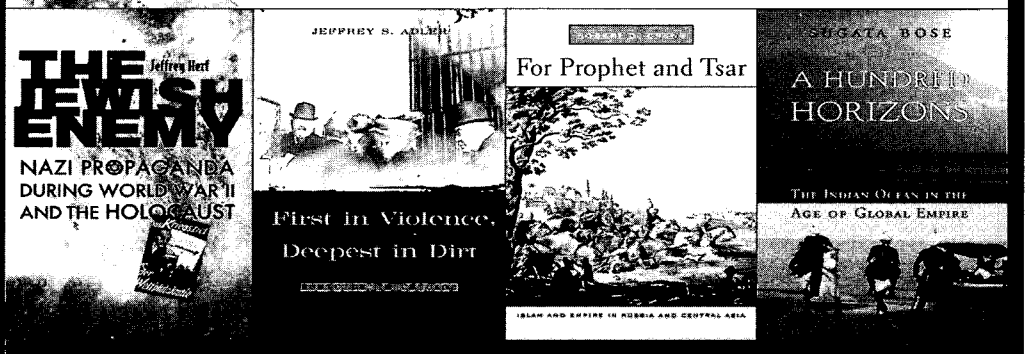
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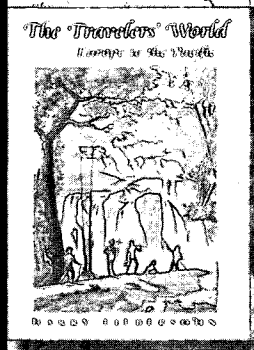
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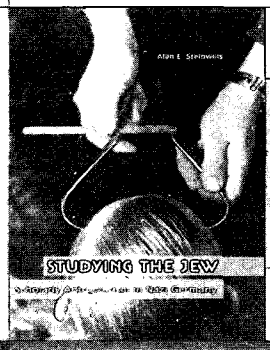
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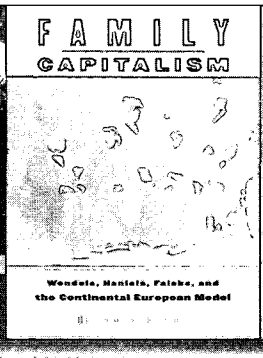
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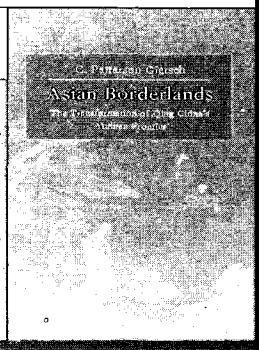
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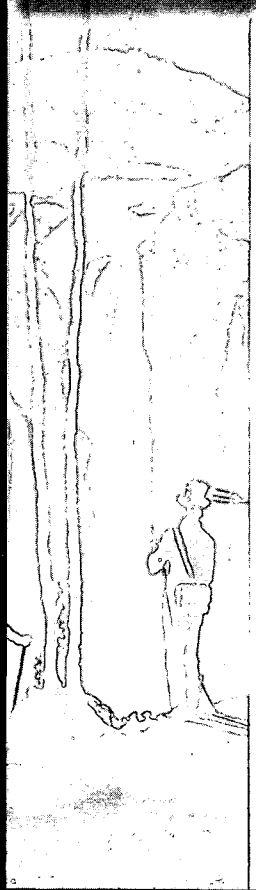
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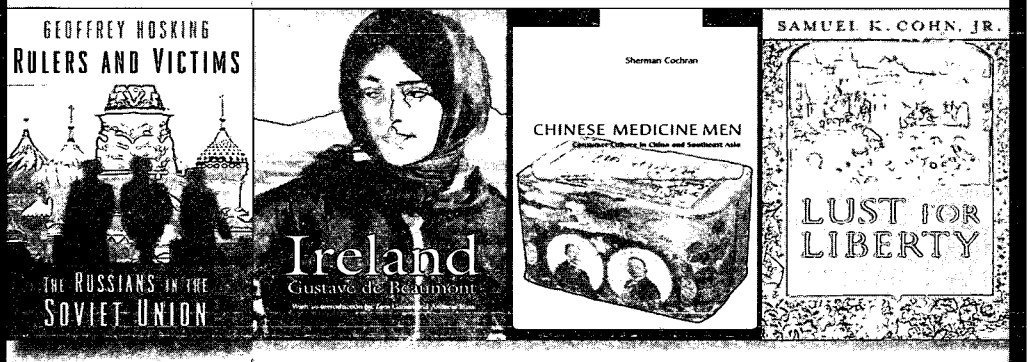
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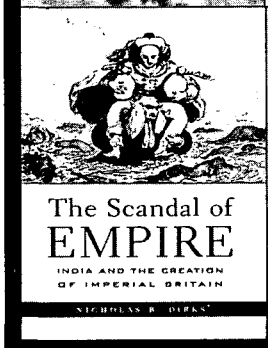
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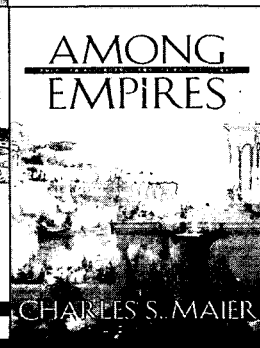
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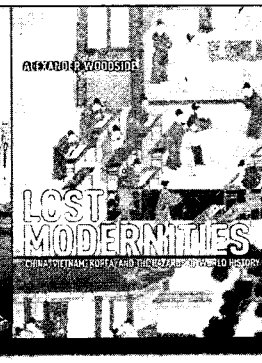
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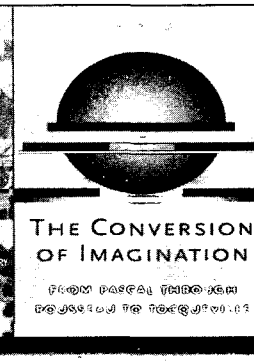
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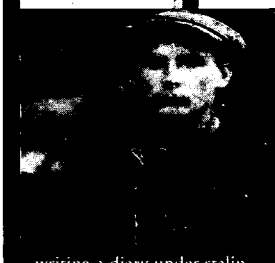
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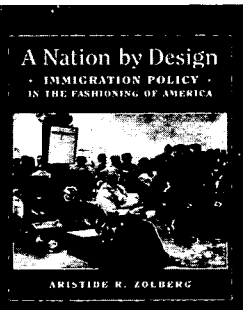
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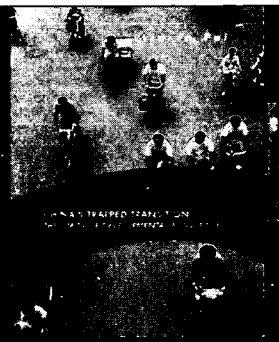
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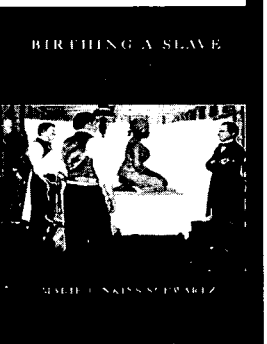
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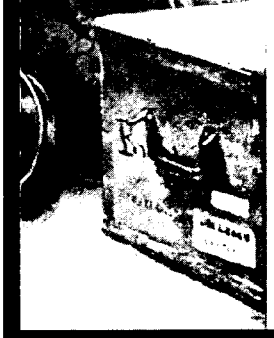
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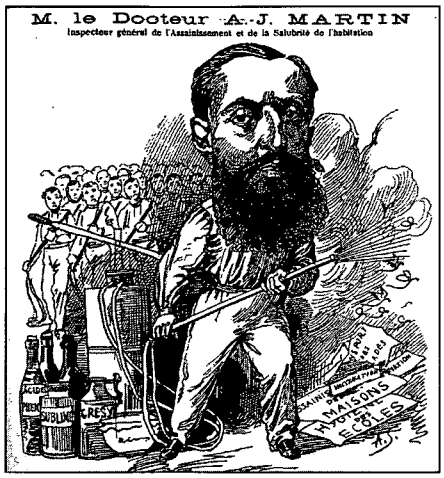
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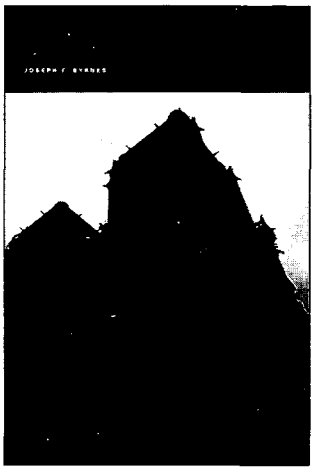
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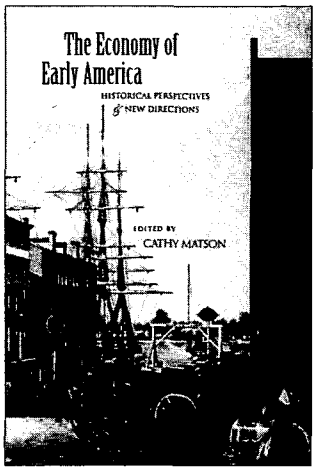
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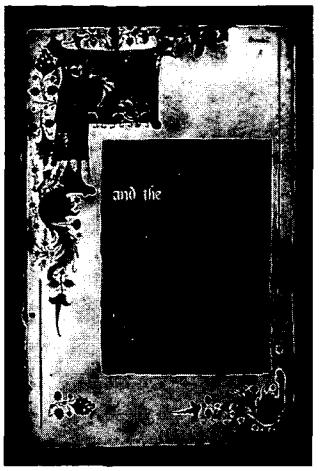
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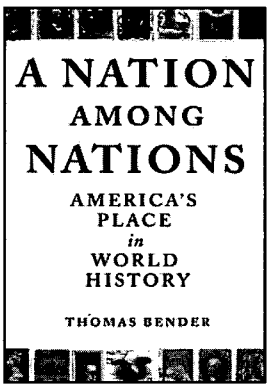
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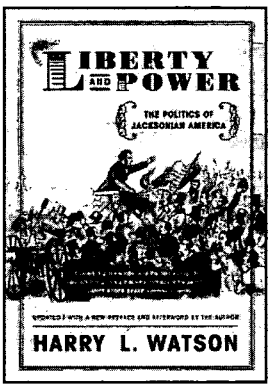
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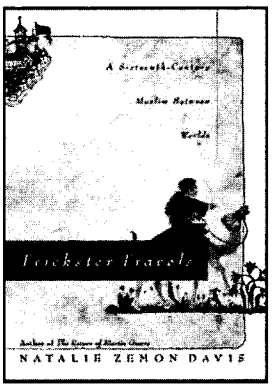
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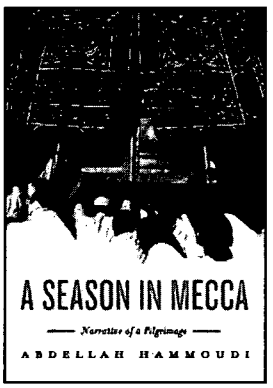
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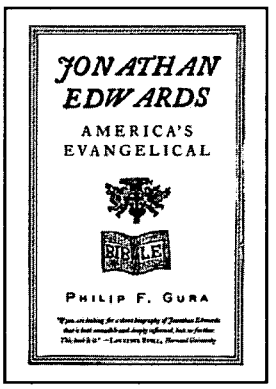
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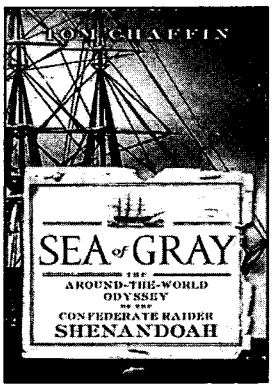
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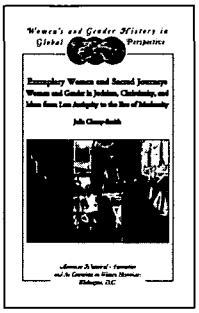
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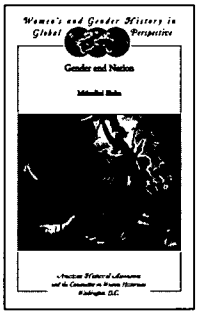
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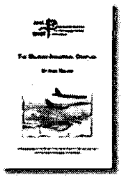
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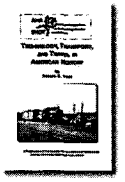
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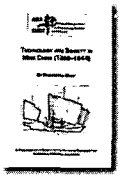
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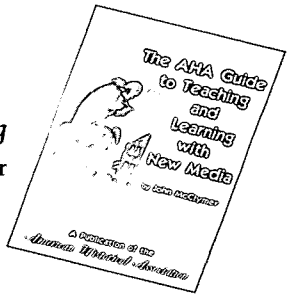
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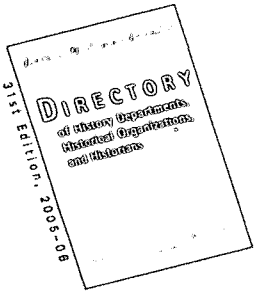
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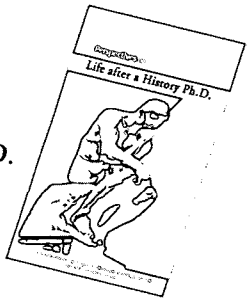
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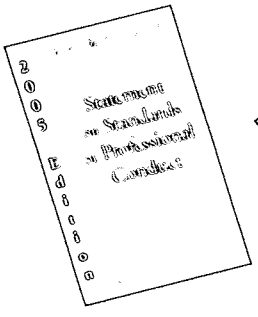
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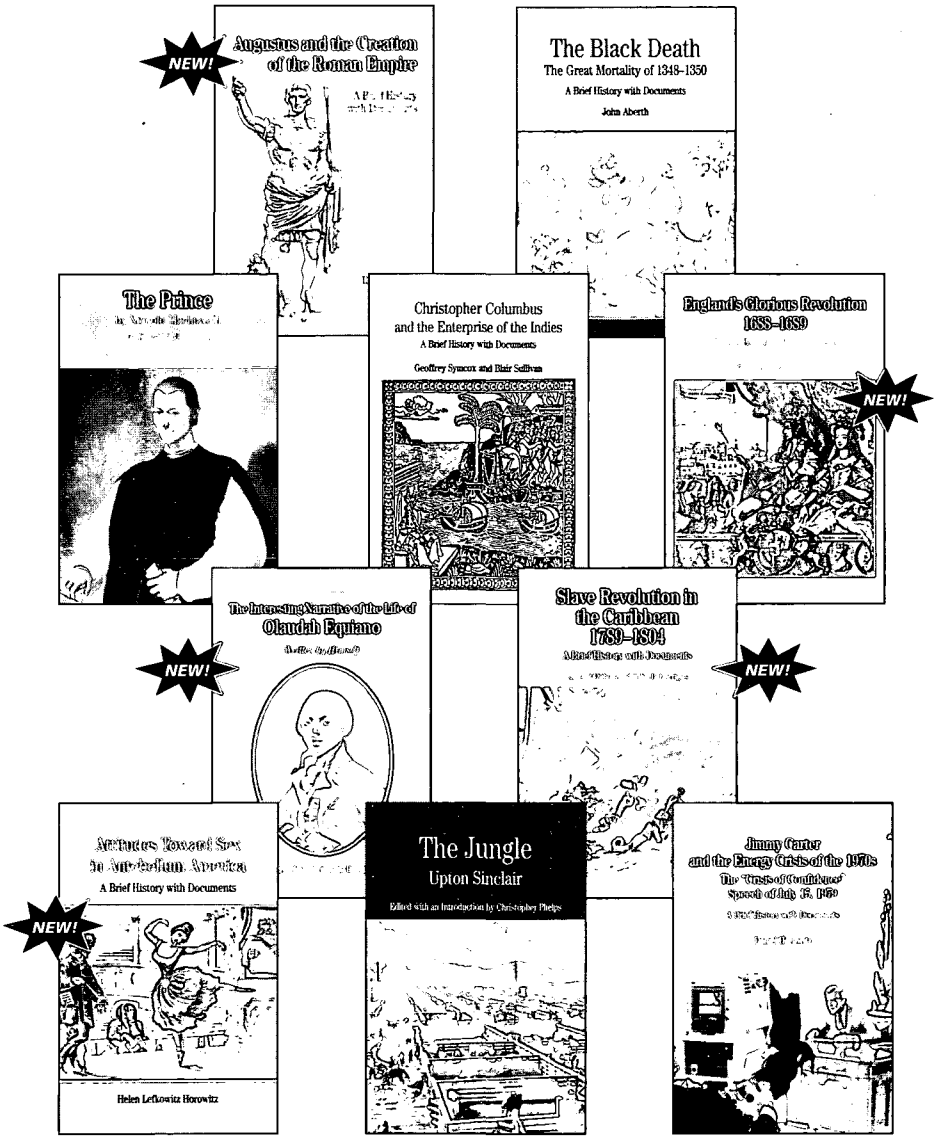
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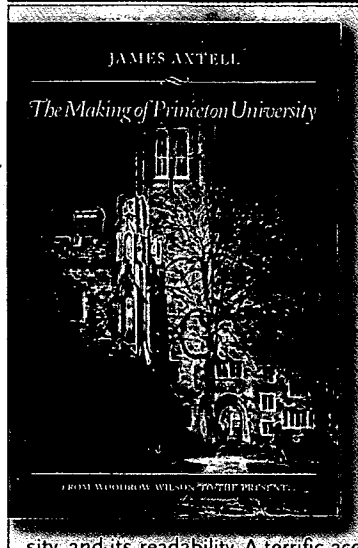
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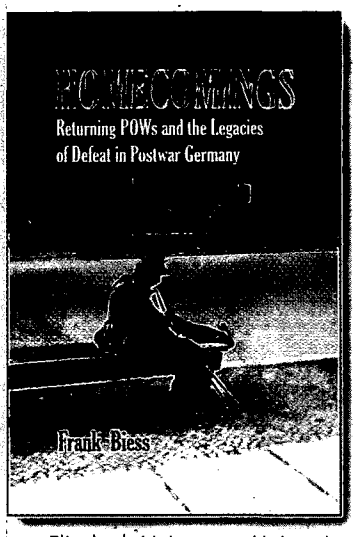
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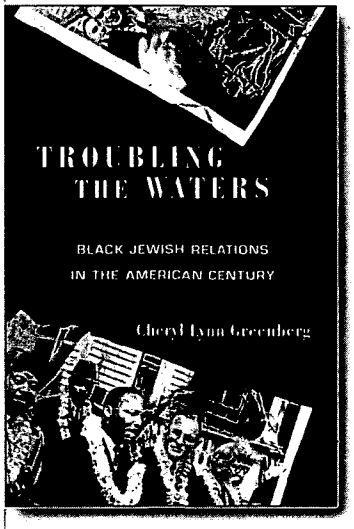
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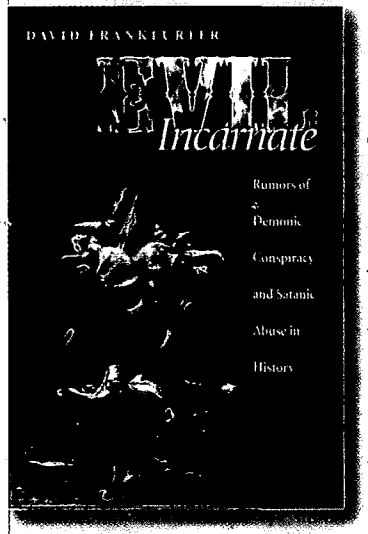
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